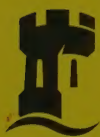


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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

71

REPORT ON THE
MANUSCRIPTS
OF THE LATE
ALLAN GEORGE FINCH
ESQ., OF
BURLEY-ON-THE-HILL
RUTLAND

VOLUME V

General correspondence 1693
Secret service papers 1691–1693
and
Naval and military papers to 1694

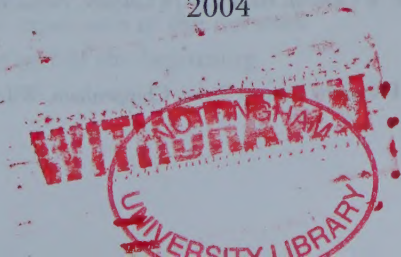
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SONIA P. ANDERSON

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CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	v
Introduction	vii
Editorial history and methods	vii
Nottingham's officials	xiv
Nottingham's papers	xx
Domestic intelligence	xxvi
French assassins	xxviii
The French officials	xxx
St. Germain	xxxv
Smuggling	xxxviii
Spies, submarines and field kitchens	xliv
Cryptic writing	xlvii
The war at sea	liii
Exchange of prisoners of war	lxxiii
The Channel Islands	lxxv
Ireland	lxxvi
Scotland	lxxix
The Baltic	lxxx
Germany	lxxxv
Flanders	lxxxvi
Savoy	xciii
The Balkans	xcvii
North Africa	xcix
Malta and Sicily	ci
Spain and Portugal	cii
America and the West Indies	civ
East India trade	cviii
François de Gaultier, Sieur de St. Blancard	cviii
Jurieu's network and the historians	cx
The Dutch route and invisible ink	cxv
Paying the agents	cxix
The first agents	cxxiii
The Huguenot resistance	cxxx
Peter Fontaines	cxxxvii
Samuel Poulion and the French court	cxli
The expansion of the network	cxlvi
The end of the beginning	clv

Part I.	General correspondence 1693	1
Part II.	Secret service papers 1691-1693	285
	A. Memorial from François de Gaultier, Sieur de St. Blancard	285
	B. Correspondence between Nottingham and Jurieu	287
	C. Letters from De Alet	336
	D. Letters from Braconnier and La Touche	368
	E. Letters from Samuel Poulion	382
	F. Other letters from Paris	637
	G. Letters from Brittany, Poitou, Aunis and Saintonge	643
	H. Letters from Normandy	673
	I. Miscellaneous letters from Geneva and Berne	681
	J. Miscellaneous letters and papers connected with Jurieu and his organization	687
	K. Letters and papers received from Sir Patience Ward	700
	L. Reports from Peter Fontaines	744
	M. Reports received from Jean Payen de La Foulere	775
	N. Letters and reports received from Lord Galway	778
	O. Miscellaneous	787
	P. Ciphers and codes	813
Part III.	Naval and military papers to 1694	815
Index		830

PREFACE

This is the fifth and final volume of the Commission's calendar of the Finch manuscripts formerly preserved at Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland, and now held on deposit by the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, at Wigston Magna near Leicester.

The Finch manuscripts were first described selectively in the Commission's *Seventh Report* in 1879, and most recently a summary description of the complete archive appeared in the Commission's guide to *Principal Family and Estate Collections: Family Names A–K* (Guides to Sources for British History based on the National Register of Archives, 10, 1996, no. 35). The related Finch-Hatton collection in Northamptonshire Record Office is also described there (no. 36).

The five calendar volumes, which together comprise series 71 in the Commission's Reports and Calendars series, cover the following material:

Volume I (1913), edited by Mrs S.C. Lomas. Correspondence and papers 1537–1669, mainly of Heneage Finch, 3rd Earl of Winchilsea, as ambassador to the Porte (1660–9).

Volume II (1922), edited by Mrs S.C. Lomas. Correspondence and papers 1670–90, mainly of Sir John Finch as ambassador to the Porte (1672–82), Heneage Finch, 1st Earl of Nottingham as attorney general, lord keeper and lord chancellor (1670–82), and Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham as a commissioner of the admiralty (1679–84) and secretary of state (1689–90).

Volume III (1957), edited by Mr Francis Bickley from a text partly prepared by Mrs S.C. Lomas. Correspondence and papers of the 2nd Earl of Nottingham as secretary of state 1691, with addenda 1667–90.

Volume IV (1965), edited by Mr Francis Bickley. Correspondence and papers of the 2nd Earl of Nottingham as secretary of state 1692, with addenda 1690–1.

Volume V (2004), edited by Miss Sonia P. Anderson from a text partly prepared by Mr Francis Bickley. Correspondence and papers of the 2nd Earl of Nottingham as secretary of state 1693, his secret service papers 1691–3, and naval and military papers to 1694.

The papers calendared in these five volumes are a mixture of original letter books and notebooks, and of unbound letters and papers whose original order had largely been lost by the time the calendars were compiled. The Record Office has rearranged this loose material in the same order as the calendar entries, and placed it in inert transparent envelopes inside guard books, which may be consulted in its search room by quoting the page number of the relevant calendar volume.

There remains, however, much related material which was not selected for calendaring. Some 300 letters and papers relating to Winchilsea's embassy, for example, mainly concerning the Balkan principalities, the Greek and Latin churches in the Levant, the English factories and Winchilsea's expenses, were partly described in the introduction to *Finch I* but are not calendared there. Manuscript classified and descriptive lists of the uncalendared material may be consulted at the Record Office (DG7 on the open shelves) or in the Commission's search room (NRA 9845). The list of naval and military material has been rearranged and expanded and is published below, but there are still separate unpublished lists of parliamentary and political papers, official instruments, papers relating to foreign affairs, the colonies, Ireland, Scotland, finance and trade, ecclesiastical affairs, the royal household, and county affairs, literary works and collections, diaries, genealogical papers, legal papers, accounts and business papers, inventories and lists. This material is particularly rich for the 2nd Earl of Nottingham, a force in British political life from the reign of Charles II to that of George I, and a major landowner with many children. It is to be hoped that the resources can be found to relist it in greater detail.

For the Commission this volume marks the end of a long partnership with successive owners and custodians, whose public spirit and assistance in making the Finch manuscripts accessible for research is gratefully acknowledged.

It also marks the end of the Commission's Reports and Calendars series, some 240 volumes of privately-owned material made available to historians by publication between 1870 (the year after the Commission's establishment) and 2004 (the year after its coming together with the Public Record Office to form The National Archives). Remarkably, the series as a whole is still an essential reference tool for students of early modern British history. From the outset the series was envisaged as a substitute for the original documents (then largely inaccessible) rather than a finding list, and those selected at all for treatment were often covered in detail.

As historians' views of what constituted interesting material broadened in the course of the twentieth century, so the Commission's editors responded by becoming more comprehensive and less selective in what they chose to treat, and the present volume is in fact the longest in the series.

In accordance with the Commission's usual practice the text is presented with a minimum of footnotes, but the index identifies and draws together the often allusive references. The introduction which follows provides a fuller analysis and explanation of the historical interest of the papers and the editorial methods employed.

INTRODUCTION

The papers calendared in this volume are at the same time so rich as a research resource, and so complex both as to arrangement and context, that they require a much fuller introduction than has been customary in the Reports and Calendars series.

EDITORIAL HISTORY AND METHODS

The long gestation of this volume has made it an epitome of changes in the Commission's approach to selecting and editing its source material. The original survey of the Finch papers at Burley-on-the-Hill published in 1879 in the Commission's *Seventh Report* had made clear the size and importance of the collection, and in 1907–8 many of the early modern papers were deposited at the Commission's offices, then in the Public Record Office, for more detailed calendaring. The work was entrusted to Mrs S.C. Lomas, a niece of the historian Mrs Everett Green and her assistant and successor in calendaring the State Papers Domestic; she had herself been an HMC inspector or editor since 1898, contributing to many volumes in the Reports and Calendars series.

Finch I was published in 1913, and by 1915 *Finch II* was in the press (although not published until 1922, for reasons of wartime economy) and Mrs Lomas was engaged on *Finch III*. Prophetically, she wrote to the Commission's Secretary of her fears that she might never finish the work, which would be a pity, 'for vol. 3 will be much the most important of any' (Sophie Lomas to Alfred Stamp, 28 January [1915]). She had reached 1691, the date the secret service papers began, and planned to add them to the main calendar year by year. As they were largely in French she decided to summarise them in English, paraphrasing or omitting passages and documents she found obscure, repetitive or of little historical interest. This was a more time-consuming exercise than simple transcription would have been, and more than a decade later she was compelled by ill health to relinquish the work, dying in 1929.

Her designated successor was Mr Francis Bickley, another highly experienced editor and author who had been an HMC inspector since 1910. Although he began work on the Finch calendar in 1928 he had to be diverted the following year to more pressing work on the general guide to Reports published 1870–1911, for the Commission's total annual vote of £700 could not support both projects. On completion of the *Guide* in 1938 he resumed work on Finch, but a year later was again diverted for war service. At last in 1947 he returned to the editorial fray, now exceptionally well equipped to deal with the secret service papers, for he had served in the War Trade

Intelligence Department from 1915 to 1919 and in the Postal Censorship Department from 1939 to 1945.

He came to the opinion that Nottingham's counter-intelligence papers, dealing with the Jacobite fifth column and other potential domestic enemies, should be detached from the other secret service papers and incorporated into the main calendar. The foreign intelligence reports, however, should be set aside until the general correspondence had been calendared for the whole of Nottingham's first ministry of 1689–93, and then published together as the climax to the series. And they should appear not in English summary but in French transcription; Mrs Lomas's painstaking summaries were to be discarded.

The Commissioners have consistently endorsed Mr Bickley's view. For although a strong case can be made for an English-language edition where many languages are involved (as in their last two calendars, *Downshire V* and *VI* published in 1989–95, which cover documents sent to the elder William Trumbull in seven languages), or where the principal foreign language used is Latin (as in the recent editions of the international correspondences of Oldenburg and Boyle), serious students of Louis XIV's France and its relations with Britain can be expected not only to understand written French, but in most cases greatly to prefer an unmediated French text.

Francis Bickley was also responsible for the present arrangement of the secret service papers in fifteen lettered sections, each arranged chronologically, corresponding to the fifteen main strands of information making up Nottingham's foreign intelligence network (a sixteenth has since been added, a miscellany of ciphers). The original order of the documents had already been lost, and parent documents (such as Jurieu's covering letters) separated from their enclosures. Relationships between them were already conjectural, and where known or suspected could be indicated by cross-reference. Rearrangement into a single chronological sequence would have been convenient for some purposes, but would have made it much harder to evaluate the separate strands.

Rearrangement of the secret service papers was part of a much larger task. By 1947 the Finch papers had undergone seventy years of examination and listing by a wide range of individuals with different agendas, from the HMC inspectors to the family's own historian, Miss Pearl Finch, and the Canadian surgeon Dr Archibald Malloch, whose *Finch and Baines. A Seventeenth Century Friendship* (1917) was inspired by his wartime service in charge of the officers' hospital at Burley. The Commission's files are a roll-call of distinguished historians allowed access to the papers: Sir George Clark, Sir John Habakkuk, Mark Thomson, John Ehrman. Boxes and bundles were constantly in transit between Burley and Chancery Lane, as much for the

convenience of historians as editors. In 1933–4 the Commission found it advisable to employ Mr A.H. Davis to relist the papers as a security measure (he died suddenly with the work incomplete). Nottingham's first North American biographer Mr W.A. Aiken and his assistants were then given permission to rearrange the papers in the course of their research, closing them meanwhile to other scholars, but the outbreak of World War II put paid to this plan.

Francis Bickley accordingly decided to relist and rearrange as necessary all the personal papers for the period covered by the calendar volumes, at the same time resuming work on these. His manuscript classified and descriptive lists, a hundred pages long (NRA 9845), have remained the basis for access to the extensive material excluded from the calendar. (This material is described briefly in the Preface above). Meanwhile he completed *Finch III* (1957), based on Sophie Lomas's draft calendar of the general correspondence for 1691 but including much additional material 'some of which she lacked the time to deal with and some of which she never saw' (*Finch III*, Preface). The last third of the volume comprised addenda: documents relating to Jacobite conspiracies; half a dozen intelligence reports relating to France in 1691 (which might have been better saved for the present volume); Nottingham's minutes of meetings of the Cabinet Council in 1690 and 1691; and supplementary letters and papers 1667–90, similar in nature to those already published in *Finch I* and *II*.

Finch IV (1965), general correspondence for 1692 with addenda 1690–1, was more straightforward but still took another eight years, Francis Bickley delivering it to the Commission's Secretary with a note describing it as 'a job which I have sometimes despaired of ever completing; and with which I am far from satisfied' (Francis Bickley to Roger Ellis, 18 June 1964), sentiments shared by all Finch editors, although none has willingly quitted the field. When the present editor last visited Mr Bickley in the Charterhouse in 1976 he was still actively engaged on *Finch V*, dying twelve days later at the age of ninety-one.

No new volumes were by then being accepted for the Reports and Calendars series, which had already been winding down for twenty years. *Finch V* was however far enough advanced for the Commissioners to agree that it should be completed, and in 1984 they appointed another external editor, with special knowledge of seventeenth-century France, Mr G.C. Gibbs. Pressure from other commitments, however, obliged him to resign in 1989, without having been able to take the work much further forward. Again the Commissioners took stock, and in 1991 decided by a narrow majority not to cut their losses but to allow the volume to be completed in due course by the present editor Miss Sonia Anderson, a member of their permanent staff since

1970, who had already sub-edited many volumes in the Joint Publications and Reports and Calendars series and whose own published research had drawn on the earlier Finch papers. She was free to begin work on the calendar in 1995, and the main text and first proof corrections were sent to press before her post as director of publications disappeared in the course of restructuring in 2002. She has completed the index and introduction in her retirement with the support of the Commission's staff, and would particularly like to thank Dr Christopher Kitching for his patience, Mr Peter Wojtyczka for his help from the outset in designing appropriate electronic systems for the volume and eliminating any technical problems, and Mrs Lilette Galvani for applying her bilingual word-processing skills to a substantial proportion of the main text, the whole of the index and much of the introduction. The Stationery Office, which published all 239 previous volumes in the series, has also allowed this final volume to remain in proof for an unusually long time.

Needless to say, the new editor faced fresh challenges. Many day visits were required to consult the papers in their new home at the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland at Wigston Magna. More significantly, historians' interests had broadened considerably since the Victorian-born previous editors had selected the material for transcription or summary, and comparison of the draft calendar against the originals revealed many gaps in coverage which could no longer be justified. All the draft text was accordingly checked against the originals and most of the omissions made good. The length of the volume has nearly doubled in consequence.

In Part I, the general correspondence for 1693, which was the most nearly complete, the major addition was the transcription of the manuscript newsletters enclosed in Blathwayt's letters to Nottingham, replacing simple editorial cross-references to related notices printed in the *London Gazette*. This gives a fuller picture of the information available to the two secretaries, and facilitates comparison of what was received by Nottingham's office with its propaganda use in the *Gazette*.

In Part II, the secret service papers 1691–3, only about half the material had been transcribed or summarised, the later sections merely consisting of lists of documents. As their information content seemed substantial they too have been treated at length.

In Part III, Nottingham's naval and military papers to 1694, some papers were listed briefly which it seemed worth transferring to Parts I or II and publishing in full: for example two detailed accounts of the battle of Landen (pp. 201–3, 209–11), and an autobiographical account of his capture, imprisonment and escape evidently composed by the Huguenot naval surgeon and later agent Peter Fontaines, whose reports in Part II had also

merely been listed. Reunited and transcribed in full they told a fascinating story (pp. cxxxvii–cxxxviii, 744–74). There is other interesting material among the naval and military papers which also deserves fuller treatment but cannot receive it here. A few of the pre-1693 papers, mainly ship lists, had already received separate brief notices in earlier volumes.

This raises the question of reference. Provisional call numbers given by Mr Bickley to the unbound documents in this volume, and the box and bundle numbers initially used by the Record Office, have all been superseded. S.S. numbers are no longer used for the secret service papers, and the rearrangement of the naval and military papers resulting from transfers and more precise dating means that the N.M. references given in *Finch III* and *IV* and a handful of other publications are also obsolete. An N.M. concordance has not seemed necessary since Part III below only runs to fifteen pages, and material sought can be quickly identified from the text or index.

All unbound papers calendared here, and the bound N.M. volumes, may now be ordered up for consultation in the Record Office search room simply by citing the relevant page numbers in this calendar, since the papers have been rearranged by the editor and renumbered by the Record Office to correspond with the page proofs. As the introduction and index were also prepared while the volume was in proof, there is now a uniform means of physical and intellectual access to the papers through page numbers. Nottingham's bound letter books, three of which are drawn on for this volume, must still be ordered as Nottingham's Letter Book II, III or IV, according to the reference given in the text.

Most readers, it is hoped, will find the calendar an adequate substitute for the originals. The editorial conventions used are common to most volumes in the Reports and Calendars series. Readers unfamiliar with the Commission's characteristic blend of quotation and summary should note that quotation marks indicate direct quotation from a document, while their absence indicates editorial summary, even where the first person is used and the language may seem old-fashioned. Summary has been the preferred option for the private letters of which Nottingham kept copies for his own use in a polyglot shorthand that would have been difficult to reproduce both accurately and intelligibly.

The large amount of direct quotation in French has posed particular problems. As usual in the series, capitalisation and punctuation have been modernised and abbreviations or contractions silently expanded, while the original spelling has been retained. The difficulties have arisen over accents and apostrophes, which were frequently omitted or used incorrectly (even by seventeenth-century standards) by the writers of the documents, and which had been treated inconsistently by the previous editors. In the end it was

decided to follow the original usage. This was largely because so many words had been garbled, either by agents whose written French was poor or in the course of transcription by Jurieu's clerks in Rotterdam, that it would have been difficult, and probably undesirable, to correct the accents and apostrophes while leaving the rest of the spelling untouched. But the text does not always make for an easy read. The use of '[sic]' to indicate error in the original has had to be restricted to the worst instances, or to slips by writers usually more reliable; the reader will have to take it on trust that if the case endings of nouns, pronouns and adjectives do not match, or a singular subject is followed by a plural verb, then the fault lies not with editor or printer but with the original writer or copyist. Commas, full stops and capitals have been used freely to shape the sentences and bring out their meaning, and some words or phrases thought likely to baffle even historians with a good reading knowledge of French have been glossed in the text in square brackets or footnotes. Unusual vocabulary is not however translated if it is easily checked in a modern French dictionary. Nothing has been left out because it could not be read, but a question mark indicates editorial doubt about the spelling of a word, usually a proper name. Seal impressions are noted only when armorial. Endorsements are noted only when they add significantly to the information content, for example by supplying a missing date.

Explanatory footnotes are relatively few; the text should be read in conjunction with the index and the relevant sections of the introduction. To make these easier to find – for the introduction is arranged mainly by topic, rather than to coincide with specific parts of the text – those persons, places and subjects that appear both in the introduction and the text have been indexed for both. Those that appear only in the introduction, like Nottingham's secret adversary the spymaster Eusèbe Renaudot, have not been indexed. But in many cases the index leads to supplementary information in the introduction, as well as being a source in its own right.

'Uniform presentation enhances and adorns a series of record publications; uniform indexing, however, is essential to its efficient use' (P.D.A. Harvey, *Editing Historical Records* (2001), p. 88). If the 240th volume of the Reports and Calendars were to depart significantly from its predecessors in its indexing practices, this would handicap any future union index to the nineteen volumes published since the last general guide (whose indexes must at present all be consulted independently), or indeed any automated index to the whole series. In 2004, however, it is unacceptable to render Leibniz as Leibnitz merely because he sported a T on his previous appearances in the series in 1881 and 1916. Moreover the Commission's own practice within the series has not always been consistent. The general guide to Reports published 1911–57, which appeared in 1966 (Index of Persons) and 1973

(Index of Places), covered *Finch I–III* but often preferred variant forms, whilst *Finch IV* (which appeared too late for the *Guide*) can sometimes provide a third model.

Two further models from outside the series are R.F. Hunnisett's invaluable *Indexing for Editors* (1972), and the National Council on Archives *Rules for the Construction of Personal, Place and Corporate Names* (1997), which the Commission helped to develop and which it follows as a general rule in the construction of headings or access points for its automated systems. Faced with all these options, the editor has made pragmatic choices. Hunnisett (p. 37) recommends indexing Le Havre and La Rochelle under H and R respectively. The NCA *Rules* (p. 77) prefer L for both. The Reports and Calendars have invariably indexed Le Havre under H, so that practice has been continued; but over La Rochelle they have been schizophrenic to the extent of dispersing the references between L and R (*Finch I*) as well as choosing R (*Finch II* and the *Guide*) or L (*Finch III* and *IV*). *Finch V*'s choice of L has been influenced partly by current French usage, which seems marginally to favour L, and partly by the inhabitants' own occasional use of L.R. for their city since at least the seventeenth century.

Proper names are given their original spelling throughout the text, in editorial summary as well as direct quotation. The reader seeking to identify a person or place named in the text should look up that spelling in the index, where it will be cross-referenced if necessary to the main heading. All variants are cross-referenced, unless they would have been adjacent to the main heading. There all variants are listed in alphabetical order, and further biographical or topographical information supplied as needed. The better known the person or place, the fewer the identifiers. Thus foreign heads of state or figures noticed in the *Complete Peerage* or *Dictionary of National Biography* receive the least attention. Dates of death are given only to distinguish between namesakes or to elucidate the text; it may not be clear that one person is long since dead, or that another has been killed off prematurely by rumour. Standard authorities used for identification range from current websites back to the Commission's set of Louis Moréri's *Grand Dictionnaire Historique* (1740 edition), still a useful genealogical guide to Louis XIV's France; it is pleasing to find our man in Paris in 1693 reporting on the eagerness of the *cognoscenti* for the new edition of Moréri then being prepared in Holland (p. 579).

Although the British peerage is indexed as usual under surname rather than title, this has not always seemed appropriate with the French nobility. In the absence of any consistent guidelines, individuals are indexed under the names by which they are best known. The reader will probably look there first, whether cold-calling the index or following up a reference in the text.

So the great Colbert is indexed under Colbert and his son the Minister of Marine under Seignelay, even though both held the same marquisate. Cross-references are supplied in both directions in their case, but not as a general rule. Colbert's brother the Secretary of State Colbert de Croissy, Nottingham's opposite number, is indexed under Colbert with a cross-reference from Croissy; the converse would have been equally justified, since he is often referred to as Croissy.

Titles, ranks, offices and marital status are those held up to an individual's last appearance in the calendar, not those subsequently attained, unless signalled by 'later'. Where a text reference is only to the holder of an office – ecclesiastical, civil, military, diplomatic – the office-holder has where possible been identified, and a cross-reference provided from the office to the man. So while Louvois is indexed under Louvois and his son and successor as War Minister under Barbezieux, his brother, mentioned only as Archbishop of Rheims, appears under Le Tellier, with a cross-reference from Rheims. On the same principle an allusive reference to an unnamed diplomat, accredited from country A to country B, will be indexed under his name, to which cross-references will be supplied from the countries concerned.

The excuse for the length of this section must be the lack of agreed standards. 'Current practice represents a veritable free-for-all' (Michael Hunter, 'How to edit a seventeenth-century manuscript: principles and practice', *The Seventeenth Century*, 10 (1995), 297–8). Existing manuals express regret that editors tend to be 'too busy editing to publish the briefest essay describing their methods and philosophies' (Mary-Jo Kline, *A Guide to Documentary Editing* (1987), p. xiii). If the editor is groping up a blind alley, she can at least provide those following with a pocket torch.

NOTTINGHAM'S OFFICIALS

When Nottingham and his fellow secretary Shrewsbury took office in the spring of 1689 they were in the unusual position of having to set up an intelligence service from scratch. As Nottingham observed in a speech prepared for the defence of his conduct in 1693, 'I came into this office without any communication from my predecessors of their correspondents in France; nay, had they told me them, it had been treachery to have corresponded with them and more so to have relied on them, being in the interests of the late King, which were linked with those of France itself' (W.A. Aiken, *The Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham* (1941), p. 126). Even for ordinary business he had no predecessor to consult. Instead he sought advice from Sir Robert Southwell, who was married to his first cousin and had extensive experience of government. Southwell's 'M[emorial] to E of N about the Secretary's office', dated 6 March 1688–9, recommended 'That

there be those in the office who are able to write Latin, in the stile of busines; to understand Dutch; but especially to write and translate into French, in some perfection. And that fitt ciphers be gotten, and studyed by one of the clerkes who is to be relyed on, for cyphering and uncyphering what occurs'. After outlining the ordinary business of the office he advised Nottingham to 'think also of spys, and intelligence', and keep three concurrent memorandum books: 'one small book, to enter things of highest moment', partly in cipher; 'next a bigger book for other secretts of less account'; and finally the biggest book for 'discourses with ambassadors, or debates in Councill or the like', which could be produced in public if Nottingham ever needed to justify his conduct (BL Additional MS. 38861, ff. 46–9).

Nottingham followed the spirit of this advice rather than the letter. In 1690 and 1691 he did keep minutes of meetings of the Cabinet Committee, which took place in his own office (*Memoirs of Thomas Earl of Ailesbury* (Roxburghe Club, 1890), I.298), but only on separate sheets of paper for private reference (calendared in *Finch III*, pp. 378–412). He kept formal records of naval business, however, as it became customary in 1689–93 for either house of Parliament to request access to these, or to transcripts of them, before holding a debate on naval affairs early in the new session (J.A. Johnston, 'Parliament and the Navy 1688–1714' (Sheffield Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1968), pp. 34–6). Nottingham's naval Entry Book and Letter Books I and IV (all calendared in *Finch II–V*) proved useful weapons in his war with Admiral Russell in 1692 (see also nos. N.M. 34 and 44 calendared on pp. 822 and 824 below, cited as N.M. 28 and 29 in Henry Horwitz, *Revolution Politicks* (1968), p. 129). His papers are fuller and more accurate on this issue than the same material in other sources (John Ehrman, *The Navy in the War of William III 1689–1697* (1953), p. 400 note 5). After the Smyrna fleet disaster of 1693 he invited a delegation of Levant merchants to view Letter Book III, containing copies of his letters to Blathwayt. 'When these gentlemen read these things with their own eyes and saw, [from] the dates of these letters, how early and importunate a solicitor he had been on their behalf, they were extremely surprised, declaring it was more than they could have imagined [and] all that they could have wished' (Aiken, *The Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham*, p. 123). Letter Book II, however, was not for display. It contained copies of his letters not only to diplomats and colonial officials but also to Pierre Jurieu, the head of his intelligence service in Rotterdam.

Nottingham also took on board Southwell's advice regarding the qualities required in his officials, but he looked for them in his under secretaries rather than his clerks. Other under secretaries might go on to become secretaries of state themselves, but Nottingham kept the direction of policy in his own hands and prized industry, loyalty and discretion in his subordinates above ambition. Since 1689 he had had the same two under secretaries. Richard

Warre had been an under secretary to Sir Joseph Williamson, and again to Viscount Preston during the final months of James II's reign. He was kept on by Nottingham and established a good relationship with both the Earl and Countess, as can be seen from her references in *Finch III* to 'Dick' (confirmed as Warre in J.C. Sainty, 'A public servant of Somerset extraction. Richard Warre c. 1649–1730', *Somerset and Dorset Notes & Queries*, XXX pt. 304 (Sept. 1976), 199–203). It was Warre who was Nottingham's confidential secretary for intelligence, keeping most of the relevant letter book, endorsing agents' reports, and sometimes corresponding in his own name with Jurieu or with Dr John Wallis, the government's consultant cryptanalyst. He left office in November 1693 along with Nottingham, and although the latter gave him a glowing reference in 1695 as a man of great experience and ability, most diligent and indefatigable, and of irreproachable fidelity (*Downshire I* (1924), p. 465), he was not employed again as under secretary until Nottingham's second administration of 1702–4.

The other under secretary was Nottingham's own brother Edward Finch, M.P. for Cambridge University since 1690, from whom there are three long letters in this volume (pp. 91–2, 257–8, 275–7). They mainly concern his decision to retire in April 1693 to their brother Henry's parsonage in Lancashire. His health had been ruined, he claimed, by 'care fear anxiety anger impatience fasting' in Parliament, and overwork in the office. 'At the price of my lungs and right arm I have purchased the reputation of negligence, and you by working like a post horse have gained the censure of infidelity.' That Nottingham must often have attended the office on a Sunday is confirmed by the dates of receipt endorsed in his hand on many of the letters below. Another brother, Heneage Finch, told Parliament that 'he never goes to bed before all orders and dispatches are executed and leaves them not till the next morning' (Henry Horwitz (ed.), *The Parliamentary Diary of Narcissus Luttrell 1691–1693* (1972), p. 332).

In Lancashire Edward recovered his health, taking orders in 1695 and becoming a noted composer of church music. As his successor he recommended John Isham, a family friend who had been an undergraduate at Christ's College in the 1670s and a fellow in the 1680s along with both Edward and Henry Finch (see *Finch III*, pp. 178–82, 188–9, for the arrangements made between them with regard to the new fellowships endowed by Sir John Finch). Isham was duly appointed under secretary for the remainder of Nottingham's term of office, and evidently gave satisfaction. In 1695 Nottingham recommended him unsuccessfully both for his old post, as 'a gentleman of strict vertue and great application to businesse', and to succeed Edward in his university seat – he was narrowly defeated – and employed him again himself as under secretary in 1703–4, holding the post open for him for a year (p. 91; BL Add. MS. 29588, f. 29; Add. MS. 72532,

ff. 29, 32; J.C. Sainty (comp.), *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Officials of the Secretaries of State 1660–1782* (1973), pp. 28, 78, 83, 114; Eveline Cruickshanks, Stuart Handley and D.W. Hayton (eds.), *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1690–1715* (2002), II.49–52, III.1030–1, IV.472–6, V.948; Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (1857), III.81; Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001), VIII. 820).

For two major functions – law enforcement, and courier services – Nottingham and his under secretaries were able to draw on the large pool of King's Messengers who belonged to the royal household. There were forty in 1689, thirty in 1690–2, and forty again in 1693 (Priscilla Scott Cady and Henry L. Cady, *The English Royal Messengers Service 1685–1750. An Institutional Study* (1999), pp. 9, 111, and p. 1 for a description of the duties for which the Messengers were employed by the secretaries of state). They also had access to the government postal service. For ordinary clerical duties, however, each secretary of state had no more than six clerks and one chief clerk (listed in Sainty, *Officials of the Secretaries of State*, pp. 34, 37, with further biographical details in the alphabetical list on pp. 63–115. Secretary for French Tongue was a sinecure: *ibid.*, p. 47). One of the clerks, Thomas Armstrong, kept Nottingham's accounts throughout both his periods of office. He had been Nottingham's chief clerk in 1689–90 and was to be so again in 1702–4, but when Nottingham became senior secretary in 1690 he took over Shrewsbury's chief clerk Robert Yard.

Yard was another Williamson protégé who had served the secretaries of state continuously since 1668 (apart from some overseas service in 1669–70), initially as a clerk and since 1689 as chief clerk, first to Shrewsbury and then to Nottingham. From the early 1670s until 1702 he also held the part-time post of Writer of Gazette (Sainty, *Officials of the Secretaries of State*, pp. 4, 44–5, 119; Cruickshanks, Handley and Hayton, *House of Commons 1690–1715*, V.947–8). The *London Gazette* was compiled and edited under the direction of the secretaries of state at their offices in Whitehall. Official announcements and digests of foreign news were disseminated through the *Gazette*, which appeared on Mondays and Thursdays, on the last of the covering dates in its tag-line. Whereas the equivalent French publication, the *Gazette de France*, was edited by its proprietor, who kept the profits (see below), Yard was paid a regular salary by the printer for editing the *London Gazette*, and the profits were divided equally between the secretaries of state. Nottingham may have used his share to pay his officials (Sainty, *Officials of the Secretaries of State*, p. 4 note 20).

Generally it was left to Nottingham, Warre and Yard to select and edit material for the *Gazette* from the news bulletins enclosed in Blathwayt's letters, and from other sources including despatches from diplomats and

reports from spies. William III was less *dirigiste* than Louis XIV about the content of the *Gazette* or its occasional supplements. A rare exception occurred in August 1692 when Blathwayt sent Nottingham an account of Grandval's trial 'to be made publick to satisfy the world of so detestable a conspiracy' (*Finch IV*, pp. 359, 366). As the account is missing from Nottingham's papers it was presumably sent directly as copy to Edward Jones, the King's printer in the Savoy. The supplements do not mention the *Gazette* but are listed under Jones in Donald Wing *et al.* (comps.), *Short-Title Catalogue ... 1641–1700*, IV (1998), pp. 502–4. This is Wing T2373. It was also printed in Holland in French, Dutch and English.

The King also controlled the presentation of exceptionally good or bad news from the battlefield. On 6 July 1693 Nottingham received from Blathwayt two first-hand accounts in French of one of the few successes of that summer's campaign, the forcing of the French lines at Dottignies, 'out of which his Majesty is pleased to order a relation to be drawn and publish't in English'. This duly appeared in the next day's *Gazette* (see pp. 190–1 below). A fortnight later he received an account in English of the battle of Landen, written 'by his Majestie's particular command and such as may be fitt to be publish't' (p. 201). The aftermath of the battle is treated in some detail on pp. lxxxix–xciii below to illustrate the receipt and processing of news.

The *London Gazette* was published in French as well as English. A French Translator of Gazette, Lewis Delafaye, was paid a pound a week from 1679 to 1710. The French version did not include advertisements – which allowed it a more generous layout – but the news content was identical, as Madeleine Fabre has confirmed after comparing both journals for 1694 (Jean Sgard (ed.), *Dictionnaire des Journaux 1600–1789: A–I* (1991), art. 516 'Gazette de Londres', pp. 470–1). It was intended both for purchase by Huguenots and for free distribution overseas. As with the main gazette, the number of copies printed was market-sensitive. Detailed printer's accounts have survived among Sir William Trumbull's papers; during his secretaryship of state (1695–7) between 11,000 and 22,750 copies of each English number were printed, and between 500 and 1,000 of each French, a much higher proportion of the latter being given away for propaganda purposes (BL Add. MS. 72576, previously Trumbull Add. MS. 113. For the Delafayes see Sainty, *Officials of the Secretaries of State*, pp. 45, 74–5, and *idem*, 'A Huguenot civil servant: the career of Charles Delafaye, 1677–1762', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, XXII no. 5 (1975), 398–413).

The *London Gazette* did not knowingly publish false information, but there were often striking omissions ('E.S. de Beer, 'The English newspapers from 1695 to 1702', in Ragnhild Hatton and J.S. Bromley (eds.), *William III and Louis XIV. Essays by and for Mark Thomson* (1968), pp. 118–19). The reason

could be as innocent as the weather. If the packet boat was late the news might be stale before it could appear in print. In September 1693 the Dutch mails were badly delayed, as the *Gazette* noted several times, issuing a supplement when three arrived together on the 9th (Wing T938B). Nottingham was back from a ten-day holiday before Blathwayt's letters of 7/17 and 11/21 September arrived, which might explain why the bulletins enclosed were not drawn on for the *Gazette*. Equally, they might have been suppressed in case they exposed prematurely William's inability to relieve Charleroi or create an effective diversion; for nothing could be printed which might damage Allied relations or assist the enemy. The French read the *Gazette*, sometimes in dismay at finding 'des listes tres exactes du nombre et de la force de nos vaisseaux' (p. 364). Nottingham was always ready to flaunt a Paris byline, but was careful to protect the identity of his informants. The warning he received in May 1693 that one of his clerks might be a traitor (see p. xlii) can only have led to a tightening of security procedures. The secret service papers bear no editorial marks and it seems probable that excerpts or recensions were made by Warre under Nottingham's direction which were then passed on to Yard for the *Gazette* (cf. *HMC Portland VII* (1907), pp. 187–8). As an additional precaution, in October 1693 Nottingham asked Jurieu to write to him privately about the recruitment of new agents 'dans un petit morceau de papier sans l'insérer dans la lettre qui contient les nouvelles ordinaires de Paris'. And he added with emphasis that there was no way their identities could ever be exposed by Whitehall (p. 333). On leaving office a month later he may have taken all the secret service papers with him (apart from a few current letters) at least partly for security reasons.

In 1676 Robert Yard had temporarily lost his job for allowing information which should not have gone beyond the Privy Council to be leaked inaccurately in a newsletter (Alan Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage in the Reign of Charles II, 1660–1685* (1994), p. 45). He had long since lived this down and still had a profitable sideline in newsletter writing (BL Add. MS. 34096, *passim*). In his official capacity he had become a master of spin. His skill as Writer of Gazette or Gazetteer drew ironical tributes from the Whigs. 'To do him justice', they wrote, 'he seems to be not only a master of style, but of the matter he treats about; for he makes no difficulty to conceal, displace and perplex things at discretion; so that an ordinary observer must be oftentimes at a loss to know how the world goes' ('Remarks upon the London Gazette, relating to the Streights Fleet, and the Battle of Landen in Flanders', reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, XI (1814), p. 462). On Nottingham's fall his flexible pen was put with alacrity at the service of the new regime.

After surrendering his seals to the King at Kensington on 6 November, Nottingham returned to his office to start removing his papers. He paused to

draft what Professor Horwitz calls 'a fragmentary account in Nottingham's hand of his interview with the King' (*Revolution Politicks*, p. 146), but which seems more likely to be a self-contained notice intended for publication in the *Gazette*. It begins with the usual byline, 'Whitehall, Monday the 6th.' It goes on to describe in the third person Nottingham's surrender of the seals, and ends by stating that the King 'was pleas'd to declare himselfe entirely satisfyd of his Lordship's fidelity and zeal to his service', as is confirmed elsewhere (p. 280; BL Add. MS. 17677NN, f. 338). It was never published. The only reference to the government reshuffle made by the *Gazette* of 6–9 November was that on the 6th the King had announced in Council the reappointment of Russell to command the fleet (*London Gazette*, no. 2921). The faithful Warre was obliged to write to Nottingham's friends overseas explaining the course of events in case they imagined he had been dismissed in disgrace (see pp. 280–1 for Sir Paul Rycaut's response, printed in Pearl Finch, *History of Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland* (1901), I.192–3).

It may be a coincidence that Yard was the only member of Nottingham's senior staff to be kept on. After four months he was promoted to under secretary, and in 1701 entered Parliament in the Whig interest. When Nottingham returned to power in 1702 he was widely expected to remain in office, but lost his seat, his under secretaryship and his job at the *Gazette*. He was pensioned off with a commissionership of prizes. An experimental period followed during which the Writership was downgraded to a clerical post and given to Lewis Delafaye's son Charles, while the editorial duties were divided among the four under secretaries. The resulting confusion persuaded Robert Harley of the need for a strong government director of communications, and he upgraded the post again and gave it to Richard Steele (Cruickshanks, Handley and Hayton (eds.), *House of Commons 1690–1715*, II.685–6, V.947–8; Sainty, *Officials of the Secretaries of State*, pp. 44, 119).

NOTTINGHAM'S PAPERS

Nottingham was to spend much of the next eight and a half years in Rutland, supervising the building of Burley-on-the-Hill and raising his family – half his thirty children survived into adulthood (Henry Horwitz, draft entry on Nottingham for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*). But he remained in London for the remainder of the session, and appears to have taken the opportunity to set his papers in order. Among his uncalendared papers relating to Scotland, for example, is a note recording that on 15 January 1693–4 he gave Trenchard 'Langton's letters', presumably letters received from the disillusioned Jacobite Archibald Cockburn of Langton (see pp. xxvi and 64). He also noted on one of Blathwayt's private letters that he had returned to him on 30 January 1693–4 the document enclosed in it.

Blathwayt had petitioned the King successfully in July for the full annual salary of a secretary of state, but the King had signified his approval on this document in mistake for the petition. It had been accepted at the time and was now being returned to Blathwayt for safe keeping (pp. 173, 198; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, p. 215).

Compromising material may have been burned. Nottingham delivered to the Commons on 15 January – they passed it on to the Lords on 12 February – a copy of the letter of [22 May/] 1 June about the French fleet leaving Brest which he had shown on receipt to the Cabinet Committee (pp. 554–7; *House of Lords MSS., N.S. I: 1693–95* (1900), pp. 101, 292–4), but there is no sign among his papers of an earlier warning to the same effect which he appears to have ignored (see pp. lii–liii).

Naturally he retained documents which reflected well on him, such as the evidence that Marlborough's successful attacks on Cork and Kinsale had been proposed by himself as early as October 1689, and pushed through in 1690 in the teeth of opposition, 'all except Lord Nott[ingham] being very much against it' as the Queen reported to the King in August 1690 (pp. 818–19; Winston S. Churchill, *Marlborough: His Life and Times* (1947), I.288).

During the King's absence abroad all diplomatic representatives were ordered to correspond with his secretary at war William Blathwayt on foreign affairs and with the secretaries of state only on domestic matters (R.A. Preston, 'William Blathwayt and the evolution of a royal personal secretariat', *History*, XXXIV (1949), 36). Some diplomats duplicated their despatches to Nottingham, but his papers are generally thin on diplomatic correspondence after March, and particularly for the autumn of 1693. He was careful to hand over all papers of current value to Sir John Trenchard, who was left as sole secretary until March 1694. This is illustrated by the absence of papers relating to the attack on St. Malo impending when he left office – another of his own projects, on which papers are known to have existed (see pp. xlv, cxl). He left at Whitehall all diplomatic ciphers in current use, taking away only a collection of older codes and ciphers of purely historical interest (see pp. xlviii–lii, 813–14). His surviving private papers, calendared and uncalendared, are also notable for the absence of any treaty papers dating from his first administration. Others were less scrupulous. When he returned to office in 1702 Richard Warre had much ado to find any copies of treaties concluded in the early part of William's reign (Mark A. Thomson, *The Secretaries of State 1681–1782* (1932), p. 144).

Even with modern finding aids it is not always easy to locate records originating in Nottingham's office among the extensive State Papers in the National Archives (Public Record Office). 'The archives of early modern statesmen in the British Library are lovingly calendared in great detail, with

each letter indexed and every correspondent precisely identified, whereas no comprehensive index of correspondents is available for documents of exactly the same type in the Public Record Office' (Andrew Prescott, 'The dust of neglected records', *Local History News*, 58 (Spring 2001), 5). Fortunately a substantial proportion of the papers Nottingham left behind in 1693 and 1704 were calendared between 1896 and 1925 in the *Calendars of State Papers Domestic* and *Colonial* for 1689–93 and 1702–4. Often the correspondents and topics are the same as in *Finch II–V*, and each series complements rather than duplicates the other, enhancing the historical value of both. Electronic series details (e.g. for SP 42 and 44) provide helpful explanations of transfers between series or changes in their nomenclature since the *Calendars* were published. There is also much complementary material among the Admiralty records, such as ADM 1/4080, letters from the secretaries of state to the Admiralty 1689–94, bound up and indexed at the instigation of William Bridgeman in 1694.

As explained in the Preface above, Nottingham's correspondence as calendared in *Finch II–V* relates almost exclusively to public affairs during his first term of office. He eventually created a much larger uncalendared archive, for he was a man of wide interests who lived to be eighty-two. All his papers not left in the secretaries' office were taken to his new house at Burley and remained there for over a century. On the death in 1826 of his grandson the 4th Earl of Nottingham and 9th Earl of Winchilsea these titles, and his private papers relating to his second ministry of 1702–4, passed into the Finch-Hatton branch of the family, while the bulk of his papers remained at Burley with the ninth Earl's natural son, from whom the present owner is descended. They are now on deposit in the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, and are the major source for any biographical study.

The papers which passed to the Finch-Hattons were divided in turn. Six volumes of Nottingham's papers (among others) were sold to the British Museum by the 11th Earl of Winchilsea in 1874. They consisted of two volumes of letters to him on political topics 1694–1725 (Add. MSS. 29588–9); correspondence with the Methuens in Portugal 1702–4 (Add. MS. 28590); papers relating to naval operations 1702–4 (Add. MS. 29591); papers relating to the Treaty of the Hague, 1698 (Add. MS. 29592); and newsletters from London 1690 and extracts from agents' reports from France 1702–4 (Add. MS. 29593). Closely related papers included three volumes of letters to Nottingham's father-in-law Viscount Hatton, two of them from Nottingham and one from his wife (Add. MSS. 29594–6).

The remaining Nottingham papers held by the Finch-Hattons were deposited by the 14th Earl of Winchilsea with the Northamptonshire Record

Society in 1929, and subsequently transferred to Northamptonshire Record Office. Apart from a volume of 'Observations made by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury' in November 1693 on the naval estimates for 1688–92 (FH 330), and a few political addresses, they consist of five letter books dating from Nottingham's second ministry of 1702–4 (FH 275–7, 279–80).

An overview of all the Finch and Finch-Hatton papers is provided by entries 35 and 36 respectively in the HMC guide to *Principal Family and Estate Collections: Family Names A–K* (Guides to Sources for British History based on the National Register of Archives, 10, 1996), pp. 57–9. An overview of the main papers relating to Nottingham's career is provided by the 'Guide to Manuscript Sources' appended to Professor Horwitz's biography *Revolution Politicks: The Career of Daniel Finch, Second Earl of Nottingham, 1647–1730* (1968), pp. 275–9.

Much of Nottingham's correspondence is duplicated in reverse in the private papers of his contemporaries: the originals of his letters, letter-book copies of theirs. This is the case with the most important series in his general correspondence for 1693, the letters he exchanged with William Blathwayt while Blathwayt was in attendance on the King in Holland and Flanders. Although Blathwayt's papers are now more widely dispersed than those of any other seventeenth-century English statesman, his set of the year's correspondence with Nottingham is largely confined to four volumes: British Library Additional MSS. 24328 and 37992, and National Maritime Museum Phillippis-Southwell MSS. SOU 14 and 15. Nottingham's set is the more complete, as it contains many of the news bulletins and other documents that Blathwayt enclosed. Some of these were circulars also copied to the more important diplomatic agents. Excluding these official enclosures, but counting the private notes that Blathwayt often enclosed in response to Nottingham's request that anything not for the eyes of the Cabinet Committee should be written 'in a distinct letter' (*Finch IV*, p. 30), there are 66 letters from Nottingham to Blathwayt and 76 letters from Blathwayt to Nottingham, written between 9 March and 29 October 1693 (pp. 56–277 *passim*).

Blathwayt's letters to Nottingham were the principal channel by which orders from the King abroad were transmitted to the Queen and her advisers at home, and so they cover the whole field of public affairs. Because Blathwayt held his office by military commission and was not himself a minister of state responsible to Parliament he was obliged to refer to Nottingham many questions with which he was constitutionally unable to deal (*Finch IV*, p. vi; Preston, 'William Blathwayt', pp. 32–43). He was always careful not to encroach on Nottingham's prerogatives but rather to

show his awareness of the disparity in their positions, reinforced by the difference in rank. His private notes, however, reflect the growing confidence between the two men, and his anguished outburst 'For Godsake, my Lord, what ails our admirals...' (p. 187) was met by an off-the-record reply of equal frankness (p. 195). His choice of language always makes clear whether he is speaking for himself or for the King, and how the chain of command is expected to operate.

Blathwayt shared with William, Heinsius and Portland the knowledge that Jurieu was providing Nottingham with intelligence from France, and many of the agents' reports were copied to him. Sometimes he sent Nottingham an intelligence report from another source, resulting in occasional duplication (pp. lxviii–lxix, cl). His correspondence is of much more importance, however, for the general conduct of the war. It is particularly valuable for 1693 because outside the secret service papers there are no other long runs of correspondence comparable to Nottingham's exchanges with Russell and Portland in *Finch II–IV*.

Nottingham's relationship with Russell had broken down irretrievably following the admiral's attempts to justify his own inaction after La Hougue by attacking Nottingham in print and in Parliament. The two men could no longer work together and the King preferred to keep Nottingham. Russell remained Treasurer of the Navy but in January 1693 was replaced in command of the fleet by a triumvirate of admirals, Henry Killigrew, Sir Ralph Delavall and Sir Clowdisley Shovell.

Nottingham had also had some forthright exchanges in 1692 with the Earl of Portland, which had remained private but may have left a residual coolness. They had disagreed fundamentally about war strategy, Nottingham clinging to the belief encouraged by his contacts among the Huguenot exiles that an invasion of the French mainland in strength 'may cause a revolution in France and put an end to the war' (*Finch IV*, p. 428). Portland, speaking for William, thought that a more likely outcome of the diversion of troops to this end would be the loss of key fortresses in Flanders and the consequent collapse not of France but the Netherlands. Only four letters appear to survive from 1693. Portland wrote to Nottingham in May about Irish pensions and the planned raid on Brest (p. 126), and again after Landen describing the battle and its aftermath, ending his letter 'Je vous prie de me continuer vostre amitié' (pp. 220–1). Nottingham sent a carefully considered reply the day after receiving it (Nottingham University Library, PwA 417; his retained draft was erroneously calendared in *Finch IV*, p. 373, although correctly dated 8 August 1693). The correspondence ends with Portland's next letter, criticising 'messieurs du conseil' for an excessive draft of horses from the Guards for Flanders, where he was in command that year of all the

British cavalry (p. 232; John Childs, *The Nine Years' War and the British Army 1688–1697: The Operations in the Low Countries* (1991), p. 69).

The reduction in correspondence was doubtless partly because Nottingham was no longer sole secretary of state. Between 5 May and 29 August 1693 Portland received thirteen letters from Sir John Trenchard (Nottingham University Library, PwA 1407–19). Trenchard's appointment on 23 March to the second secretaryship, with responsibility for the northern department, came after two months of talk about a reshuffle. Nottingham had been sole secretary since Sydney's departure in March 1692, and had himself asked for a colleague to ease his workload. The King needed to appease the Whigs with a greater share in government. It was rumoured that Nottingham would become Lord Chancellor, a post which his father had held and for which he would have been temperamentally well suited. He was unwilling, however, to relinquish his part in the direction of the war (p. 60; Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, III.44; Horwitz, *Revolution Politicks*, p. 141). Instead Sir John Somers became Lord Keeper and Sir John Trenchard a secretary of state. He was inexperienced, but brought back as his under secretaries James Vernon, who had been Shrewsbury's under secretary, and William Bridgeman, who had been an under secretary almost continuously from 1667 to 1692 (Sainty, *Officials of the Secretaries of State*, pp. 27–8, 67, 112). It was Bridgeman who was to go off with the office file of treaty papers (BL Lansdowne MS. 1152B, although see also Add. MS. 72574). Both men were former M.P.s. Vernon had been Nottingham's exact contemporary at Christ Church, and subsequently secretary for many years to the Duke of Monmouth. He was to re-enter Parliament in 1695 and become secretary of state himself from 1697 to 1702 (B.D. Henning (ed.), *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1660–1690* (1983), I.718–19, III.639–40; Cruickshanks, Handley and Hayton (eds.), *The House of Commons 1690–1715*, V.735–45).

Trenchard was a former Exclusionist who had been arrested in connection with the Rye House Plot, and fled to Holland to escape implication in Monmouth's rebellion. Since the Revolution his attitude to Papists – 'extirpate them, or they will extirpate us' – had been extended to Jacobites. In November 1692 he had argued that the reintroduced bill for regulating treason trials, allowing the defendant a copy of the indictment, access to counsel, and other rights, should not take effect until after the war. Nottingham and his brothers, on the other hand, believed it essential to the liberty of the subject. But the bill was not reintroduced again until the winter of 1693, after Nottingham had left office and was at liberty to disagree openly with his Whig colleague. And the Lancashire trials – such a travesty of justice, in the eyes of the Finches, that they brought Edward hurrying back from his Lancashire retreat – did not become an issue until 1694. From

March to November 1693 Nottingham may have been ready enough to relinquish to the zealous Trenchard his distasteful duties as 'a superintendent of police, charged to look after the printers of unlicensed books, the pastors of nonjuring congregations, and the haunters of treason taverns' (Macaulay, *History of England* (1957 ed.), III.378–81, 547–8, IV.105–6; Henning (ed.), *House of Commons 1660–1690*, III.597–9; Cruickshanks, Handley and Hayton (eds.), *House of Commons 1690–1715*, III.1030, 1033–4, V.676–9; Horwitz, *Revolution Politicks*, pp. 149, 153).

Trenchard's letters to Portland, who wanted an expanded counter-intelligence service (*Finch IV*, pp. 160–1), were thus partly concerned with such matters as stationing officials in Dutch post offices in order to monitor suspect mail from England. Trenchard would notify an official of the imminent arrival of such a letter, and if it was anonymous or pseudonymous the recipient could be questioned until he revealed the writer's identity, enabling him to be prosecuted in England (Nottingham University Library, PwA 1418). Trenchard's own surviving private papers are meagre, but they include extensive minutes of meetings of the Cabinet Committee, taken down from 29 March to 24 October 1693 on separate sheets of paper as Nottingham had done (Dorset Record Office, D 60/X4), and ten letters exchanged with Blathwayt in September and October 1693 (D 60/X19, X30). Most of the agents' reports he received after taking over Nottingham's foreign intelligence network in November are in the Public Record Office, but there are five letters from agents in Rochefort, Toulon and Nantes in early 1695 among his own papers (Dorset Record Office, D 60/X26–8). British Library Additional MS. 35855 is his entry book containing his correspondence with Killigrew, Delavall and Shovell in 1693, while the admirals' own set of this correspondence is among Shovell's papers at the Centre for Kentish Studies (U 515/O16), together with their correspondence with the Admiralty and orders to the ships under their command (U 515/O14–15). Their autobiographical account of their proceedings in relation to Rooke's squadron is in BL Add. MS. 35898, ff. 65–88.

For Trenchard had not only assumed responsibility for the northern department and counter-intelligence. He had also taken over, at least in name, Nottingham's responsibility for the war at sea. This was to be bad for Nottingham and bad for the war effort.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

Nottingham's intelligence about Jacobite activities, assassination plots and French espionage came mainly from informants in Jacobite circles or from confessions made under interrogation. Intelligence of this character up to the end of 1692 was incorporated in the general correspondence or appendices

of *Finch II–IV* and discussed in the introductions to these volumes (see especially *Finch III*, pp. liii–lv, 308–72, and *Finch IV*, pp. xlii–xliii). Similar intelligence from domestic sources for 1693 is incorporated in the general correspondence below, and supplementary intelligence from foreign sources for 1691–3 is in the secret service section.

As 1693 was a quiet year for plots and invasion scares, and Trenchard in any case took over counter-intelligence in April, Nottingham's principal informants were soon reduced to reporting on conspiracies being hatched by his political enemies to bring him down. This was particularly the case with his Jacobite mole, Richard Kingston, for domestic intelligence 'the best agent the Government ever had' (Paul Hopkins, 'Sham Plots and Real Plots in the 1690s', in Eveline Cruickshanks (ed.), *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689–1759* (1982), pp. 92, 94, 102–3). Kingston continued his daily attendance on 'some of the most notorious of their Majesties' enemies' (p. 13) and initially sent Nottingham regular reports which included a list of officers depended on by the Jacobites in the event of an invasion (p. 61). In April, however, he sought Nottingham's permission to wait on Trenchard (pp. 72, 89), and thereafter his routine reports went to Trenchard. He now contacted Nottingham only when he needed an introduction or wished to pass on a personal warning, for example about the coffee-house verses circulating at Nottingham's expense after the Smyrna fleet disaster (p. 235). He remained in the service of successive secretaries of state including Sir William Trumbull, whose papers include many of his letters and reports (BL Add. MS. 72570, ff. 1–117, partly calendared in *Downshire I*).

Nottingham received similar warnings from other quarters. His Tory neighbour Gilbert Dolben, M.P. for Peterborough, wrote in September to advise him that an 'itinerant cabal' of his Russell and Wharton enemies was drumming up local support for replacing him by Sunderland (pp. 243–4). From Paris Samuel Poulion confirmed that reports were coming in of 'les factions des Wigts et des Thoris, dont les premiers s'assemblent chez Mylord Sunderland' (p. 613). The informer Richard Holland, who had been responsible for the conviction of Robert Young the forger in February by telling Nottingham about Young's attempts to suborn him (pp. 34–5; Macaulay, *History*, III. 458), reported further attempts at subornation in October by the Whartons and their agents: 'Tis no matter what you say, so that you downe with Nottingham' (pp. 259, 260–3, 264–5, 270–1, cited in Hopkins, 'Sham Plots', p. 107 n. 70, by temporary references now superseded). When Holland hinted that another informer of his acquaintance, Richard Morris, had a friend who could slander Nottingham to the Queen, Goodwin Wharton quickly vetoed this: 'Pray go with all hast and put him of[f] of that for if he dus doo so we are all spoyled for that is the rong way to worke'. Holland was told about the charges being prepared against Nottingham by the Whartons and two more M.P.s, the

Whartons' unscrupulous ally John Arnold and Sir Francis Blake, normally a government supporter but credulous about Jacobites in high places. These charges included the absurd but persistent allegation that Nottingham had connived at the counterfeiting of his own seal (pp. 64, 262, 270, 271–2, 273; Aiken, *The Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham*, pp. 128–9).

FRENCH ASSASSINS

In the early 1690s perhaps one in twenty-five of Greater London's population was a French asylum seeker. The population of London, Westminster and the adjacent parts of Middlesex and Surrey was probably between 500,000 and 600,000; between 40,000 and 50,000 Huguenots (possibly more) had fled to England; half of them had settled in London. They do not seem to have been regarded by the authorities as a security threat in wartime. Roman Catholics of any nationality were perceived as a greater threat, but were much easier to keep tabs on. The tax assessments for 1693–4 indicate that there were only 232 known or reported Roman Catholics heading households in London and Westminster, and another 64 nonjurors, both categories being liable to pay tax at double the standard rate (Museum of London, *The Quiet Conquest: the Huguenots 1685 to 1985* (1985), pp. 51, 111; F. Colsoni, *Le Guide de Londres pour les Estrangers* (1693), address to the reader; Craig Spence, *London in the 1690s. A Social Atlas* (2000), pp. 11, 63–4).

One potential assassin featured in *Finch V* conformed to the stereotype as a French Roman Catholic lodging with another (a Mrs Butler in Upper St. Martin's Lane). He was a gunsmith known as Courvalett or St. Germain or La Bocherie, who had been convicted in France six years earlier of assassination from ambush, and condemned to be broken on the wheel. He had escaped from prison and fled to England where he had found some kind of employment with James II's standing army. Since the Revolution he had been living on the charity of Roman Catholics and Jacobites. In 1690 he had secretly visited St. Germain and offered his services to James II; on his return to London he had been imprisoned at Nottingham's instance, but released on bail. At the beginning of 1693 he reappeared openly in France, at first in his native Caen, where he was publicly received by the Intendant and other notables, then in Paris, and finally in James's entourage at St. Germain. This was reported first by an Allied agent in Caen to his chief Le Cavelier in Rotterdam, then by Le Cavelier to Jurieu, and by Jurieu to Nottingham. All took seriously (as Heinsius had done in 1690) the possibility that he had earned his pardon by offering to assassinate William III on the King's return to Holland; there seemed no other explanation of why a convicted assassin should be suffered (or indeed caressed) in France. Le Cavelier was sent to the Hague to warn Heinsius, who promised to alert Portland, and Jurieu

suggested that Le Cavelier, who knew Courvalett by sight, having met him in London, should be given some nominal post in William III's household or commissariat so that he could identify the assassin if he turned up near the King (pp. 316–19, 669–70, 676; *Finch II*, pp. 410–11, 434).

Nothing more is heard of Courvalett, but there were developments in the case of a real or sham plot first brought to Nottingham's notice in 1692. Mademoiselle d'Alençon, a French refugee living in Berlin, claimed to have knowledge of a plan to poison William III being hatched by Jesuits in Paris, with the possible connivance of Madame de Maintenon. She reported this to her friend Hugo Hughes, who had been Etherege's secretary in the 1680s at Ratisbon (now Regensburg), the seat of the Imperial diet, and had stayed on after the Revolution as the new government's agent, although without full accreditation. Since July 1692 William had been planning his recall on grounds of misbehaviour, with George Stepney, the chargé d'affaires in Berlin, nominated to succeed him. Stepney was meanwhile ideally placed to interrogate Mademoiselle d'Alençon in Berlin and report his findings to Nottingham. Blathwayt and Nottingham both expected these to be negative, and Stepney indeed concluded that it was a fictitious plot designed to obtain money. Further letters from Mademoiselle d'Alençon to Hughes, whom she found more congenial or credulous, raised the stakes: another assassin was being sent to kill the Duke of Savoy. Hughes was now on his way back to London, where in December one of her letters was mistakenly directed to William's secretary Constantin Huygens; although Hughes never saw the letter, which was being studied by the King, Huygens told him that Mademoiselle d'Alençon had named one of the Jesuits as Père Esat. Her interrogation was now the responsibility of the Brandenburg chief minister; Stepney had been found employment elsewhere, and Hughes was allowed another year at Ratisbon where his wife and four children were still living. He had not yet left London on 6 February 1693 when a mysterious stranger called at his lodgings in Charles Street and asked his landlady whether a foreigner called Mr Esat lodged there, and if not, whether Hughes could put him in touch with Esat. 'I calling the name *Esat* to mind, supposed it might be the same with *Pere Esat* above mentioned. I declined to see him before I had received my Lord Nottingham's directions and desired he would call to morrow morning which he promised to do but never did.' He reported the sequel to Blathwayt in April. 'I concluded it boaded no good to me when I heard of his name, and it succeeded no better; for I have been since twice set upon in the night near my own lodging in the street by severall persons unknown and have been above a fortnight confin'd to my bedd by a wound I received from them'. Blathwayt and Nottingham did not know what to make of the whole affair (pp. 100–2, 109–10, 115; *Finch IV*, pp. 321, 468, 476, 496; S.P. 105/80, ff. 302, 307; S.P. 105/82, f. 74; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*,

pp. 21, 24; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1694–95*, p. 469; *Cal. S.P. Dom 1695*, p. 39; Susan Spens, *George Stepney, 1663–1707. Diplomat and Poet* (1997), pp. 55–7).

Nottingham's secret service papers throw little light on Grandval's plot of 1692. Jurieu sent such intelligence as he had about assassination plots directly to the King (pp. 307–8, 694–5; BL Add. MS. 57943, f. 18, a detailed description of a potential assassin known as Heurtebise). Samuel Poulion, the most reliable Allied agent in France, had no inside information, although he sent warnings that William was regarded as the Gordian knot of the war (pp. 426, 485); and he offered no opinion after the event about the extent of James II's guilty knowledge. He was convinced however that Louis XIV was not involved. 'Ce qu'il y a au moins de certain c'est que le Roy n'est point entré là dedans, cela n'étant point de son caractère' (p. 466 – his meaning here is unambiguous, since he always distinguishes James as 'le Roy Jaques', unlike Jacobite writers). Portland, who had more knowledge of the plot, believed that both kings were involved, and Queen Mary became sure 'that he who I dare no more name father was consenting to the barbarous murder of my husband' (R. Doebner (ed.), *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England (1689–1693) together with her letters* (1886), p. 54).

THE FRENCH OFFICIALS

Nottingham's secret service papers refer frequently to the French officials whose duties corresponded most closely to his own. Some interesting comparisons and contrasts emerge.

The secretary of state responsible for the navy, Colbert's son Seignelay, had died in 1690. He and most others had assumed that he would be succeeded by his friend and colleague François d'Usson, Marquis de Bonrepaus, intendant general of the French navy since 1683. Better remembered by British historians as a major source for the reign of James II, to whom he was three times accredited as envoy, Bonrepaus was a career naval official who had originally been sent to England to report on the state of the navy (Macaulay, *History*, I. 224, 539–41, II. 217). His failure to succeed Seignelay soured him and he had shown little enthusiasm for naval affairs since. He was thought to have neglected his duties at the time of La Hougue, and in September 1692 Madame de Maintenon told him that he only had two friends left at court, Cavoye and Racine (p. 485). It was a surprise when he was given an important mission to Denmark a few weeks later (pp. lxxxiii, cxxix, 490, 491, 496).

Bonrepaus was one of the chief critics of the man who did get Seignelay's job, Louis Phélypeaux, Comte de Pontchartrain, and it was his suspect testimony that earned Pontchartrain the sobriquet of 'fossoyeur de la marine' (grave-

digger of the navy). Historians are only now beginning the work of rehabilitation, as in the case of Nottingham at the admiralty (Daniel Dessert, *La Royale. Vaisseaux et marins du Roi-Soleil* (1996), pp. 33–7, 58–9; Philippe de Villette-Mursay, *Mes campagnes de mer sous Louis XIV, avec un Dictionnaire des personnages et des batailles*, ed. Michel Vergé-Franceschi (1991), art. Pontchartrain, pp. 388–90). According to Bonrepaus, Pontchartrain himself admitted that he knew nothing about the navy or trade and was too old to learn. But he was only four years older than Nottingham and had come to prominence during ten successful years as a reforming premier président of the parlement of Brittany, the heartland of the navy. His financial and administrative skills were legendary and he became intendant of finances in 1687 and controller-general of finances in 1689. He remained in charge of finance as well as the navy (a combination also held by the great Colbert) until he became chancellor of France in 1699. He was the dominant minister of the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV, and Saint-Simon's well-known panegyric on his abilities, character and personality now seems well merited.

The evidence of *Finch V* supports this view. Pontchartrain was renowned as a fast learner and quickly mastered his naval brief. In the winter of 1691–2 he had Bonrepaus set up an improved register of seamen, and he instituted a comprehensive training programme for naval cadets, for which 1,500 sons of gentlemen were interviewed and 400 selected. Nottingham was sent a detailed memorandum and exhorted to follow suit, which it was reckoned would only cost £18–20,000 (p. 693). Another change introduced by Pontchartrain, 'qui a une parfaite cognoissance de la marine' as the Allied agent reported, was to follow in January 1693. Under Seignelay the captain and officers of every ship had been transferred every year. Pontchartrain ordered that as far as possible they should be left in the same ship, for they would have got to know her sailing qualities and how to correct her faults (pp. 645–6). The ships that put the Smyrna convoy to flight in 1693 were thus much more effective units than those put to flight at La Hougue in 1692.

Since 1669 the French minister of marine had had central control over appointments and promotions, construction, repair and maintenance, material and finance. This was a far wider remit than that enjoyed by the English secretary of state responsible for the navy, whose operational power might be increasing as the need for speed and secrecy in wartime became apparent, but who still had to contend with sluggish boards and dockyards and who made no serious attempt to wrest patronage from the admirals (Etienne Taillemite, 'Le Haut-commandement de la marine française de Colbert à la Revolution', in Martine Acerra, José Merino and Jean Meyer (eds.), *Les Marines de Guerre Européennes, XVII–XVIIIe siècles* [1985], 249–67; N.A.M. Rodger, 'Patronage and competence', in *ibid.*, pp. 237–48).

corresponded with all the diplomatic representatives (although the secretaries for war and the navy might also do so). Moreover he had strong ties of blood or patronage with many admirals and with the leading naval administrators, highly able men kept on by Pontchartrain: Michel Bégon de Montfermeil, the premier commis de la marine; his brother and namesake Michel Bégon the intendant de marine at Rochefort, Desclouseaux the intendant at Brest, Vauvré the intendant at Toulon. Throughout Nottingham's administration these were the most important of the seven port intendants, frequently named in his papers, and it was they who were to bring down his spy network in 1696. For the intendants were not mere dockyard supervisors like the English naval commissioners in the outports, but had proconsular powers over the local population, including extensive police powers. In Paris security was in the equally capable hands of the reforming police chief La Reynie and the governors of the prisons. Croissy was thus able to leave counter-intelligence to these men and concentrate on foreign intelligence, much of which he coordinated through the Abbé Eusèbe Renaudot.

Renaudot is never mentioned in Nottingham's papers, and his role as chief of an intelligence bureau was probably unsuspected at this time, although he was known to be 'Master of the King of France's News Mint' (*The Present State of Europe*, Aug. 1693). Like Jurieu, he had a high profile as a theologian and writer. He was an Academician specialising in oriental languages, and he ran the family business, the weekly *Gazette de France*. This had been founded by his grandfather and was inherited by the abbé from his father in 1679. He edited it until his death in 1720, writing much of the copy himself at his office in the Louvre galleries at the heart of government. As an instrument of propaganda it was taken seriously. Not only was Croissy consulted about what should be included, but even Louis XIV. On 23 October/2 November 1693, for example, Croissy returned the menu for the next issue to his *chef de bureau* annotated to show the King's choices (*Lettres inédites de l'abbé E. Renaudot au ministre J.-B. Colbert* ... (1931), pp. 23–4; A. Villien, *L'Abbé Eusèbe Renaudot* (1904), pp. 41–2, 48–53; Pierre Burger, 'Spymaster to Louis XIV: a study of the papers of the Abbé Eusèbe Renaudot', in Eveline Cruickshanks (ed.), *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689–1759* (1982), 119; Pierre-François Burger, art. Eusèbe Renaudot in Jean Sgard (ed.), *Dictionnaire des Journalistes 1660–1789* (1999), pp. 833–8). As with the *London Gazette*, special numbers were issued when there was a plot to be exposed, a victory to be celebrated or a defeat to be explained away.

Renaudot's secret role was a natural development of his public one. As a fluent English speaker and penetrating observer of the English political scene he had an expertise which appealed to Croissy, who had been ambassador in England from 1668 to 1674 and had been influencing the parliamentary

process and court politics through his successors there ever since. When the Revolution closed these orthodox channels of communication Renaudot was charged with obtaining undercover intelligence instead. The results fill seven volumes of Renaudot's own papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds français nouvelles acquisitions 7847–7492 and Clairambault 1097), and there is much related material among La Reynie's papers (Fonds fr. n. a. 5247–9), the Correspondance Politique in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, the Marine records in the Archives Nationales, and the archives of the Bastille in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. For Renaudot reported to Pontchartrain as well as Croissy, and was involved in the interrogation of suspected spies held in the Bastille. He also came to control the intelligence links between St. Germain and Versailles.

ST. GERMAIN

'London poured out large amounts of money to keep abreast of what was happening at Saint-Germain, and to monitor all the secrets passing between there and Versailles' (Hugh Douglas, *Jacobite Spy Wars: Moles, Rogues and Treachery* (1999), pp. 6–7). This may well have been a popular perception at the time, but nothing could be further from the truth. As those most familiar with Jacobite sources attest, 'There is no evidence that the ministries of William III or Queen Anne succeeded in planting a spy in the secretariat at Saint-Germain' (Eveline Cruickshanks and Edward Corp (eds.), *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites* (1995), p. xxi). There is no evidence that Nottingham even attempted it, and there would have been little point in looking outside the secretariat, for the thousand-odd residents of St. Germain were so notoriously indiscreet that they were never trusted with inside information. If Nottingham could learn as much or more from his reliable source in Paris, Samuel Poulion, he would have been foolish to take the political risk of being caught in correspondence with St. Germain. As a result the Jacobites were constantly complaining about the failure of French counter-intelligence to arrest any British spies: 'On ne se donne pas la moindre peine de rechercher les espions du Prince d'Orange, qui en a certainement a St. Germain, puisque tout ce qui passe par ce canal est sceu tot ou tard' (BN Fonds français n. a. 7487, f. 22). In fact even Portland and William, usually better informed in this respect than Nottingham, could show surprising ignorance of events at St. Germain (Hopkins, 'Sham Plots and Real Plots', pp. 91–2, 103). When William's real spies were arrested in the French ports and Paris in 1696, they were tortured to make them reveal their non-existent contacts at St. Germain (Lucien Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV* (1990), p. 90).

For lack of any genuine spies to arrest, the Jacobites turned on each other. In 1692 the extreme party of the Earl of Melfort was in the ascendant, and

(pp. 794–5), he quickly went down in public esteem. He was seen as a Jonah whose ill luck attracted defeat (pp. 411, 429), and as the main obstacle to peace (pp. 541, 639). Jurieu thought Louis's primary reason for supporting the invasion was to get rid of James and his Irish (p. 305). After its failure he visited his favourite abbey of La Trappe on his way back to St. Germain, and the general opinion was that he should have stayed there (p. 430. See also *Finch IV*, pp. 224, 286). His Queen was more popular; indeed she got on so well with Louis that when her daughter Mary Louise was born there were rumours about the child's paternity (p. 486). Louis continued to treat James with great generosity, for example entertaining his whole household at Versailles for three days while secretly upgrading all James's furnishings, coaches and coach horses (p. 15). Although his Jacobite supporters in England remitted large sums to him, he also received from Louis a pension so ample that he was able to save a good part of it (pp. 359, 367; Edward Corp, 'La maison du Roi à Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1689–1718)', in Edward T. Corp (ed.), *L'autre exil: les Jacobites en France au début du XVIIIe siècle* (1993), pp. 63, 65).

SMUGGLING

Smugglers and highwaymen were closely associated with Jacobitism. An epidemic of highway robbery in late 1692 had been cured by strong measures including the arrest and execution in February 1693 of the leader of the Golden Farmer gang, James Whitney, in spite of his offers to reveal an assassination plot against William III in exchange for his life (pp. 17, 18, 24; Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, p. 113; Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, III.26–7).

Nottingham did occasionally connive at smuggling in exchange for intelligence, as he was ready to tell Parliament (Aiken, *The Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham*, p. 127). However, this almost always backfired. If the intelligence-gathering purpose was not known, the government was criticised for letting smugglers escape; if it was known, the French probably knew too, and in any case the smuggler's more law-abiding neighbours would suspect that the spying was a cloak for the smuggling, not vice versa: 'it is onely a pretence to goe as a spye', as Shadrach Vincent's rivals claimed (p. 83). Vincent was a Cornish M.P. who ironically enough had steered a bill to prevent trade with France through the Commons in 1690 (Cruikshanks, Handley and Hayton (eds.), *The House of Commons 1690–1715*, V.755–6). In 1692 he offered to procure information about the disposition of the French fleet after La Hougue if Nottingham would supply a pass to enable the little *Swallow* of Milford, William Johnson master, to trade with Morlaix in Brittany. The pass was duly forthcoming, together with a list of queries about the French fleet, but nothing in Nottingham's papers suggests that he

ever heard from boat or master again (*Finch IV*, pp. 409, 433). Nevertheless at Vincent's request another pass (in effect a smuggling licence) was issued to a larger vessel, the *Joanna* alias *Fidelity*, William Cotton master, again bound for Morlaix. This time Nottingham did get answers to his queries about the fleet (p. 80; *Finch IV*, pp. 498–9). However Vincent and his brother-in-law and fellow M.P. for Fowey, Jonathan Rashleigh of Menabilly, took full advantage of the situation to pack the ship with Cornish tin on her outward voyages and high-quality French linen on her return. 'If they have an order to goe over as a spye,' complained an anonymous informant, 'there is neither order nor law for them to bring home as much French goods as to ruine their neighbours that dos trade in Hamburgh or English linnens...' The smugglers were also well known as 'rank, atheisticall Jacobites' (p. 82). The first of three letters from this informant had been forwarded to Nottingham but found its way back to Shadrach Vincent himself, who set enquiries on foot about its author (pp. 81, 87). Nottingham meanwhile gave Vincent his full weight of his support, and the Queen's, when customs officers detained the *Joanna* and part of her cargo at Dartmouth and sent up to London to ask if her pass were genuine (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, pp. 101, 116, 119). But the whole affair was becoming an embarrassment and he did not employ Vincent or his ships again.

Essex was another haunt of Jacobites and smugglers (pp. 60, 259–61), and within weeks of John Macky's appointment as riding surveyor about the coast of Harwich in the spring of 1693 he had intercepted Eleanor Aldred or Aldridge 'coming from St. *Germain*, with seventy letters in a false bottom of a box with foul linen' relating to a projected Jacobite invasion (pp. 144–5; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, pp. 29, 126, 131, 167, 240; *Memoirs of the secret services of John Macky, Esq. during the reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and King George I* (Roxburghe Club, 1895), p. 10). But by far the worst stretch of coast was the thirty miles from Rye in Sussex to Dover in Kent. 'I doe not know one place betwixt Rye and this', wrote the Dover postmaster Abraham Stock in 1692, 'that is not infested with ill minded people to the government' (BL Add. MS. 33924, f. 84). Boats visited Rye nearly every week from Dieppe and St. Valery-en-Caux (p. 640), and at the other end of the smuggling strip were Thomas Rowe and his sons, 'merchants in Dover, who are the sole manadgers there of the transportation of English and French goods to and from Calais and passengers and packets to and from the late King' (p. 141). In between lay Dungeness and Romney Marsh, sheep grazing areas whose wool provided a livelihood for all the local towns. Charles II's attempts to regulate the wool trade had generated a smuggling culture now exploited by the Jacobites. Wool was still exported in exchange for French silks, but so were agents and intelligence. When Admiral Russell reported 'unusuall fires at night' at Dungeness lighthouse in 1691, thought to signal the direction of his frigates, the lighthouse keeper (an associate of Thomas

‘which gives occasion of jealousie that he is a pensioner of France’. He now had a second house at Canterbury – almost as close as Dover to Romney Marsh, and far closer to Whitstable and Herne. He was known to consort with the master of the transport ship exchanging prisoners of war between Calais and Dover and other dubious characters, while he was unpopular among his refugee compatriots. Customs officers ‘who may not be the best affected to the government’ had searched his house without finding anything. The most sinister discovery had been made by Stock’s unmarried daughter Susan, ‘who manages the letter office in Dover for me’: La Croix was in regular correspondence with a clerk in Nottingham’s office. Stock proposed that his daughter should be authorised to remove all outgoing mail brought to the letter office from La Croix, Rowe and two others thought to act as accommodation addresses for them, for up to three nights, and send it up to London for examination by Nottingham, who should make similar arrangements for mail in London addressed to the suspects in Dover. The captain of the dragoons could simultaneously be ordered to intercept the Romney Marsh carrier. Although Stock offered to neglect his Deal business and take Susan’s place ‘if your Lordship thincke [it] too greate a trust to be imposed on her ... tho’ I have no cause to feare my daughter’s diligent care and prudent management of any affaïre of that kinde’, Nottingham approved the whole plan and himself made the arrangements with the captain of dragoons and the joint postmasters-general. The latter appear to have allowed at least one letter from Nottingham’s clerk to get through to La Croix, so he told the Stocks to send him any more that arrived from the same quarter, ‘unless you find some wax dropt on the side of the superscription, by which you may conclude I have already seen the letter’. Three posts were sent up to him and nothing incriminating was found. He had to allow normal service to resume – but he was still to be sent any correspondence between La Croix and his own clerk (pp. 132, 133–5, 139, 140–1, 149, 152, 153). Nothing more is heard of this affair, and although it was not the only intimation he received of a traitor in his office, none of his clerks was dismissed and the identity of the suspected traitor remains uncertain. (Harley’s clerk William Gregg, hanged in 1708 for selling state papers to the French, was not on the establishment at the time.)

Stock’s enquiries had at least supplied the names of a number of London merchants involved in the smuggling trade (p. 141). The widespread breaches of the government’s embargo on trade with France had long been cause for concern (p. 700). Nottingham received a series of undated memoranda from an anonymous French informant, probably a Huguenot merchant, offering to expose the contraband trade in detail in return for a share of any fines levied. (Stock pointed out in 1692 that although it was a felony nobody had ever been executed for smuggling, and this did not

change under Nottingham's administration, although he did discuss with the law officers whether it should be treated as high treason.) The informant claimed that London merchants were lading lead, tar, powder, saltpetre and other war materials in neutral ships ostensibly for Spain or Portugal but really to be exchanged in France for wine, brandy and salt – doubly damaging to the Allies, since the trade thus supported France's industry as well as her armed forces. Guilt could be proved by default if the onus was on the merchants to show by documentary evidence from Lisbon, San Sebastian or Bilbao that their exports had reached the destinations stated in the customs registers (pp. 809–10). This proposal was adopted, and the next memorandum is a minute of a meeting convened by Nottingham at the Solicitor General's to discuss a list drawn up at the Custom House of merchants who had laded goods in neutral ships for Spain or Portugal. This may have been the meeting authorised by the Cabinet Committee on 11 August 1691 (*Finch III*, p. 404). It was agreed that any merchant who failed to prove that his goods had reached their alleged destination was not required by English law to hand over business records which might incriminate him, but that the law did empower the government to seize the records, wherever they might be – a fine legal distinction. Failure to provide satisfactory evidence would result in a fine of a quarter or a fifth of the value of the merchandise concerned (pp. 810–11; see also p. 253). Two more documents follow, in another hand but probably from the same quarter: a provisional list of London merchants, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, suspected of lading goods in neutral ships for France; and a historical excursus, explaining that the Protestant merchants were only following the bad example of the Catholics – with whom incidentally the Post Office must be in league, as the Catholic merchants always seemed to get their mail first – and the customs officers were probably on the take, and most London tavern-keepers were Jacobites (pp. 811–12).

One of the merchants on the blacklist was Peter Reneu or Renew, a Huguenot from Bordeaux who had been naturalized in 1677, married the daughter of an English nonconformist merchant and prospered as a wine importer. Perhaps as a result of this information being laid, Nottingham had to procure a pardon in 1692 for Reneu and another merchant for having traded with France, on the grounds that they had done so in order to gain intelligence about the French fleet and other things of importance to the King's service, which they had constantly provided. Reneu was still acting for the secretary of state and Jurieu in 1695 (*Finch IV*, p. 17; *HMC Ninth Report, App. II* (1884), pp. 80, 84, 95; BL Add. MS. 28939, f. 207; Add. MS. 40771, f. 73; Perry Gauci, *The Politics of Trade. The Overseas Merchant in State and Society, 1660–1720* (2001), p. 75; J.R. Woodhead, *The Rulers of London 1660–1689* (1965), pp. 53, 164).

completed at the end of May 1692, too late for La Hougue, and the ship was ordered to Brest. In March 1693 it was stationed at Port Louis, and by June was guarding the approaches to Rochefort under de Gennes's own command (pp. 667, 717, 719–20; *Lettres de Michel Bégon*, I. 201). It never appears to have seen action, and was sold out of the navy in 1698 (Dessert, *La Royale*, p. 327). De Gennes was nevertheless rewarded with a squadron of his own which was meant to harass the coast of Peru but only got as far as Patagonia. He ended his adventurous life in 1705 on board a prison hulk at Plymouth, captured on his way back to France to appeal against his condemnation by a Caribbean court martial for surrendering the newly recovered French colony on St. Kitts to the English in 1702 (*Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, XV (1982), cols. 1052–4).

Two more inventions are featured in this volume. In May 1693 Samuel Poulion reported the arrest of a Recollect friar who had been talking indiscreetly about four midget submarines which he said Louis XIV had had built at a cost of 50,000 écus. This made Poulion think that the government must have been working secretly on a submarine of which he himself had been shown the prototype by its designer before Seignelay's death in 1690. It was shaped like a fish, the tail serving as rudder, and could hold five or six men. It could surface at will and was supposed to tour the enemy fleet at anchor drilling holes from below (pp. 549–50). This was surely the submarine designed by Jean-Baptiste Chabert, master builder of galleys at Toulon, who sent Seignelay plans and sections on [20/]30 May 1689 (illustrated in the Archives Nationales exhibition catalogue *Sur l'eau ... sous l'eau. Imagination et technique dans la Marine, 1680–1730* (1986), no. 67). The description is similar ('La queue du poisson sert de gouvernail...') although only three men were needed, one to steer and work the bellows, one to row, and one to stick his arms out through watertight sleeves and operate the tools fastened to the hull. Besides holing enemy vessels below the waterline the submarine could attach explosives to their sides, cut their rigging, or pass undetected through their midst with despatches. However the King, Seignelay and Pontchartrain were evidently agreed that submarine warfare had no future, and the project remained on the drawing-board.

Equally impractical in Allied eyes was the proposal for a mobile field kitchen put forward by Sir Samuel Morland, for it appears until now to have lain unnoticed in Nottingham's archives (p. 819). It is holograph and must date from 1691 or earlier, as by January 1692 Morland's handwriting had visibly deteriorated on account of his growing blindness (BL Add. MS. 32095, f. 399, dated 1691 in *HMC Fifth Report* (1876), App., p. 319). The invention was intended for the use of an unnamed general on his march, perhaps Ginkel in Ireland in 1690–1. It had five components, which 'I humbly offer to contrive within the dimensions of an ordinary waggon'.

(1) 'A neat kitchin paved with thin lead, and in it two copper chimneys, with two jacks, as also a cistern of water, two ovens with boylers, broylers, and all manner of utinsels and conveniences for dressing meat for the generals table'. Cooking could be done while the wagon was in motion, 'and that in as exact a manner as can bee performed in any princes, or noblemans kitchin whatever'. (2) 'A larder to conteyn provisions of all sorts for a week, fortnight, or more as there shall bee occasion, with table-linnen, knives, forks, spoons etc.' (3) 'A sellar for any sort of wine or potable liquor, out of which it may bee brought as cool as out of a cave, in the hottest summer or season of the year.' (4) 'A tent to bee suddainly spread in any place, with a table and six chayrs within it.' (5) 'On the top of the waggon a neat little garden, and in it all sorts of salletting for the season of the year.' No illustration was supplied (it would make a splendid school project). This kitchen had evidently evolved out of the portable fireplace and grate, with an upright spit rotated by clockwork, which Morland used to carry with him in his coach so that he could dress his own meat at inns (Roger North, *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis North, Baron of Guilford* ... (1742), p. 294).

CRYPTIC WRITING

Sir Samuel Morland's inventive genius was not confined to the mechanical and hydraulic works for which he is best known, or to feats of nanotechnology like the field kitchen just described. For forty years he had also been privy to the secrets of the state, and had taken a particular interest in the black arts of the secret service. He had installed a covert surveillance operation for Charles II in two rooms of the General Post Office, which the Great Fire destroyed; and he advised Nottingham's administration to set up a similar bureau within each of the post offices of England, Scotland and Ireland, 'and besides all this, that it ought to bee sett up in some privat place in the King's palace, and not to bee solely in the hands of the postmasters, there being many occasions of opening letters, which the postmaster ought not to bee privy to'. He offered to reveal ('first having the arrears of my pension payd me') how to counterfeit impressions of seals in wax, or in wafers ('an art wholly distinct from the other'), how to open letters sealed with wax, or with wafers, how to counterfeit handwriting, how to wash out ink, and how to copy two closely written sides of paper in less than a minute (anticipating James Watt's wet-letter copying process). At the King's direction he demonstrated these skills to the Postmaster-General, Major John Wildman, and as he later claimed 'forthwith employed near 60 workmen in preparing engins and utinsels for that service' (*Finch II*, pp. 264–6; *Finch III*, pp. 455–6; *HMC Buccleuch (Montagu House) II* (1903), pp. 48–51). But Wildman was dismissed in February 1691 without repaying Morland for his outlay or doing much more with his new techniques than forge evidence

against his enemies. According to Dr Robert Gorges, Morland's partner in the undertaking, writing to Sir William Trumbull in 1695, Wildman had deliberately stolen or sabotaged their instruments before leaving office, although another Post Office official who had assisted the projectors under oath of secrecy, William Bocket, had described these 'Machines for Intelligence' carefully in his diary at the time and was confident that he could replicate them (*Downshire I*, pp. 594–5, 609–10). Bocket was himself a dubious character, promoted in 1693 to be Comptroller of the Foreign Office (the Post Office branch which dealt with overseas mail) as a kinsman of one of the joint Postmasters-General, but described in the blackest of terms by Richard Kingston (p. 61) and nearly dismissed in 1696 on a variety of charges dating back to 1693 (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1696*, pp. 285, 320, 403, 411; BL Add. MS. 72571, ff. 36, 40–1, 45). Nevertheless Bocket was in due course promoted again and authorised to provide the Post Office with the necessary equipment (Kenneth Ellis, *The Post Office in the Eighteenth Century. A Study in Administrative History* (1958), pp. 65–7). Meanwhile in 1691–5 the English had clearly fallen well behind their contemporaries on the Continent in several of the so-called arts of the black chamber.

Where the English still shone, however, was in cryptology. Perhaps it suited the national character, and certainly it had developed rapidly under the stimulus of the Civil Wars and Interregnum. It had two distinct branches, each with its own practitioners: enciphering or cryptography, and deciphering or cryptanalysis. (Sir Samuel Morland had dabbled in the former, publishing *A New Method of Cryptography* in 1666.) All senior diplomats had their own ciphers, to which the government and selected overseas colleagues held the key, in what is now called the nomenclator system. To encipher a plaintext, the sender consulted the encryption key with single letters, syllables, words and phrases arranged alphabetically on the left, and the corresponding numbers filled in on the right. To decipher a ciphertext, the recipient consulted the decryption key with the numbers arranged numerically on the left and the corresponding letters, syllables, words and phrases filled in on the right. These *tables à chiffrer* and *tables à déchiffrer* might have the left-hand column printed in advance but were often works of art, folding spreadsheets which remained standard diplomatic issue well into the eighteenth century. As sophisticated French cryptanalysts like the Rossignols began to crack the ciphers more easily, the diplomats learned to randomise the numbers – deciphering was too easy with 'is' numbered 433 and 'it' 434 – and to throw in plenty of nulls, numbers with no meaning. Often only the most secret parts of a despatch were enciphered, not only to save time at each end but also to make it more difficult for the enemy to decipher on a frequency basis, although this had the twin disadvantages of revealing the language of the original, and making it easier to guess the meaning from the context.

As most countries used a similar system and were constantly intercepting each other's despatches, an international conspectus of surviving ciphers would be a useful tool for diplomatic historians of seventeenth-century Europe. In its absence much help is provided by recipients who interlined the plaintext above the ciphertext, but often a riddle remains. Nottingham's copyist, for example, left partly enciphered the letter-book copy of one of his letters to John Robinson, the chargé d'affaires in Sweden in 1693 (pp. 84–5), and a letter from Blathwayt on the same subject is left partly enciphered both in the original received by Nottingham (p. 90) and in Blathwayt's own letter-book copy (BL Add. MS. 37992, f. 5). There is no key among the State Papers Sweden (non-existent for 1693), or the diplomatic ciphers for the period collected in SP 106. Comparison with other despatches to or from Robinson, and some helpful suggestions by Dr David Onnekink, had unlocked some of the number groups by the time the key turned up elsewhere among Blathwayt's papers (in Add. MS. 35105, f. 11). For the sensitive subject matter see pp. lxxxiv–lxxxv below.

Another initially more daunting challenge was a long letter in a unique substitution cipher, which in the event took only a few hours to crack (p. 814). The question then became: why was there no sign of any government cryptanalyst having tackled it? The answer could be that Nottingham knew it to be harmless family gossip (apparently sent by one middle-aged sister to another, in a private code they had presumably been using since their childhood) and had acquired it for its form, not content. For the eclectic little group of ciphers and codes at pp. 813–14, not initially intended for publication in *Finch V* but added by the present editor at a late stage, may not be the random assortment cherry-picked from the extensive Finch papers that might have been assumed from the chequered archival history of the papers; this could be Nottingham's own collection. Supporting this theory is the fact that one cipher is signed 'Daniel Finch' in an unformed hand, and the earliest of the others dates from when he was in his late teens. Not a single standard diplomatic cipher is included, French or English, for these had very properly been left behind under secure conditions at Whitehall for his successors when he left office. Nor do they relate to the spies' reports from France, which were mediated by Jurieu and reached Nottingham *en clair*. That he took a personal interest in cryptology is confirmed by his correspondence with the government's principal consultant cryptanalyst, Dr John Wallis (divided between the Bodleian Library, British Library, The National Archives (PRO) and the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland), in which Nottingham shows a clear appreciation of the techniques of codebreaking, although he always defers to Wallis's expertise.

Wallis was a mathematical genius who could extract the square root of a fifty-three-digit number to twenty-seven places in his head, and had already been

codebreaking for fifty years. Like Morland and Gorges (who eventually became Wallis's collaborator in Oxford) he had served Parliament during the Civil Wars and Interregnum. Studies of his work as a cryptanalyst (e.g. D. Eugene Smith, 'John Wallis as a cryptographer', *Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society*, 2nd ser. XXIV No. 2 (Nov. 1917), 82–96; D. Kahn, *The Codebreakers. The Story of Secret Writing* (1967), pp. 166–9), have overlooked Nottingham's papers. These include for example two copies of a Vigenère square, one of them a working copy annotated in a small neat hand very like Wallis's (p. 814). The polyalphabetic code named after the sixteenth-century French cryptographer Blaise de Vigenère was unpopular with diplomats as too time-consuming and easily corrupted, so was used only if extreme secrecy were needed, as it was very secure. It has remained a popular cipher of last resort, being used for example by Diana Dors to conceal her fortune from her creditors ('Who Got Diana Dors' Millions?' Channel 4 documentary, 13 Sept. 2003). Yet it is perfectly possible to crack a Vigenère cipher without the aid of a computer if the message is long and the key short (Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, pp. 145–51; Henry Beker and Fred Piper, *Cipher Systems* (1982), pp. 47–8; Simon Singh, *The Code Book* (1999), pp. 46–51, 67–78), and clearly Wallis was attempting this in August 1691. Two ciphertexts of unknown provenance were seized at Dover in late July and sent to him by Nottingham on 1 August. On the 9th he replied, 'The Alphabet is changed (I think) at every letter, which, as it makes it very troublesome for those that are to use it; so, much more to him that is to decipher it'. He was then sent a possible key, which proved unconnected with the ciphertexts. But in his next letter he drew a Vigenère square and confirmed that the texts were in 'a Table-cipher, which changeth the Alphabet at every letter, and there is not inough of it to discover the key'. He had nevertheless attempted it: 'I send you my conjectures interlined, which I guess may be true, but am not sure of it' (*Finch III*, p. 188; Add. MS. 32499, ff. 274–5, 282). This was quite an achievement, and when he made it known that the £50 he had received in 1689 and £50 in 1690 hardly showed a proper appreciation of his labours, Nottingham immediately sent him another £100 (*ibid.*, f. 283; *Finch III*, p. 236). He received a further £100 the following January (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1692*, p. 90), and the same in June 1693 (p. 149), which was continued under Nottingham's successors until in 1701 it was regularised by the creation of a new office of Decipherer at an annual salary of £100 (backdated to 1699), which Wallis held jointly with his grandson William Blencowe until his death in 1703 at the age of eighty-six.

Although the Dutch were later to develop their own facilities under the auspices of Heinsius's private secretary Abel Tassin d'Alonne (Karl de Leeuw, 'The Black Chamber in the Dutch Republic during the War of the Spanish

Succession and its aftermath, 1707–1715', *Historical Journal*, XLII (1999), 133–56), during Nottingham's first administration Heinsius and other Allied ministers as well as his British colleagues passed their intercepted ciphertexts routinely on to Nottingham 'in hopes Dr. Wallis may expound what mysteryes may lye therein' (*Finch II*, p. 352; *Finch III*, p. 34). It was to Wallis that the Allies turned in the aftermath of a major coup in April 1691 masterminded by Brandenburg, but also authorised by William III and the Emperor and assisted by their representatives at Hamburg, which resulted in the seizure of a French secretary there with fifteen cipher keys in his possession. Although the Hamburg authorities had not been notified in advance, they cooperated fully afterwards, to the extent that their postmasters brought round suspicious French mail to the Allied agents on a regular basis for opening. All this exposed a local spy ring, a smuggling operation and two secret treaties (between France and Denmark, and France and Hanover), and the Allies were able to read enciphered correspondence in transit through Hamburg such as Croissy's despatches to the French ambassador in Poland (BL Lansdowne MS. 1153 C, ff. 128–9, 133–5, 146–7, 151–2; S.P. Oakley, 'William III and the Northern Crowns during the Nine Years War, 1689–1697', London University Ph. D. thesis 1961, I. 178). Some of the intercepted letters were not covered by the cipher keys, so copies were sent to the Brandenburg envoy at the Hague and thence via Nottingham or Sydney to Wallis for deciphering. He had long been doing work for the Elector of Brandenburg, who had promised him a medal which failed to materialise (*Finch III*, pp. 78, 115, 126, 239–40; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1690–91*, p. 488; Add. MS. 32499, ff. 276–9, 284). Towards the end of 1692 an even more successful Allied operation began to intercept correspondence between France and the northern powers as it passed through Celle (S.P. Oakley, 'The interception of posts in Celle, 1694–1700', in Ragnhild Hatton and J.S. Bromley (eds.), *William III and Louis XIV. Essays 1680–1720 by and for Mark A. Thomson* (1968), pp. 95–116).

Wallis was not always successful. Two cipher letters which had fallen by chance into the hands of the English ambassador at Vienna, from Count Marsigli at the Porte to the imperial minister Count Kinsky, and which were thought likely to throw light on how serious Kinsky was in his professed desire for peace with the Turks, were sent back to England early in 1692 for Wallis to decipher, but the complexities of the Austrian chancery cipher defeated him (*Finch IV*, pp. 21, 23, 40, 78; Add. MS. 32499, ff. 315–24; John Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe 1680–1730. The Life and Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, Soldier and Virtuoso* (1994), pp. 101–17). He had less difficulty with the intercepted letters of Louis XIV sent to him in 1692 and 1693 by Nottingham and Trenchard, as can be seen from his interlined letter-book copies. But these ciphers too were becoming more sophisticated,

the government did not bother to send him copies of intercepted keys – in 1695 he told Leeds and Trumbull that he had never yet seen a key of any French cipher that he had not made himself (*Downshire I*, p. 586) – and in 1697 he wrote in the first draft of his autobiography that of late years the French methods of cipher had grown so extremely intricate that he had often had to give up (Add. MS. 32499, f. 376. A closely related version, taken from Bodleian Library MS. Smith 31, is printed in Christoph J. Scriba, ‘The autobiography of John Wallis, FRS’, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, XXV No. 1 (June 1970), p. 38). At about the same time – in 1696–7 as is now supposed – the French diplomat François de Callières was writing in the treatise on diplomacy which he published twenty years later: ‘I am convinced that a letter well coded in a good cypher is not to be decyphered without treachery; that is to say, unless one finds means to corrupt some secretary, to give a copy of the key of the cypher’ (H.M.A. Keens-Soper and Karl W. Schweizer (eds.), *The Art of Diplomacy* (1983), pp. 15–17, 164). This belief left the French both too complacent about their own security, and too ready to give up in the face of intercepted ciphertexts, especially in English. When Renaudot was given some enciphered English despatches from Constantinople in 1691 he was at a loss to know what to do with them, for there was not yet any central bureau where such documents might be processed by English-speaking cryptanalysts (Burger, ‘Spymaster to Louis XIV’, p. 117). The *Maison du Roi* occasionally instructed Pontchartrain, La Reynie, or Le Péletier (Louvois’s successor as Surintendant Général des Postes) to monitor particular correspondences – Eugène Vaillé, *Le Cabinet Noir* (1950), pp. 107–8, gives some examples from 1692 – but each department was then responsible for its own results.

A favourite target for both the French and English secret services, because so easy to crack, was the Jacobite correspondence centred on St. Germain. What has been called ‘the amateur nature of Jacobite operations’ (Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People 1688–1788* (1989), p. 102) can be seen in the use of elementary substitution codes of the pigpen type, or worse; often real names were simply replaced by aliases which were easily guessed or frequently recycled. Renaudot listed those used in 1692 by John Simpson alias Jones: the King of Denmark was Daniel Markman, Prince George was Daniel Markman’s brother, Godolphin was George Phinburn, and so on (BN Fonds français n. a. 7492, f. 155). Nottingham’s papers include a similar list, in which the Duke of Berwick was Mr Jackson (p. 813), and there are many letters in these primitive codes (e.g. pp. 166–9, 175).

There was however an interesting exchange of letters between Nottingham and Wallis in May 1693 over a Jacobite ciphertext which it seemed particularly urgent to solve at a time when James II’s second declaration was being distributed clandestinely in England, and the departure date and

destination of the French fleet at Brest were unknown. The chain of events can be reconstructed from pp. 120, 129, 149 and Add. MS. 32499, ff. 332–6. Nottingham wrote three times to Oxford enclosing material for Wallis to decipher. He wrote first on 13 May; on 23 May Wallis replied that he was unable as yet to decipher the enclosure, and on 10 June Nottingham asked for its return. The second despatch, sent by the ordinary post on 18 May, never reached Wallis. The third, sent by King's Messenger on Sunday 21 May, reached him in Oxford on the morning of the 22nd; it contained two letters of [12/] 22 May ostensibly from Leyden, but which Wallis deduced had been written by a Scot with a wife in France and a mother and brother in England. One was a covering letter *en clair* addressed to Peter Walsh at Mr Arthur Evans, draper at the Black Swan in Cheapside, asking him to forward the other, a letter to a Mr Jameson (a Jacobite pseudonym) written in a simple substitution code which Wallis quickly solved. He returned it and the covering letter on 23 May 'by the same messenger, deciphered (for the quicker despatch) between the lines'. On the 24th he wrote again with some afterthoughts about the identities of the persons named in it. Nottingham would probably have received the text from the messenger that day. As Wallis pointed out, it was mainly concerned with the distribution of James's declaration, but the writer had added: 'We heare to day from Brest that the 52 90 is out' – 'French Fleet', Wallis glossed in a footnote – 'strong of 62 ships of [the] lin[e]' (Add. MS. 32499, f. 334). There is no evidence that Nottingham took any action on receipt of this information. It is hardly surprising that the interlined text is extant only in Wallis's copy and is no longer among Nottingham's own papers, for this, rather than the famous letter of [22 May/] 1 June from Paris which Nottingham could prove to the subsequent enquiry that he had acted on, is the real smoking gun that might have convicted him of negligence.*

THE WAR AT SEA

All three parts of the text of *Finch V* deal substantially with the war at sea. Part I, the general correspondence for 1693, reflects Nottingham's official responsibility for correspondence with the Admiralty and the admirals for the first three months of the year, and his continuing personal and political involvement with naval affairs thereafter. Part II, the secret service papers for 1691–3, is predominantly concerned with naval intelligence. Part III, the naval and military papers to 1694, is mainly naval papers.

* The present editor's exoneration of Nottingham on this score (Sonia P. Anderson, 'The Anglo-Dutch "Smyrna fleet" of 1693', in Alastair Hamilton, Alexander H. de Groot and Maurits van den Boogert (eds.), *Friends and Rivals in the East. Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Levant from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century* (2000), pp. 102–3) was written before she had seen the copy of the text retained by Wallis.

The latter are miscellaneous in character and it has therefore seemed better to annotate them more fully in the text than to consider them as a group here. If they bear on a topic discussed elsewhere in the introduction they may be mentioned there, but the reader is referred in the first place to the descriptive list on pp. 815–29. However, an exception will be made for those that relate to Nottingham's term of office as a Commissioner of the Admiralty from 1679 to 1684, as it is not discussed elsewhere.

Nottingham was the leading member of the Commission even in 1680–2, when by virtue of his superior social rank Viscount Brouncker took nominal precedence, and he was the undoubted first lord after succeeding to his father's earldom in 1682. In January 1681 he declined promotion to a secretaryship of state, preferring to remain at the Admiralty while his father was declining in health and the political outlook was uncertain (Horwitz, *Revolution Politicks*, p. 31). Even the Admiralty, however, was riven by faction. Brouncker insisted on replacing Nottingham's clerk of the acts, Thomas Hayter, 'a Dissenter indeed', Nottingham wrote in his autobiography, 'but one of the most diligent, honest and faithfull men I ever knew, and withall the most knowing of men and things relating to the navy of his time' (uncalendared Finch MSS., P.P. 148). Hayter had assisted Nottingham in his long campaign to reform abuses in Admiral Herbert's Mediterranean command, and to prevent Herbert from being given control of all convoys there, 'which Admiral Herbert never forgave me'. The naval and military papers preserve some evidence of the indiscipline in Herbert's command supplied by a whistleblower in Italy, Sir Thomas Dereham, as well as the judges' opinions solicited by Nottingham approving the legality of Herbert's trial (as Earl of Torrington) after his defeat at Beachy Head in 1690 (pp. 819–20, 826; *Finch II*, p. 410 and *passim*).

There is no sign, however, of a document in which all the Commissioners criticized Herbert (possibly Nottingham's copy of the Algerine policy paper ADM 2/1750, ff. 87–9). Forty years later he told his family where it could be found: 'among my papers of the Admiralty at the bottom of the presse next my close-door' (uncalendared Finch MSS., P.P. 148).

He was unsuccessful in recruiting support for his detailed objections to the terms on which Herbert concluded peace with Algiers in April 1682, which were discounted because 'I was lookt upon as an enemy to Herbert' (*Finch II*, pp. 170–5). But he was proud that 'we reduced the Algerines from about eighteen men of war to three or four and forced them to beg peace', and kept the Algerine ship lists which he thought proved this (P.P. 148; N.M. 8 and 9 on p. 816). He seems to have got his sums wrong. The 18 Algerine warships in his first list of November 1681 were those still remaining, not those with which they had embarked on the war four years earlier as stated in the

endorsement (there were then about 38); and although the 17 ships on his second list, also of November 1681, had indeed been taken by the English, the Algerines still had 13 ships in service in February 1682, as his third list shows, although only 4 were actually at sea at the time (*ibid.*; SP 71/2, pt. 1, f. 137; BL Sloane MS. 2755, ff. 53, 57).

On the main point, however, he was fully justified. Nottingham's tenure at the Admiralty has long suffered from denigration by an interested party, Samuel Pepys. Views have been changed by the publication of two revisionist works: J.D. Davies, 'Pepys and the Admiralty Commission of 1679–84', *Historical Research*, LXII no. 147 (Feb. 1989), 34–53, and Sari R. Hornstein, *The Restoration Navy and English Foreign Trade, 1674–1688. A Study in the Peacetime Use of Sea Power* (1991), especially Chapter 1, 'Pepys's Legacy', pp. 10–32. 'We have to remember that, while he was a great administrator and a diarist of genius, Pepys was inclined to claim excessive credit for himself and his friends and at the same time systematically to denigrate those of whom he disapproved' (G.E. Aylmer, 'Slavery under Charles II: the Mediterranean and Tangier', *English Historical Review*, CXIV (1999), 387). Nottingham's Commission, which insisted on an offensive rather than defensive war, has now been vindicated. 'The fact of the matter is, the Commissioners of the Admiralty, who restricted Herbert's Mediterranean campaign and resisted his requests to have greater control over the convoying service to the Mediterranean, had evolved a coherent and compelling strategy of deterrence which succeeded in subduing their Algerine adversaries' (Hornstein, *The Restoration Navy*, p. 150). The Commission ended indeed with the navy in a rundown state, but only because the Treasury starved it of funds.

The earlier secret service papers deal from a French viewpoint with many of the events already described in the introductions to *Finch III* and *IV*. It is not accordingly necessary to retrace here the course of the naval campaigns of 1691 and 1692, but only to highlight some of the material which complements that in the earlier volumes.

There is naturally a considerable amount about the preparations for the invasion attempt of 1692. There is then a first-hand French account (pp. 720–3) of the battle of La Hougue (Barfleur, Cap de la Hague), and much related intelligence (pp. 307, 422, 424, 426, 429, 571, 645, 719–20, 725, 729, 732, 743, 769, 772, 784). The ships not destroyed at La Hougue or Cherbourg found refuge at St. Malo or in the wooded bends of the Aulne upriver from Brest, while the French waited for the maritime powers to follow up their victory. Although Tourville had been outnumbered, the engagement clearly had a major impact on French opinions of British seamanship. 'Les Anglais sont plus brave dans le coffee house qu'à la mer' was the general view in 1691 and early 1692, but as the same writer commented,

'rira bien qui rira le dernier' (pp. 711, 715). Before the battle the French captains were talking of carrying off an English ship apiece, 'car nous les tenons pour peu braves; nous attendons beaucoup plus de resistance des Hollandois' who were therefore to be kept at a distance by cannon-fire. They believed that the English ships were at least 3,000 men under strength, if not 7,000 (pp. 416–17). They were accordingly surprised to find Russell's own division putting up a strong defence 'pour la premiere fois', especially as they had been assured of Jacobite support from within the fleet (pp. 721, 768). They continued to regard the Dutch as the major threat (p. 456), but it was now the Portuguese who came in for the gibes: their feebleness in dealing with pirates off their own coast, according to French sources in Lisbon, had earned them the sobriquet *las galinas de la mar*, or sea-chickens (p. 468).

Although the agents being paid by him naturally had an interest in flattering William III, they were probably reporting accurately enough the respect he had earned from the French after twenty years as their adversary. Other French sources confirmed it, to the Queen's pleasure: 'On[e]'s friends may flater, enimys comonly tell one truth' (Doebner (ed.), *Memoirs of Mary*, p. 109). William was admired as a politician, especially in his less constrained Dutch capacity ('King of Holland and Stadtholder of England', as a Dutch wit was to put it). 'Car tout le monde est persuadé qu'il noublie rien pour venir à son but, et que c'est le plus grand politique du monde' (p. 415). He was admired as a coalition leader and strategist, whose hand was to be detected behind stirrings in the most remote corners of Europe. 'On le regarde comme le prémier mobile de tout ce qui se passe en Europe' (p. 432); 'ses plus grands ennemis ne peuvent s'empescher d'admirer son vaste genie, et les grands ressorts qu'il fait agir' (p. 568). He was thought to want peace (pp. 358, 382), and to be a religious observer of his word (pp. 296, 359, 479). His military dispositions were much admired (pp. 345, 452, 463, 570, 588, 594–5, 698–9), and his conduct in battle: he risked his life like a trooper for the liberty of the English, who showed no signs of gratitude (p. 701). When the plan to follow up La Hougue with a descent on France came to nothing, French observers assumed it had always been a feint, designed not only to divert French troops but also to encourage Allied recruitment – instead of tedious and dangerous service in Flanders, offering the alluring prospect of swooping down on an undefended France 'd'y trouver quoy piller, et y vivre à gogo' (p. 462). What amazed the French in 1693 was how a strategist of such proven sagacity could have allowed his naval affairs to go so wrong.

Nottingham's general correspondence for 1693 demonstrates some of the underlying problems. The first topic it deals with is the despatch of the amphibious expedition being mounted under Rear Admiral Sir Francis Wheler against French possessions in the West Indies and Canada, which was

subjected to the usual delays over victualling and manning (pp. 1–11 *passim*; *Finch IV*, pp. xl–xli and *passim*). The disastrous outcome of the expedition is discussed separately below (pp. civ–cvii).

Victualling and manning continued to be major problems both for the main fleet and for the squadron being fitted out under Sir George Rooke to convoy Allied merchant ships to the Mediterranean. In 1690 and 1691 both the Allied and French navies had been crippled by sickness caused by bad victuals. This problem was succeeded by shortage of victuals, as the victualling grant became eroded by the higher prices resulting from poor harvests. From 1692 the men's rations had repeatedly to be cut, and fleets were unable to keep the sea as long as expected. The Victualling Commissioners' letter of 3 January to the Admiralty Commissioners, who forwarded it to Nottingham, paints a bleak picture of the situation. One solution offered was to put the fleet on two-thirds allowance from May to October (pp. 4, 52; J.J. Keevil, *Medicine and the Navy, 1200–1900*, II (1958), pp. 173–6). Matters were not to improve. It was 'want of victuals', Nottingham later told Blathwayt, 'to which all our misfortunes are plainly to be ascribed' (p. 195). The fleet had to return to Torbay in June after only a few weeks at sea because it was already running out of victuals (Simon Harris, *Sir Cloudesley Shovell, Stuart Admiral* (2001), p. 175).

Dockyard abuses were also chronic, and were hard to root out. Counter-accusations levelled against the naval commissioner at Plymouth, Thomas Willshaw, were not believed, and he was shortly to be promoted to the Navy Board, but he had to apply to the Board for financial assistance in meeting the costs of his defence (pp. 38, 44–5; ADM 1/3569, p. 1046; J.C. Collinge (comp.), *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Navy Board Officials 1660–1832* (1978), pp. 24, 150). An anonymous accusation of dockyard fiddles at Chatham was also hotly denied by the naval commissioner there; his officers would admit themselves at fault when their accuser 'can prove them guilty of the murder of Sir Edmundberry Godfery' (pp. 214–15).

Manning was a problem that the four belligerent navies tackled with varying methods and success. The least effective was the Spanish navy; in spite of attempts at unification there were still too many conflicting interests – sailors/soldiers, private/government, local/national, north/south. In this period only 7 to 9% of the national war budget was spent by Spain on the navy, as opposed to 13 to 25% by France and 30% by England (Richard Harding, *Seapower and Naval Warfare, 1650–1830* (1999), p. 122). A storm saved the Spanish squadron in the Bay of Naples from attack by d'Estrées in 1693. Nottingham's Spanish ship lists for 1692–3 are among his naval and military papers (N.M. 39, p. 823).

His Dutch ship lists have also survived (in N.M. 27 and 32, pp. 820–2). The

Dutch navy's efficiency is now thought to have been improved rather than diminished by harnessing local energies through the five federal admiralties. By 1693 about 20,000 men were serving in Dutch warships each year. At the end of the fighting season they were paid off and could return to the merchant, whaling or fishing fleets. In the spring these rival employers, and the privateers, were banned from sailing until there were enough seamen for the warships (the only exception being made for East Indiamen). Good wages and occasional bounties meant that the press gang was not needed (Jaap R. Bruijn, *The Dutch Navy of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1993), pp. 126, 130–1). The system could however result in either the naval contingent or the merchant ships being late for their English rendezvous, as was to be the case in 1693.

It had been agreed in 1689 that the Dutch should supply three-fifths of the Anglo-Dutch land forces in Flanders and the English three-fifths of the Anglo-Dutch naval forces, the agreement applying to detached squadrons and convoys as well as the main fleet. On the whole the arrangement worked well during the War of the Grand Alliance, although inevitably there were jealousies, illustrated by Nottingham's exchange with Heinsius in the summer of 1693. Nottingham thought it necessary to point out privately to the Pensionary that the Dutch had not fulfilled their fleet quota for several years, 'et il y a des mescontents icy qui s'en servent pour amuser le peuple'. Heinsius responded that the shortfall was marginal – so far in 1693 the Dutch had supplied 28 ships to the English 47 (i.e. 39% of the total instead of 40%) – and moreover had maintained a squadron off Dunkirk for years without any English help (pp. 173–4, 186). It was only during Nottingham's second administration that the Dutch contingent began to arrive so late and under strength as to put a severe strain on the alliance (N.A.M. Rodger, 'The British view of the functioning of the Anglo-Dutch alliance 1688–1795', in G.J.A. Raven and N.A.M. Rodger (eds.), *Navies and Armies. The Anglo-Dutch Relationship in War and Peace 1688–1988* (1990), p. 16; T.J. Denman, 'The Political Debate over War Strategy, 1689–1712' (Cambridge Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1985), p. 291).

Nottingham's French ship lists, which begin in 1676, and the reports he received about the manning of the French fleet, especially in the spring of 1693, are discussed on pp. cxlvi–clv (see also index entries under France: fleet). Although Emmanuel de Broglie, *Un Grand Marin: Tourville (1642–1701)* (1908), p. 296, put the effective complement of the French fleet in 1693 at only 33,855 men, more modern historians have estimated it at up to 45,000 (Charles de La Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*, VI (1932), p. 147; John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667–1714* (1999), p. 89; Dessert, *La Royale*, p. 201).

The English numbers rose correspondingly. Both the number of men voted by Parliament and the number borne according to the ships' books rose every year of the war until 1695. Figures for Nottingham's administration have been calculated as follows. 1689: 7,040 voted, 12,714 borne; 1690: 21,695 voted, 31,971 borne; 1691: 29,026 voted, 35,317 borne; 1692: 30,000 voted, 40,027 borne; 1693: 33,010 voted, 43,827 borne (J.A. Johnston, 'Parliament and the Navy 1688–1714' (Sheffield Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1968), Appendix III, 'Men Voted Borne and Mustered', pp. 502–6). The figures for actual numbers mustered do not begin until 1702, when they show that the real number of men on board could be up to a quarter fewer than the numbers listed as borne. The English fleet thus carried fewer men than the French, but in combination with the Dutch was able to meet the French challenge.

The crucial importance of manning is shown by the fact that the first council of war held by the three admirals in January 1693, less than a week after their appointment, was devoted to regulating the activities of the press gangs and implementing a royal amnesty for deserters (p. 25). The admirals were soon complaining of being frustrated in their attempts to press seamen in the West Country and asking for Nottingham's intervention (pp. 43–4). Closer to home the Victualling Office, the Office of Ordnance and the Custom House refused to release any of their protected seamen, and the Commissioners of the Admiralty – or the bare quorum of three who bothered to attend meetings (Lowther, Falkland and Austen, as their signatures show) – had ordered seamen to be transferred out of first and second rates into third rates 'without giving us the least intimation thereof. Wee complain'd thereof to the Admiralty by letter, which they have not thought fitt to answer, nor indeed any of our former letters, so that wee must conclude they purpose to goe on with us in the same manner...' Nottingham was forced to referee; these complaints are annotated in his hand with the compromises reached (pp. 41–3).

As the admirals had observed, 'nothing can be more grievous to seamen then turning them out of one ship into another', and another standing grievance was the order in which seamen's tickets were paid, since there was never enough money to settle the full backlog (*Finch IV*, pp. xli–xlii). Speculators in tickets were supposed to be paid last, but as Nottingham was informed privately in August, 'the Commissioners of the Navy are become such advocates for the traders in tickets as gives suspicions on their sides, and their clerkes', leading to 'present clamours' (pp. 241–2). By then he was no longer the secretary of state responsible for naval affairs but was still expected to look into abuses as a member of the Privy Council. In the same capacity he was sent Robert Crosfeild's proposals for obtaining a sufficient body of seamen, which Crosfeild had originally submitted to the Commissioners of

the Admiralty but then copied to Privy Councillors as a briefing paper (no. N.M. 57, p. 828). He had already received undated proposals to the same end from the late Sir Peter Rich. A Baltic merchant and M.P., Rich had a novel solution: to make every merchant ship bound on a long Baltic voyage take on a quota of guardsmen, in return for protection from impressment for the rest of the crew. By the end of the voyage the hapless soldiers would be transformed into prime seamen, fit for service in any of their Majesties' ships (no. N.M. 23, p. 819). Like the three admirals, who were informed that '100 good seamen lye lurking in the inland parishes between Bidiford and Barnstable' (p. 49), Rich also targeted 'seamen which skulk' in the countryside, and Thames watermen. The watermen, lightermen and hoymen were exempt from pressing by virtue of their employment, as were specified numbers or categories of seamen in named colliers and other ships of which Nottingham kept lists (N.M. 40, p. 824). Scots, Swedes and other foreigners were also exempt, but their rights were not always respected (pp. 21, 46–7, 827). In spite of all these measures, Trenchard's correspondence shows that in April 1693 the fleet was still three or four thousand men short (BL Add. MS. 35855, f. 2).

Recruiting and promoting good officers was the next problem. Nottingham was not averse in principle to educating the sons of gentlemen as naval cadets, on the model suggested by one of his agents in France (p. 693). He is said to have favoured this as a long-term solution (J.D. Davies, *Gentlemen and Tarpaulins, The Officers and Men of the Restoration Navy* (1991), p. 65). However, for forty years he took another line in practice. As this appears to be little known it may excuse a lengthy quotation from the unpublished part of his autobiography. Fast-stream gentlemen officers, in his view, 'might gett to be lieutenants before a tarpaulin was halfe out of his apprenticeship, and to be a captain before the other could be intitled to the pay of a common able seaman. So that tis scarce possible, or extremely difficult and rare for any warrant officer or even the master of the ship, tho' fitter to command the ship than his young captain, ever to rise higher, which is too great a discouragement to our brave seamen, on whom depends the wealth, honour and safety of the nation. I therefore always endeavourd to support and preferre those brave tarpaulins, who had ventur'd their lives in defence of their country'. The tarpaulins – by which he meant professional seamen from the merchant navy – had a calling to return to in peacetime. The gentlemen were much more likely to abuse the system, and to trade on their connections to escape retribution. 'They have brought excesse of luxury and debauchery into the fleet, which their pay will not maintaine, and this has putt them upon other vile acts of getting money.' All this might be justified by better results: 'which we may conclude is not the case by comparing the many glorious and almost incredible actions of our sea-men when

commanded by tarpaulins with all that has been done since they have been in a manner laid aside' (uncalendared Finch MSS., PP. 148).

The perceived failure of the officer corps during the first two years of the war gave impetus to a plan in which the Admiralty, Russell and Nottingham all appear to have concurred, to bring in fresh blood from the merchant navy. It had been a common practice during the Dutch wars for the officers of merchant ships to enter the navy in wartime, often only temporarily, and their ships too might be recruited on either a temporary or permanent basis, particularly the larger Levant traders or East Indiamen. Occasionally a peacetime master might command his own ship while it was on charter to the navy (Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey. Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667–1678* (1989), pp. 137–45). In December 1691 Trinity House was asked for 'a list of all the tarpaulin commanders that have used the sea these 30 years: it being design'd to imploy some of them in our fleet'. The list was duly delivered and studied (Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, II.311, 354). At the same time the doyen of the Levant commanders, John Hill, was appointed an Extra Commissioner of the Navy, to the horror of many regular officers (see *Finch II*, pp. 151–2, for Russell's own outrage when this was first mooted).

Although Captain Hill has been assumed to be a nonentity who owed his appointment to being the father-in-law first of Sir John Narbrough and then of Sir Clowdisley Shovell (Ehrman, *The Navy in the War of William III*, p. 183), this was far from being the case. He was the best known of all the owner-masters trading to the Levant, themselves the cream of the merchant service. After his retirement from active trading he ran Thomas Neale's Shadwell brewery for victualling ships. The respect in which he was held is shown by his election as master of Trinity House in 1694 (for his career see Anderson, *An English Consul*, pp. 147–52). It was he who now began to supply Nottingham with lists of 'sea-captaines fitt to be employed' in the navy. These lists are described in the text, along with others relating to officers already serving (N.M. 29, pp. 820–1). They make fascinating reading and show just how much consideration Nottingham gave to the selection and promotion of good officers irrespective of background. They would appear to make nonsense of his claim to have had little influence on naval appointments – 'The Lords of the Admiralty can tell you whether there has been employed more than one man whom I recommended...' (Aiken, *The Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham*, p. 130) – for it seems unlikely that he would have gone to so much trouble to no purpose. He was primarily interested in the fighting qualities of the candidates, his thumbnail sketches ranging from one word for William Harman – 'dull' – to a mini biography for Thomas Coale: 'challenged per an inferior officer under his command. Defended in a 5th rate the whole collier fleet against the privateers. Promoted per order of Council. Had £50 reward from Turkey Company'. He was also

concerned to ensure that none had been discriminated against on political grounds. The triumvirate seemed to have taken an unexplained dislike to the long-serving Christopher Billop: 'Recommended per Torrington equall to the admirals dislike. The admiralls desird to give reasons, quia [because] Admiralty know none against him either as to courage, experience or fidelity'.

Officers, men, victuals and stores (discussed in a Baltic context on pp. lxxx–lxxxii) needed ships. The naval tonnage generated by the escalating arms race of the 1690s was not to be equalled again for a century. Indeed the French sailing navy never before and never again had as many ships of the line as the 93 it possessed in 1693. The largest of these, 'monstres marins' which rarely if ever saw action, were 'plutôt des instruments de propagande que des bâtiments de guerre' (Dessert, *La Royale*, p. 198). Even if the whole fleet could not be brought into play, however, Beachy Head and La Hougue seemed to confirm that decisive naval battles were won by the side with more firepower. One capital ship could carry as many guns as were used at the whole of the battle of Landen (Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, p. 95).

French shipbuilding was concentrated in the royal arsenals, whilst the Dutch and English both used a mixture of public and private yards which gave them a greater shipbuilding capacity. In 1693 an unprecedented total of nine fourth rates (or borderline fifth rates) were launched for the English navy, reflecting the need, already recognized when they were contracted for in the preceding years, of ships which could take their place in the line of battle but also be sent on detached duty – expeditionary forces, anti-privateer patrols, convoy protection (D.J. Lyon, 'British warships. Types and building policy 1688–1830', in Martine Acerra, José Merino and Jean Meyer (eds.), *Les Marines de Guerre Européennes, XVII–XVIIIe. siècles* [1985], p. 158).

The knowledge of what types of ship were being built by the enemy could be an important clue to his strategic intentions. The lists of questions Nottingham sent to Jurieu in September and December 1691 are typical of many questionnaires issued by both the English and French spymasters to their agents. He wanted to know the names of the ships being laid up, and where, their rates and completion dates, the strength of the squadron being sent to the West Indies, who would command it, when it would be ready, the sailing orders being sent to the Dunkirk privateers, their number, sizes, designs, when ready, the strength of any projected Mediterranean squadron, whether a squadron was being sent to the East Indies, and if so how many ships, their rates, number of soldiers, what provisions, would galleys be employed in 1692, and if so on what service, the likely number of line of battle ships, and were they fully manned yet (pp. 288–9, 291). Similar wish lists occur throughout Nottingham's papers, tailored to the capacities and opportunities of the agents involved. The most refined questions were those

intended for a clerk in the French Ministry of Marine (see pp. cxxv–cxxix), which went into the age and experience of the crews, the age of the ships and number of refits they had had, how long they could keep the sea, the exact disposition of each squadron, and the accuracy of the information being supplied to the Ministry: ‘Souvent les officiers de marine font raport aux bureaux des affaires, comme estant en meilleure estat quelle [*sic*] le sont en effect, a dessein de plaire au Roy, et de persuader qu’ils ont bien fait leurs devoirs’ (pp. 371–2).

Nottingham’s questions bear a striking resemblance to those formulated by the opposition. A typical questionnaire sent by Renaudot to Croissy covers almost identical ground, with only one new element: to try and find out how a pay riot could be incited among the English seamen (Burger, ‘Spymaster to Louis XIV’, pp. 117–18).

Tourville was also sending out his own scouts. Among the papers forwarded to Nottingham from the French spy sloop *Boussole*, which ran aground on the Goodwin Sands in April 1692 and was taken by an English boarding party, are the instructions issued to the sloop’s commander by the intendant at Dunkirk. After leaving his convoy at Le Havre he was to reconnoitre the Downs, St. Helens, Torbay and Plymouth, and then report to Brest. He was to take care to distinguish men of war from merchant ships and Dutch from English, and be as exact as possible about their tonnage and the number of guns they carried. On no account should he ‘donner aucun raport incertain pour certain’ (p. 799) – an echo of Nottingham’s insistence ‘qu’on ne me mandé [*sic*] rien qui ne soit tres-certaine et asseuré’ (p. 289).

As we have seen, the French also had well-placed spies like de Gennes and Duquesne-Monros. Another mole exposed by one of Nottingham’s agents was Jean-Louis Aubert of Antwerp or Amsterdam, nephew of the former French consul Chabert. He was found to be sending to France by every post ‘tout ce qui se passe de plus secret dans les conseils à la Haye’. An agent’s report on him was endorsed by Nottingham as having been read to the Admiralty the night it was received (15 September 1691), and a hand is drawn in the margin pointing to the passage about Aubert (pp. 709, 727).

Not all French spies were fingered. In August 1692 Louis XIV was able to tell his courtiers exactly what had been discussed at a council of war held on board the Anglo-Dutch fleet after La Hougue (p. 462). The French privateers off Ireland were equally well informed. ‘They know what ships of ours were on our coast, where our armyes lye, what regiments of ours in Ireland, and speak of Scotland as if of the Councill there’ (p. 179).

After La Hougue Renaudot had transferred his interest in an invasion to Scotland, where he thought it more likely to succeed. Six or seven thousand Jacobite troops were available to be transported there, many more would join

in a rising, and William would need to bring back twenty thousand of his best Dutch troops to put it down, as he would be unable to use English or Scots. The navy would be confined to home waters, 'ce qui ruinerait toutes les espérances des Espanols, et tous les projets du Duc de Savoye et de l'Empereur en Italie', subsidies to allies would dry up, the cost to France would be minimal, and more damage would be done to the Allied cause in six months than in ten years on the Continent (Renaudot, *Lettres inédites*, pp. 33–7).

Renaudot's plans, however, were found no more acceptable than Nottingham's had been for an invasion of France. 'On ne songe plus à ces sortes d'entreprises', the latter was told early in 1693, 'c'est une pure illusion' (pp. 516, 520). The new target had been identified as early as November 1692. Certainly a huge effort was being made to bring the French fleet back to battle strength. 'Mais le principal but est de ruiner entièrement le commerce des Anglois et Hollandois, parce qu'on espère les reduire plustot par là que par des batailles navales. C'est pourquoy on armera fort en Levant, aussy bien qu'en Ponant' (p. 498). Tourville had blotted his copybook by allowing a large Allied convoy returning from the Levant to slip past him in 1691 (p. 342). An even larger outgoing convoy had been building up during 1692. The Smyrna fleet, as it was known after one of its principal destinations (the modern Izmir), was an Allied convoy eventually comprising about 400 merchant ships, bound from a rendezvous off the Isle of Wight to various ports from Spain to Syria. In spite of Nottingham's efforts to speed its departure, it did not finally sail until 30 May 1693, escorted by Rooke's squadron of 23 Allied men of war. The main Anglo-Dutch fleet accompanied it as far as the Bay of Biscay before turning back.

The course of events is well known. A third of the convoy made its way safely to ports in northern Spain and western Portugal. The remaining ships (over 260) were ambushed on 17/27 June in Lagos Bay off the Algarve coast by the main Brest fleet of 73 ships of the line under Tourville. (The Toulon squadron of 20 ships of the line under d'Estrées had not yet joined him.) The Allied commanders agreed that flight was the only option, and poor French tactics enabled Rooke to escort about 40 merchantmen, including some of the richest, safely back to Portsmouth via Madeira and Kinsale. The Dutch ships bore the brunt of the attack, and the Dutch and Baltic merchants took most of the losses. The four English ships carrying the most valuable goods scuttled themselves at Gibraltar to escape bombardment by the French, but within two months the ships had been raised 'and the Goods unladen, washed, dry'd, and housed, with little damage' as the *London Gazette* reported (21–24 Aug., quoting news from Madrid, [2/]12 Aug.; 11–14 Sept., quoting news from Corunna, [2/]12 Sept. 1693).

Many Allied ships found refuge in Spanish or Portuguese harbours, the

largest a contingent bound for ports in southern Spain which were shepherded to safety at Cadiz by their appointed escort, the hired merchantman *Smyrna Factor*, then serving as a frigate in Rooke's squadron. A letter from her captain, Edward Littleton, was one of the first accounts of the disaster to reach London. Nottingham sent it to Blathwayt, who had it published in a Dutch journal, *The Present State of Europe* (Aug. 1693). It continued to be cited for many years and reappears in *British Naval Documents 1204–1960*, Navy Records Society, CXXXI (1993), pp. 208–11. Nottingham's papers include a French version, calendared here in English (pp. 156–7).

An agent at Rochefort forwarded another first-hand account of the engagement, written by a French officer on board the *St. Esprit*. This and letters from Cadiz forwarded by the regular Paris agent put the total of Allied shipping taken, burned or sunk by 23 or 24 June, a week after the ambush, at between 60 and 70 vessels (pp. 583–4, 742–3). Nottingham's papers also include another French narrative of unknown provenance (pp. 807–8), apparently duplicated in BN Fonds. Fr. n. a. 4801, f. 127 (La Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*, VI.143, and see p. cxii below).

Other sources for the Smyrna fleet disaster are plentiful, making it one of the best documented episodes in early modern naval history. Much of the testimony given by naval officers and others to the subsequent enquiries by the Privy Council and the two houses of Parliament has been preserved in official records, for example the documents published in *House of Lords MSS., N.S. I: 1693–95* (1900). The Levant Company archives, showing how the English merchants were able to weather the disaster, have been drawn on in an article already cited (Anderson, 'The Anglo-Dutch "Smyrna" fleet of 1693', pp. 95–116 *passim*). References in *Finch Vare* indexed under Turkey: convoy. The reports from Nottingham's agents are interesting as a barometer of French opinion. There is much about French hopes from the attack, and disappointment at its incomplete success. It had been planned as a devastating psychological as well as economic blow, which would bring to their knees the merchants of London and Amsterdam, much more dependent than Paris on overseas trade. It was expected that the merchants would force their governments to sue for peace.

A crucial test of the priorities of any authoritarian ruler, according to Professor Christopher Andrew, is what he is willing to be woken up for. Louis XIV left instructions that as soon as any news arrived of the Smyrna fleet, Pontchartrain was to tell him, even if it meant breaking his door down in the middle of the night. 'Le Roy mesme a chargé Monsieur de Pontchartrain de venir enfoncer sa porte, pour luy en donner des nouvelles aussy tost qu'il en saura, à quelque heure que ce soit. Vous pouvez juger par là de quelle importance on juge cette affaire' (p. 577).

The Allies were also in suspense, for news of the ambush long preceded news of the outcome. 'Our merchants are in greater pain than ever for the Smyrna fleet, and offer vast summs to have them insur'd' (p. 160); they hoped for 'news that our Turkey fleet is escaped out of the French clutches' but feared the worst (p. 175). 'Without a wonderfull providence we cannot escape them', wrote Nottingham to Blathwayt (p. 153), and Blathwayt replied that it was not 'easy to think of anything else at present than the great danger our Mediterranean fleet is in' (p. 162). 'His Majesty is so farr persuaded of the almost unavoidable danger they are in that we expect nothing less than the dreadfull news of this great misfortune' (p. 157). On the day the news broke, Queen Mary told Nottingham that she had failed to take in what the Spanish ambassador had said to her that morning, 'for I had the Smirna fleet so much in my head I turned every thing to that' (p. 195).

Yet just as their defeat at La Hougue had galvanised the French into creating their greatest sailing navy ever in 1693, so the Smyrna fleet disaster spurred both the English and Dutch into renewed efforts for 1694. Nottingham was delighted to learn from Blathwayt that the States General had voted money for 24,000 seamen – a quarter more than the previous year – and 15,000 more men for the land forces. 'I wish we may do so too, and repair all our misfortunes and have some prospect of an happy issue of this war' (pp. 263, 269). But Parliament's price was to be his own downfall; and the return of the King, which he had been urging by every post, was to seal it.

Nottingham's responsibilities for naval affairs had nearly led to his censure by Parliament the previous winter and had brought many frustrations, but the decision that Trenchard should take over in April 1693 was probably the King's, not his own, although he put a good face on it (Ehrman, *The Navy in the War of William III*, p. 412; Horwitz, *Revolution Politicks*, p. 143). In practice, however, he was not allowed to quit. On 17/27 April, for example, Blathwayt wrote from Loo asking him to set in motion the Admiralty court's consideration of a list of impounded Danish ships that the Danes wanted back, adding apologetically that he knew this business was no longer in Nottingham's province, 'but it is his Majesties pleasure that I address myself to your Lordship by whom everything may be putt into its proper channell' (p. 90). Notwithstanding Nottingham's frequent disclaimers he continued to be sent naval business, for example by the Victualling Commissioners. Eventually a public announcement had to be made that 'The Earl of Nottingham having declin'd sending or receiving any of the King's letters to or from the fleet, Secretary Trenchard manages all that affair' (pp. 95, 110, 115, 143, 169).

The trouble was that he was not proactive enough. In 1692 Nottingham had been criticised for 'interfering so much in maritime affairs' (John Entick,

A New Naval History (1757), p. 565), the Commons trying to put the clock back by petitioning for orders to be sent to the fleet through the Commissioners of the Admiralty instead. This merely delayed the execution of orders and increased the likelihood of leaks at times when speed and secrecy were essential. Although Killigrew and Delavall had replaced some of the dead wood at the Admiralty in April, and Shovell and Rooke had joined the Navy Board, neither board now carried much weight and a great deal depended on the secretary of state. Nottingham became worried by the apparent lack of direction. On 19 May he took up his pen to Blathwayt. 'Upon this occasion, though the fleet be not in my particular province, I cannot forbear observing some few things to you.'

He proposed that if intelligence was received that d'Estrées had joined Tourville off Brest, only ten Allied warships would be needed to protect the Mediterranean trade and assist the Spaniards, and Rooke could bring back the rest to reinforce the main fleet. On the other hand, if d'Estrées was still in the Mediterranean he would hear when the Smyrna fleet reached Cadiz, where it was scheduled to stay for twenty days, 'and will infallibly so post himself as to meet them, and I cannot think but that our squadron and merchants must be destroy'd'. Trenchard would write to Blathwayt about the solution discussed at the Cabinet Committee, which was for Rooke to go on to Italy, collect the Spanish fleet 'and come back in search of the French, sending notice to Cadiz when the merchants may come away with safety'. Nottingham had a quicker alternative: for Rooke to be reinforced 'with an addition of eight or ten considerable ships to be detach't from the main fleet, and even with a greater number if the French should have sent any more thither from these seas'. Prepared to be snubbed by William, who had already signified (p. 115) that he thought Rooke strong enough to defeat d'Estrées without help, Nottingham ended his letter: 'If what I have writt be of no use, I am sorry I have given you or my selfe the trouble of it' (pp. 126–8).

He received a highly encouraging reply by return. The King agreed that Rooke should rejoin the main fleet with all but ten ships in the circumstances described. He also thought the proposal to reinforce Rooke from the main fleet 'very reasonable', but it should await intelligence of d'Estrées' actual movements rather than his plans, which might change. On a private slip Blathwayt added: 'Your Lordship is pleased to say Mr Secretary Trenchard was to write to me of Sir G. Rook's staying or not staying at Cadiz, etc., but I have only a bare account from Mr Secretary of the going out of the squadron with the main fleet, so that if your Lordship had confined your self to your province the King would not have had any of those considerations your Lordship mentions' (pp. 131–2).

A similar exchange was to follow in June, Blathwayt going so far as to send

Nottingham 'for your own private information' a copy of the inadequate briefing provided by Trenchard to the King (pp. 174, 182). Their frank comments on the disaster have already been cited. Nottingham 'never wrote to you with so sorrowfull an heart as at this time' (p. 194). In September Blathwayt sent as 'worthy your Lordship's perusal' a long letter from an agent at Rochefort which constituted an indictment of Allied naval policy. Quite apart from the Straits débâcle, what had happened to the Allied fleet for the last three months? 'on diroit quelle a fondu'. The Biscay coast of France had been wide open to attack. Twenty or thirty ships in the latitude of Belle Ile could have taken enough French prizes to pay for the whole fleet. Even five or six frigates would have freed the Bilbao trade from being preyed on by the privateers of Bayonne and St. Jean de Luz (pp. 244–5).

As Trenchard admitted to Portland, the King 'has reason to be dissatisfied with the management of our maritime affairs' (Nottingham University Library, PwA 1413). Nottingham was tight-lipped in his draft defence of his conduct: 'I must go so far as to say I did not advise the measures which were taken. I might go further' (Aiken, *The Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham*, p. 128).

At the heart of the controversy was the much-copied letter of [22 May/] 1 June incorporating a list of the Brest fleet which Nottingham received on the evening of 30 May (no. E 103, pp. 554–6). It was the work of the most reliable Allied agent in Paris, Samuel Poulion, and reached Nottingham, like all Poulion's letters, in the form of a transcript made in Rotterdam by Jurieu's secretary Legoux. Jurieu later sent a duplicate to Blathwayt, who forwarded it to Nottingham on 8/18 June (almost certainly this is no. E 104, pp. 556–7). Both copies included the news that the Brest fleet had sailed and been lost from sight. Blathwayt's copy had a postscript, dated Paris, [26 May/] 5 June, advising that the fleet was believed bound for Cadiz. This Nottingham did not receive until 13 June (p. 146). Meanwhile he laid his own copy before the Cabinet Committee on 31 May, 'and a copy of it was ordered to be given, and was given, to Secretary Trenchard, and he was directed to transmit it to the three admirals' (who had sailed but were still thought within range), together with instructions that they should take Sir George Rooke's squadron and the Smyrna convoy with them to Camaret Bay, look into Brest water, and if they found it empty 'Sir George should not proceed on his voyage till they had got some account of the French fleet. But neither these orders in their full extent, nor the list of the French fleet, were transmitted to the three admirals' (Aiken, *The Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham*, p. 117). This does not quite tally with Trenchard's recollection of the same events, as recounted to the Commons on 10 February 1694 and passed on to the Lords on the 12th. Nottingham made a holograph transcript of Trenchard's testimony on this occasion, printed in full below

(no. N.M. 60(3), p. 829; BL Add. MS. 17677OO, ff. 161–2; *Commons Journals*, XI. 91, 93; *Lords Journals*, XV. 366–7; Henry Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy and Politics in the Reign of William III* (1977), pp. 125–6, 128, 140 note 29).

Much of this was beside the point. Trenchard's letter of 31 May to the admirals only enclosed the French fleet list, not the rest of Poulion's letter or the orders described; but by the time they received it (on 8 June) Rooke had already parted company (on 6 June). A scout which had been sent in to Brest water was prevented by contrary winds from rejoining them and only reported Brest as empty on the 11th (Add. MS. 35855, ff. 9–11; SP 44/205, p. 20). The Levant Company was scathing about this poor intelligence, the sailing of the French fleet on 16 May having been reported in the *London Gazette* sent to press on 1 June (no. 2875; SP 105/145, pp. 213–17). Nottingham had indeed been informed a week earlier (pp. lii–liii above). Blathwayt, before the fate of the convoy was known, expressed his surprise that Nottingham had not commented on the copy of Poulion's report he had forwarded on 8 June (p. 158). 'I did not take notice to you of the intelligence you sent me', Nottingham replied, 'because I have the same from Monsieur Jurieux, but 'tis always read at the Cabinet Councill and Mr Secretary transmitts what is thought proper to the fleet' (p. 174).

Once the news of the disaster broke, 'right or wrong the Whiggs lay all miscariages at my Lord Nottingham's doore', as his father-in-law was told (BL Add. MS. 29574, f. 206). His enemies received the news, said Queen Mary, 'with a kind of malicious joy' (Doebner (ed.), *Memoirs of Mary*, p. 60). An informer thought it his duty to tell the Earl what was being chanted in the coffee-houses: 'that the Tirkey fleet was sold is true, and not a sham; you may finde it out by searching as farre as Nottingham' (p. 235). Poulion the spy was 'outré de douleur de cette affaire' (p. 584), and reproached the Allies with ignoring his postscript warning about Cadiz (which Nottingham had not received in time), as it was derived from a source actually on board the French fleet. Nottingham could see that his days in office were numbered but was reluctant to resign in case this was taken as an admission of guilt. He began to concert his defence with the three admirals (pp. 154–5, 164–5, 189, 193, 238–9, 242, 277–9; N.M. 39, p. 829, cited as N.M. 30 in Horwitz, *Revolution Politicks*, p. 144). The King dismissed them all on his return, unwillingly in the cases of Nottingham and Shovell.

'You know how the English value them selves and their honour especiey in sea maters', Queen Mary wrote in December to her cousin the Electress Sophia, 'so that may be thay wanted a little humbleing and I think thay have had it' (Doebner (ed.), *Memoirs of Mary*, p. 109). The lessons of 1693 were taken to heart. Both sides had expected the war to culminate that year in an

epic sea battle, which perhaps coloured the English naval officers' assumption that d'Estrées would be joining Tourville and not vice versa. 'As to the meeting or forcing your enemy to fight' Delavall told Nottingham, 'I looke upon it as morally impossible if he will not tayke as much paines to meet and fight us as wee do him' (pp. 238–9). In seeking out an easier prey the French had miscalculated, for it largely slipped from their grasp. Which was their error, asks Professor Glete (*Navies and Nations*, p. 221): to spend so much on an unwieldy battle fleet, or to fail to make the most of it when built? After Lagos Bay, Vauban advocated switching resources from the *guerre d'escadre* to the *guerre de course*, Pontchartrain cancelled all new shipbuilding, and the French naval budget dropped from 32 million livres in 1693 to 24 million in 1694. These were not simply fiscal necessities but the logical consequence of switching the target from the Allied navy to Allied trade.

Privateering was already a successful business. The Duc de Chaulnes, admiral and governor of Brittany, received 900,000 livres as his tenth part of the prizes taken in 1692 (La Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*, VI.163). The *cité corsaire* of St. Malo was the capital of the industry. The Malouins vaunted their 'relations en cour', and several prominent courtiers were investors. The close cooperation between the government and the *armateurs* took different forms in different regions. At Toulon the navy lent ships, officers, stores and dockyard facilities to the privateers, whilst at St. Malo it was the privateers who fitted out ships for the royal navy – five in 1692 alone (pp. 432, 469; J.S. Bromley, 'The loan of French naval vessels to privateering enterprises 1688–1713', reprinted in Bromley, *Corsairs and Navies 1660–1760* (1987), p. 189). One of Nottingham's agents was at St. Malo when three English prizes were brought in by the *Comte de Revel*, commanded by Jean Doublet, who mentions the capture in his autobiography (p. 651; Jean Doublet, *Le Corsaire du Roi Soleil*, ed. Yvon Le Cozannet and Gérard Ducable (1990), p. 173). Many other references are indexed under privateers. Like the English tarpaulins, the French privateers might go in and out of the royal navy as *officiers bleus*, the most famous being the Dunkirk privateer Jean Bart (see p. lxxxiii).

Although more enemy seamen were captured during the war by the English than the French (*House of Lords MSS.*, N.S. VII: 1706–8 (1921), p. 207), the French privateers took more prizes than the English privateers and navy combined. Nottingham was told that ten English prizes were taken for every one Dutch (p. 650). His papers include various proposals to make the prize system more attractive both for privateers and the navy (N.M. 38, p. 823). From 1692 new legislation allowed privateers to keep the entire value of an enemy ship and 80% of the value of its cargo, which they could now import into England. A small boom followed: 87 letters of marque were taken out in 1692 (against 490 for the nine years of the war) and the privateers took

101 prizes in 1692 to the navy's 71, and 75 in 1693 to the navy's 49, the only two years of the war when the privateers took more ships than the navy – although not necessarily more tonnage. They left the navy to deal with armed vessels and concentrated on snapping up unarmed French coastal traders off Normandy and Brittany, or Allied vessels trading illicitly with France (W.R. Meyer, 'English privateering in the war of 1688–1697', *The Mariner's Mirror*, LXVII (1981), 261–3). In 1693 Nottingham was again called on to help improve the system (pp. 50–2, 64, 86–7, 90, 104–5).

In the absence of any naval protection in the Mediterranean in 1692–3, many English merchants resorted to self-help. Wealthy merchants like Sir Joseph Herne took out privateering commissions for their armed traders on the same terms as those whose primary objective was raiding enemy commerce, although they were distinguished by contemporaries as letter of marque ships rather than privateers. At least 322 ships with greater than 100 tons capacity took out English letters of marque during the war, often for a particular voyage. They rarely took any prizes, but their owners argued that the maintenance of trade was a more important contribution to the war effort (Jerry Drew, 'Entrepreneurial Warriors: Privateers in Trade and War', Univ. of Pennsylvania Ph.D. thesis 2002, ch. 3).

As Godolphin told William in August 1693, the priority given each summer to a strong fleet had weakened the protection given to trade, and when all was said and done, the war could not be supported unless trade was protected (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, p. 274). A Whig naval officer, Richard Gibson, was brought in to make detailed proposals for the distribution of warships for commerce protection (Denman, 'The Political Debate over War Strategy', p. 95). The 'cruisers and convoys' provisions written into the Land Tax Act of 1694 did not actually increase the number of ships detailed each year to convoy protection – 43 ships had been standard under Nottingham – but did ring-fence them. William had tried to make Rooke's squadron serve strategic and commercial purposes simultaneously, and it had ended up doing neither. His impatience to satisfy his allies in the Mediterranean had led him to issue orders for its departure so peremptory that they overrode the admirals' intention to proceed with greater caution (Anderson, 'The Anglo-Dutch "Smyrna fleet" of 1693', pp. 103–5).

Nottingham himself had no quarrel in principle with a dual role for the Mediterranean squadron. On 4 August he wrote to Blathwayt suggesting that once the French fleet had returned to Brest, a small force should be sent back to Gibraltar with the reconstituted convoy, pick up the four salvaged ships there and proceed on to Turkey. A larger squadron might then follow to join with the Spaniards and overwinter in the Mediterranean (thus securing William's strategic objectives), and see the returning convoy safely

home in 1694 (p. 222). This is an interesting precursor of William's decision that the whole fleet should overwinter in the Mediterranean in 1694–5, although Nottingham was to have some doubts about this as leaving the Channel unprotected. His main strategic difference with William in 1691–3, disguised by their common talk of descents, was that where the more experienced King was thinking in terms of a raid whose objectives would be limited to the destruction of French ships and stores, the diversion of troops from Flanders and the spreading of alarm and despondency among the enemy, Nottingham wanted an invasion on a large enough scale to trigger a popular revolt which might cause Louis's regime to crumble as rapidly as James's had done in 1688–9 (see pp. cxxx, cxxxiii–cxxxvii, clii for specific invasion projects put forward by refugees; *Finch IV, passim*; Denman, 'The Political Debate over War Strategy', pp. 16–18, 82, 87–8, 260–4). The failure of Dauphiné to rise during the Duke of Savoy's invasion in the summer of 1692, and the King's lack of enthusiasm, were among the factors which led him to take a more realistic approach in later years.

As early as May 1691 an Allied agent on the Ile de Ré pointed out the two cardinal Anglo-Dutch errors: beggarly convoy protection, and not watching Brest. 'Ilz donnent des convois de gueux à des flottes de marchands si considerables. Que diable font tous vos navires de guerre dans la Manche, quilz ne sortent hors à venir bloquer Brest?' (pp. 700–2). Nottingham's papers include 'A better way of fighting the French at sea', an anonymous memorial about the strategic importance of Brest, 'our enemies great fronteer', and advocating greater use of the southern Irish ports as naval bases, 'for they all front Brest' (no. N.M. 37, pp. 822–3). The amount of space devoted to Brest in his agents' reports is a measure of its importance in 1691–3. Although much further from Paris than Portsmouth or even Plymouth were from London, it had the only deep-water port within striking range of Britain which was capable of accommodating warships of the first rate, Le Havre and Cherbourg not being deepened until later (Dessert, *La Royale*, pp. 108–9; A.N Ryan, 'The Royal Navy and the blockade of Brest, 1689–1805: theory and practice', in Martine Acerra, José Merino and Jean Meyer (eds.), *Les Marines de Guerre Européennes, XVII–XVIIIe siècles* [1985], p. 175). Nottingham was in full agreement with the King about the importance of Brest, and sending a force up the Goulet to attack the enemy in his own harbour had been a project dear to them both since 1691 – the naval officers were much more doubtful – although as Nottingham pointed out to Blathwayt, preparations for raiding it fell within Trenchard's sphere after April 1693 (pp. 110, 115; *Finch III–IV, passim*; Ryan, 'The Royal Navy and the blockade of Brest', p. 179). Preparations for a raid were halted in 1692 by the appearance of the invasion fleet and in 1693 by the disappearance of the French fleet. Symcox indeed suggests that

the main reason for the Brest fleet's departure for Lagos Bay was to prevent it from being attacked in harbour, but this seems unlikely (G. Symcox, *The Crisis of French Sea Power 1688–1697: from the guerre d'escadre to the guerre de course* (1974), pp. 133, 137). The strict blockade of Brest which was to bottle up the French fleet in later wars was not yet thought to be a technical possibility, given the appalling wind and weather conditions off Ushant. It was nevertheless clear that the centre of gravity had moved from the Channel to the Western Approaches, and in William's opening address to Parliament in November he stressed the need for better naval facilities in the south-west.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS OF WAR

The naval and military section includes groups of letters and papers relating to the exchange of English and French prisoners of war in 1691–2 (p. 821), and the provision made for sick and wounded seamen in 1692 (p. 825). These were not matters for which Nottingham normally took responsibility. They fell within the remit of the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded and Exchange of Prisoners of War, a temporary body set up for the duration of the war. But he was sometimes consulted about cases where the agreed procedure had not been followed (p. 16), or where one side or the other complained of ill treatment (pp. 112, 161, 264, 274–5; *Finch IV*, pp. 446, 452–3; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, p. 373). When a Plymouth boat sent to spy on naval preparations at Brest was captured by the French, the Commissioners of the Admiralty asked Nottingham to arrange a quick exchange before the Huguenot volunteers on board could be sent to the galleys (p. 71).

Unlike most later cartels, that of 1691 did not require numbers exchanged to be equal. Both sides were glad to be rid of prisoners who were both expensive to feed and a security risk. Privateers operating off an enemy coast, like the St. Malo partners *Philippe* and *Grenade* who took two English men of war off Ireland in 1693 – the *Eaglet* in May and *Diamond* in September – would set a captured crew ashore if they could do so in safety. A friendly coast made an ideal dumping ground. Diplomatic representations had to be made at the Hague against Dutch privateers landing their French prisoners at Portsmouth without making any provision for their upkeep (p. 31).

Returning prisoners were not debriefed as a matter of routine, but would occasionally volunteer information, like Captain Jacob Sanders, an exchanged master mariner anxious to report his observations of French naval preparations at Toulon in December 1692 (complete with sketch map) and the privateering strength of St. Malo in January 1693 (pp. 27, 828; Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, III.22, 160). Although St. Malo and nearby Dinan were the main holding centres for English seamen, they were usually guarded too closely to provide much useful intelligence on their release, unlike the French

prisoners in Jersey for whom they were exchanged (p. 809; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1693, p. 446). Even the Irish Jacobites were ordered to leave St. Malo in April 1693 when significant naval and military preparations were on foot, and not to return within three leagues of the town under severe penalties (p. 99). Gossip from the French countryside could more easily be spared. When the lieutenant-governor of Jersey sent two boats towards the French coast to fish for intelligence, the haul which he then presented to Nottingham was of little real value (pp. 223–4). The other main exchange route, between Calais and Dover, was also a net intelligence liability for the Allies, in the view of Jurieu's colleague Caillaud (BL Add. MS. 21552, ff. 44, 50).

Nottingham was kept informed about (but was not involved in) the exchange of generals taken on the battlefield, such as the famous exchange after Landen of the captured Duke of Berwick for the wounded Duke of Ormond (another poor bargain, since Ormond was later to turn Jacobite). The mortally wounded Duke of Schomberg was also exchanged after Marsaglia, to die in Turin (pp. 207, 228, 232, 260, 273–4, 620, 622).

Where Nottingham did have a role was over the detention of civilians in France contrary to the cartel of 1691. Owing to his French birth it took over a year to obtain the release of James Dayrolle, the former secretary of Sir William Trumbull who had been taken by a Dunkirk privateer in 1692 while travelling in Blathwayt's service. It took even longer to free three Englishmen with influential connections who had been imprisoned in France on suspicion of spying since early in the war. They were John Vanbrugh, the future playwright and architect, arrested at Calais; Montagu North, brother and partner of Sir Dudley North, arrested at Marseilles; and Edward Goddard, nephew of another leading Levant merchant and politician, Sir Samuel Dashwood, arrested while studying at Angers. Although the King had been ready to trade a French spy for them, Martin Forval *alias* Bertillier, Nottingham enlisted the Queen's support in opposing Forval's release, as is shown by his choice of verb. 'I am commanded to acquaint you', he wrote to Blathwayt, 'that this man has been a spye for France in most countrys of Europe and came hither for the like errand, and for his dexterity in that treacherous art is much valued by the Court of France.' The three Englishmen were innocent 'whereas Forvall may justly be hanged ... Besides, it may be dangerous to those gentlemen to offer Forvall in exchange for them ... it might give a fair praetext to France to treat them as spyes'. This was prescient, for when his own best spy in Paris was later seized, it was an offer of exchange by the English government of the day that sealed his fate (p. clviii). The alternative found by Nottingham in this case was to offer Major-General Thomas Maxwell, a superannuated Jacobite prisoner already out of the Tower on bail. This was acceptable to the French, and the three Englishmen were given their passes to leave France on 29 January 1693. Two

of them were promptly arrested on arrival at Dover, and Nottingham had to write to the mayor to release them. Meanwhile William was slower to approve, and it was 2 June before Maxwell finally received his own pass into France. He was forbidden to take horses but was allowed nine saddles, five servants and forty dozen bottles of sherry. He died at St. Germain three months later (pp. 21–2, 112, 113, 116, 129, 132, 138, 141, 142, 145; *Finch III*, pp. 293–4, 389; *Finch IV*, pp. 36–466 *passim*; *Downshire I*, pp. 394, 430, 434; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1691–92*, p. 28; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, pp. 89, 168, 344; François Ravaissou, *Archives de la Bastille*, IX (1877), pp. 338–47; Richard Grassby, *The English Gentleman in Trade. The Life and Works of Sir Dudley North, 1641–1691* (1994), pp. 59, 222–3; Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I. 309).

THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

In the spring of 1692 an unspecified French source (now missing), to which he did not give a great deal of credence, informed Nottingham that Jersey and Guernsey were the primary targets of the Jacobite invasion force being assembled on the French coast. William took this report more seriously, and the islands' defences were strengthened (p. 674; *Finch IV*, pp. xix, 61, 63, 71, 89). Even after Russell's victory at La Hougue had dispelled any immediate threat, Captain Thomas Phillips was sent out with a small naval task force to survey all likely French landing places on Sark and Alderney, as well as the enemy's own defences around St. Malo and Cancale (*ibid.*, pp. 419, 438).

In 1693 the islands were of more concern as a conduit for intelligence, and an official allowance was sought for this by the lieutenant-governor of Jersey (p. 223). The exchange of prisoners of war through St. Malo and Jersey meant that one regular channel of communication was open officially (pp. 99, 161, 809), and other (by no means mutually exclusive) channels included smugglers, privateers, Jacobites, Huguenot refugees and undercover agents. In the frequent absences of the aristocratic governors, much depended on the loyalty and good judgment of the lieutenant-governors and other officials from the mainland; these often appeared seriously open to question, and there were a number of clashes with the local authorities and the militia (pp. 224–5, 247, 251–2, 808–9; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1690–91*, pp. 478–80) as well as the privateers based on the islands. One of the most successful of the Guernsey privateers, Captain John Stephens, took in all fifty prizes, a major contribution to the war effort, but in August 1693 he intercepted a spy boat returning from the French coast with an official pass from the lieutenant-governor of Jersey and refused to release the boat in spite of its pass, so that the information it brought was a month late in reaching Nottingham (pp. 223, 256–7; Meyer, 'English privateering in the war of 1688 to 1697', p. 266). This was no doubt unintentional, for Stephens had previously

passed on to Nottingham information about Alderney men sending intelligence to France which Nottingham thought important enough to forward to Sir Patience Ward (*Cal. S.P. Dom 1690-1*, pp. 435-6; *Finch III*, p. 401). It is also possible that the privateer was the Mr Stevens who passed on to Nottingham a group of obviously Jacobite letters from his brother-in-law W. Stoner (perhaps the Jacobite William Stonor pardoned in 1706) and his correspondent James Goodlad, merchant in St. Malo (pp. 160-1, 169-72, 175).

IRELAND

The end of the war in Ireland in 1691, touched on briefly in the secret service papers, has already been covered in the introduction to *Finch III*, as has the subsequent disposition of the Jacobite forces which surrendered under the Articles of Limerick. Two Irish topics feature prominently in Nottingham's correspondence for 1693: charges against two members of the Irish administration; and the Irish parliament. The latter may seem strange, for the last Irish parliament had been prorogued in November 1692, and the next did not meet until 1695. Whether to risk another session was in fact the issue. That of 1692 had been unexpectedly stormy, the militant Protestant interest claiming the sole right to initiate the heads of money bills and rejecting a series of bills prepared by the government, in a show of independence and dissatisfaction with policies perceived as too lenient towards Roman Catholics and former Jacobites. Particular targets were the Irish Lord Chancellor, Sir Charles Porter (originally appointed by James II although soon dismissed by him as too moderate), and his fellow Lord Justice until 1692, Lord Coningsby. Both were unpopular as signatories and upholders of the Articles of Limerick, regarded as too generous, and Coningsby was suspected of corruption in the management of the revenue and forfeited estates. Early in 1693 their opponents, led by the Earl of Bellomont, like Coningsby an Irish peer and English M.P., succeeded in procuring addresses from both houses of the English parliament against abuses in the Irish administration, and pressed for personal charges to be brought against the two men. To secure themselves the pair obtained Nottingham's help in seeking royal pardons for their past conduct. This only served to inflame their opponents, who in June used legal tactics to stop the pardons pending impeachment. Both sides now agreed to hearings of the evidence by the Privy Council in August, Coningsby coming up to town from Herefordshire and Porter asking 'leave to come over to vindicate himself', but before he could do so the Council had dismissed the charges. As matters would clearly not rest there, Nottingham recommended, and the King agreed, that Porter should come over in any case and take up his seat in the Commons in the next session in order to pre-empt his enemies 'by

giving an account of his proceedings before things are carry'd to too great a height', as Coningsby had done in the spring session (pp. 89, 143, 159, 164, 169, 171–2, 176, 180, 181, 233, 236–7, 240, 248, 250; uncalendared Finch MSS., P.P.106). In the event articles of impeachment were brought against the two men in December, but they were able to defend themselves and the charges were dropped at the end of January. Coningsby kept his various Irish fiscal offices and Porter his chancellorship, and their pardons finally went through in the spring of 1694 (Eveline Cruickshanks, Stuart Handley and D.W. Hayton (eds.), *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1690–1715* (2002), III. 673–7, IV. 177–8; S.J. Connolly, 'The Penal Laws', in W.A. Maguire (ed.), *Kings in Conflict. The Revolutionary War in Ireland and its Aftermath 1689–1750* (1990), pp. 160–1; Henry Horwitz (ed.), *The Parliamentary Diary of Narcissus Luttrell 1691–1693* (1972), pp. 438–43, 446–8; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1694, p. 115).

In the meantime the King's failure to address the parliamentary issue meant that contradictory orders and advice were criss-crossing between the King and Blathwayt in Flanders, Nottingham and the Queen in London, and the Lord Lieutenant, Viscount Sydney, in Dublin, over the date to which the Irish parliament should be prorogued, whether it should be dissolved, whether and if so when a new parliament should be called (pp. 110, 112, 115, 116, 123, 125, 137–8, 152, 158). At last it was agreed that Sydney should dissolve the old parliament (as recommended by Nottingham) at the end of June before returning home, and that a fresh parliament should be called for September when the new Lords Justices had all reached Dublin. (One of them, Sydney's Chief Secretary Wyche, was to hold the fort there in July on a temporary commission with Porter; Capell and Duncombe were to join him.) But on 30 June Nottingham received a letter from Blathwayt in the King's name soliciting his views, and those of such as he should consult, on whether a parliament should be called at all that year (p. 173). Nottingham was at first in two minds (p. 178), but had an opportunity to sound out the Cabinet Committee on 4 July, when 'the debate arose very naturally' from the reading of letters from the Irish administration on this very issue. He reported to Blathwayt at length later that day (pp. 182–6).

The Irish and English administrations were in full agreement that money was needed for the support of the army and government in Ireland, but that the Irish parliament should not be asked for it if the money could be borrowed instead against the Irish revenue, as seemed probable; 'and then the question was whether it was expedient to call a Parliament to meet at the beginning of September to settle the public affairs without asking any money of them'. Here the Cabinet Council was divided. Somers, Pembroke, Trenchard and Seymour 'thought that if mony could be gott upon the revenue it would be best not to hold the Parliament till the spring'; Devonshire, Rochester and

Nottingham himself wanted it held in September; Dorset gave no opinion. Those against a September parliament feared that it would have no time to accomplish anything useful (since it would have to end before the English parliament met); this would anger the Irish members, who would take out their frustration on the next session of the English parliament as well as the next Irish. Nottingham disagreed: 'Tis possible they may insist on some bills which the King will not care to grant, but this is a stronger argument against their meeting in Aprill then in September. For then the King must ask money', and they would have more leverage. 'It has been fatall to one king to put off Parliaments till he could no longer subsist without them.' Procedure over money bills could not become an issue again if no money were asked, although there would certainly be other complaints, 'for there is too much reason for them'; but these would be better dealt with in Ireland where exaggerated claims could more easily be exposed. To conclude, if the only apparent response to remonstrances by both parliaments was to dissolve the Irish parliament and call no new one, 'ill men may take this occasion to say, and even to the Parliament here, that 'tis done on purpose to stifle those complaints which should be redressed'.

This interesting policy paper is remarkable both in being requested at all by William III and in content – Whigs against a parliament, Tories for it. There is no comparable source for deliberations preceding the decision to call the Irish parliament of 1692, the first Protestant Irish parliament since 1666, although we do know that it was not originally intended to seek money from it – that was an afterthought of Sydney's (James L. McGuire, 'The Irish Parliament of 1692', in Thomas Bartlett and D.W. Hayton (eds.), *Penal Era and Golden Age. Essays in Irish History 1690–1800* (1979), pp. 4, 7–8). This letter was followed three days later by another (pp. 188–9) reporting that the Cabinet Committee had met again to discuss how the money might be raised. The two Lords Justices about to depart had attended, delivering a memorial 'that with £40,000 they might be able to support the civil government and the army till the spring'. Lord Godolphin, First Lord of the Treasury, then said that while he expected to be able to borrow all the money, he could not be sure of most of it until September. Nottingham thought this strengthened his case for a September parliament, to fall back on if needed; if not, it could be prorogued until the spring. But only Rochester agreed, all the others considering that 'proroguing it will give great dissatisfaction and make the members angry in the spring when they shall meet'. In short, the choice lay between two evils: 'whether the possibility of dissatisfying the Parliament by proroguing it from September to April or March be of worse consequence then the possibility of having no money advanced by loan without any remedy by a supply from the Parliament'.

Both Nottingham's letters reached the Allied camp on 13 July, crossing with

a strong hint from Blathwayt that the King 'seems prepossessed against the meeting from an apprehension that if that Parliament do not end entirely well, it will furnish clamour to ill men in England to disturb the proceedings of ours'. On 17 July Blathwayt wrote again to confirm that no parliament should be called 'without some new exigency'. Nottingham forwarded these instructions on the 25th to the Lords Justices in Dublin, adding on his own initiative that there was no need to announce this just yet, and that they should continue to prepare bills for future use. (Failure to have a legislative programme ready in time had contributed to the débâcle of 1692.) The Lords Justices received his letter shortly before their first council meeting on the 31st, at which the bills were to be considered, and kept prudently silent (pp. 187, 193, 196–7, 204; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, pp. 234, 247).

SCOTLAND

Nottingham's papers contain remarkably little relating to Scotland in 1693: 'the nation ... ar in profound peace' as Breadalbane reported (p. 58), and the usual rumours of invasion or insurrection were not taken seriously. Disputes over jurisdiction at sea were the main feature: the pressing of seamen out of Scottish ships contrary to previous pledges (pp. 46–7), and the *Fortune* incident. This was a Danish merchant ship (owned by Scottish merchants but registered in Flensburg, then part of Denmark) which was seized in the Firth of Forth by an English privateer, the *Countess* of London. To arrest the two ships the Privy Council of Scotland sent after them an English frigate which was stationed at Leith for the protection of Scottish trade, the *Sweepstakes*, Captain Andrew Douglas or Douglass. He was a former merchant captain who had been given a naval command as a reward for forcing the boom at Londonderry, but was to be dismissed the service in 1704 for profiteering (*DNB*). True to form, he overhauled the *Countess* and her prize and 'soon agried' with the English privateer, giving him a receipt for the *Fortune* and carrying her off to London instead of Leith. As the Privy Council of Scotland pointed out in carefully worded separate letters to the King and Queen (p. 177), English ships were only authorised to search Scottish or neutral merchant ships in Scottish waters for suspected persons, not for contraband, and had no authority to seize the ships. Yet many Scottish ships had been carried off by English and Dutch privateers 'as if they were our ennemyes'. The Queen was asked to order the immediate restoration of the *Fortune* to her Scottish owners, and to ensure that explicit orders were issued by the English and Dutch authorities forbidding any future seizure of Scottish or neutral ships in Scottish waters; orders 'not only necessary for the security and freedom of the trade of this kingdom and the interest of your Majesties customes, bot lykewayes for the preserving the rights and honor of this your ancient kingdom which certainly is absolute and independent'.

The Scottish occupation of the moral high ground was undermined however by the nature of the *Fortune's* cargo: seventy tuns of French wine, and some brandy, all newly shipped at Bordeaux. Although a crew member was prepared to testify that the ship had sprung a leak en route for Copenhagen and was only putting in to Leith for repairs, the suspicion remained that she had been destined all along to satisfy the Edinburgh thirst for claret. And as the English Judge of Admiralty observed tartly, the Scots could have no legitimate interest in the case: for if the *Fortune* was not bound for Scotland or on Scottish accounts they had no reason to complain, 'and if she was bound for Leith or doth belong to Scotch merchants, she ought to be condemned as coming from the enemy and being laden with goods of the growth of France' (p. 192). Nevertheless the Scots won their main point, for it was accepted that she was taken in Scottish waters, not at sea as claimed by the privateer, and that if she were to be condemned it should be by a Scottish court. On 19 August the Queen accordingly replied to the Privy Council of Scotland returning the ship to Scottish jurisdiction (pp. 231, 232–3, 252; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, pp. 246, 266, 269; J. Grant (ed.), *The Old Scots Navy from 1689 to 1710*, Navy Records Society, XLIV (1914), pp. 48–50, 113–25).

THE BALTIC

William's Baltic policy at this time was to preserve the neutrality of the two main Baltic powers – Sweden, including Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and parts of Pomerania and Bremen – and Denmark, including Norway and Schleswig-Holstein – whilst cutting France off from the Baltic stores she needed. This was a difficult balancing act. The standing rivalry between Sweden and Denmark prevented them from cooperating effectively to resist the Allied blockade, but it also meant that too many concessions to one would alienate the other. Strict enforcement of the blockade could tip at least one of them into the French camp, but letting naval supplies through could win France the arms race.

The Baltic was the principal source of supply for all the western navies for fir timber for masts and yards (oak timber for hulls could be found nearer home), and for hemp, flax, pitch and tar. During the famine years of 1691–3 it was also considered vital to stop Baltic grain from reaching the French armies or relieving the stricken provinces.

Although William had initially tried to stop all Scandinavian trade with France, he had had to limit his demands to what the neutrals would accept as constituting contraband, still a grey area in international treaty law. Denmark agreed in the summer of 1691 not to export naval stores to France, and Sweden eventually followed suit (for a definition of such contraband see

article 5 on p. 86 below). The pill was sweetened by William's promise to pay compensation for ships and cargoes already seized; and the reporting of shipments of contraband improved when the maritime powers agreed that informers should receive a third of the net value of all contraband seized and condemned through their agency (*Finch IV*, p. 334).

By late 1692 Nottingham's agent in Paris was describing the efforts being made to bring mast timber across France from the Vosges mountains and the Pyrenees, an indication that sanctions were beginning to bite (pp. 444, 505). In February 1693 another agent reported that Brest was desperately short of the durable Norwegian masts, which cost ten times their pre-war price. He had watched masts for three new ships being made up from eight inferior spars fished together with ropes and iron bands, as fat as outsize wine casks (p. 655). He added that there was no truth whatsoever in the rumour that Danish and Swedish ships laden with masts, deals and other fittings had been calling at French ports.

Since it took time for the agreements with the northern crowns to be put into effect, there were many cases involving neutral ships which lacked the correct form of passes. The English government decided to issue revised instructions to men of war and privateers explaining the interim arrangements as well as the new rules. Nottingham helped to draft these instructions whilst still sole secretary of state, although they were not issued until after Trenchard had taken over as the responsible secretary (pp. 6, 11–12, 33, 39–40, 50–2, 86–7, 111; R. G. Marsden (ed.), *Law and Custom of the Sea*, II, Navy Records Society, L (1916), pp. 414–18).

His private papers for the first quarter of the year also include material about the detention of individual neutral or Allied ships suspected of blockade-running, closely related to similar material in the Public Record Office – in particular SP 42/2 (partly calendared in *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693* under its former reference H.O. Admiralty 6), which includes uncalendared case papers sent to Nottingham or his under secretary Richard Warre in January to March 1693 and passed on by them to Trenchard. This bundle also contains opinions by Sir Charles Hedges, the Judge of the Admiralty, complementing the letters and reports from Hedges calendared below. Both sources deal for instance with the 400-ton *Swedes' Arms*, ostensibly bound from Gothenburg to Lisbon (p. 5). Hedges' own case notes in BL Add. MS. 24103 add a third dimension, for example being fuller than either Nottingham's papers or those in SP 42/2 regarding the *Patience*, the *Peace* and the *Stockholm*, which had passes respectively from Altona, Hamburg, and Stockholm, and were laden ostensibly for Lisbon with fir masts and other naval stores (pp. 104–5 and note. For the case of the Danish ship *Fortune* see above, and for earlier cases see *Finch II–IV passim*, and pp. 822–4

below. J.S. Bromley's article 'The North Sea in wartime, 1688–1713', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, XCII (1977), 270–99, reprinted in his *Corsairs and Navies 1660–1760* (1987), 43–72, draws on many complementary sources, particularly in SP 75/23 and HCA 32).

Dutch adherence to a common policy on the trade embargo was essential to its success, whether applied to contraband in neutral ships or the wider ban on all trade with France by the Allies. The Hamburgers, for instance, were reluctant to publish their decree against the validity of any insurance taken out on trade with France until the States General had done the same. Otherwise, as Nottingham pointed out, 'the merchants of Hambourg will insure their ships and goods in Holland, and so this prohibition at Hamburg will be of little or no use at all' (pp. 32, 48–9). Dutch smuggling and 'colouring' created much bad blood between the States and their allies, especially the English who observed the ban more strictly. The traditional Dutch carrying trade in wines, brandies and salt between the Biscay coast of France and Scandinavia was now nominally in the hands of the Danes and Swedes, but much fraudulent use was made of passes from Altona and Glückstadt, Danish ports on the Elbe which were actually subject to the *avocataria* of the Empire prohibiting all trade with France; these, however, were difficult to enforce (pp. 51, 86, 104; *Finch IV*, pp. 10, 91, 103, 111, 145; Bromley, *Corsairs and Navies*, pp. 47, 53–4).

The new English instructions were therefore uncompromising about the grain trade: 'Corn laden in ships of any allies or neutrals may be seized whithersoever bound' (p. 86). Nottingham had shown this article in draft to the Swedish and Danish representatives in London, who had made no objection, for Louis XIV had already given similar orders, and William, like Louis, was willing to pay handsomely for any grain seized. The Dutch, however, showed no enthusiasm for it, and when Nottingham pressed Blathwayt 'to lett me know whether the States will pursue the same measures and give the like orders, without which the Committee is now of opinion that it were better omitted in the instructions to our commanders' (p. 88), he was eventually told – after the instructions had been published on 2 May – that the article should be revoked, which was done on 14 June (SP 116/457; Marsden, *Law and Custom II*, pp. 418–19). The neutrals had objected after all and had been humoured on the pragmatic grounds that 'there is not much benefit accruing by it, there being few ships stopt' (pp. 95, 113, 120–1, 131, 147). Although Nottingham had no choice but to obey, he did so under protest (pp. 128, 142, 145). The reports he was receiving from his agents showed how deeply the famine had affected France. In September he persuaded the Queen to order that the strongest possible measures should be taken to prevent grain from being exported there from England, Scotland

or Ireland. She also ordered Trenchard to instruct the English envoy at the Hague to press for similar measures from the States. William, informed of all this after the event, agreed to make recommendations to the States to the same effect. Soon afterwards Blathwayt was able to report that the Dutch were fitting out a squadron of ten ships to follow the Dunkirk privateer Jean Bart to the Sound, where he was correctly believed to have gone to collect a convoy of grain ships (pp. 253–4, 256, 258, 265; Bromley, *Corsairs and Navies*, p. 47). On the same day (13/23 October 1693) Renaudot was writing to tell Pontchartrain about a fraudulent method suggested by the Quakers for bringing grain ships safely through the Irish Channel (Burger, ‘Spymaster to Louis XIV’, pp. 114–15, 123).

Nottingham’s forebodings proved only too justified, and William had to reverse his policy and declare grain contraband after all the following year. For in June 1694 a huge convoy of grain ships left the Baltic for France. The Dutch succeeded in intercepting it off Holland, but the next day it was recaptured by Jean Bart, who was given a patent of nobility for saving France from starvation.

William had been anxious to minimize the friction caused by the Allied seizure of contraband because his relations with Denmark and Sweden were at a particularly delicate stage. Earlier in the war both countries had been prepared to hire out troops for Allied service. A Danish force served under him in Ireland and Flanders, and from 1690 to 1692 the Swedes provided an annual contingent for service on the Continent under agreements concluded in the 1680s. These sources had now dried up and there were rumours in early 1693 that Swedish and Danish troops might be used instead to support a Jacobite invasion of Scotland (pp. 3, 9, 14, 19–21, 23, 37, 61, 108). More serious was the news that the Danes and Swedes were selling ships to Louis XIV (pp. 490, 549, 724, 773; *Finch IV*, pp. 284, 303, 314). The simultaneous appointment to the northern courts of two senior French diplomats, Bonrepaus and d’Avaux, was also a source of alarm. Although both were temporarily in eclipse at home (pp. xxx, 410), they were vastly experienced and there was much speculation about the purpose of their missions, if not to promote an invasion. One agent believed that Denmark might be entering the war on the side of France, and offered to join Bonrepaus’s entourage to find out (pp. cxxix, 312, 379). Another wondered whether the ambassadors had been instructed to ask the Kings of Denmark and Sweden to mediate peace, but concluded that they were simply to engage in the usual bidding war for support, dazzling the Kings’ eyes with money and concessions (p. 519). But mediation was indeed on the agenda, and the idea was welcomed by both Christian V and Charles XI. Nottingham’s papers include an undated account of the negotiations sent to him or Trenchard by the English chargé d’affaires in Stockholm, the Rev. (later Dr)

John Robinson, from internal evidence written on 1 November 1693 (pp. 278–9). These negotiations are set in their wider context by Mark A. Thomson, ‘Louis XIV and William III, 1689–97’, in Ragnhild Hatton and J.S. Bromley (eds.), *William III and Louis XIV. Essays 1680–1720 by and for Mark A. Thomson* (1968), pp. 24–48, and Ragnhild Hatton, ‘Gratifications and foreign policy: Anglo-French rivalry in Sweden during the Nine Years War’, in *ibid.*, pp. 68–94.

Most of Nottingham’s papers dealt with more immediate concerns. Fences had to be mended with both Denmark and Sweden, for relations had been strained in 1692 mainly on account of the blockade (*Finch IV*, pp. xxxviii–xl), but also for other reasons. The Danish chargé d’affaires in London, La Foulereuse, had been recalled after causing offence (p. cxlvi), and the English envoy in Copenhagen, Robert Molesworth, had come home on leave after falling out with a Swedish court official, never in fact to go back (Ragnhild Hatton, ‘John Robinson and the *Account of Sueden*’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XXVIII (1955), p. 140 note 2). The return shortly afterwards of the English envoy in Stockholm, William Duncomb, left English interests in the two northern capitals represented only by two chargés d’affaires, Hugh Greg and John Robinson, no match for the heavyweight French ambassadors. They did however have the support of the other Allied representatives, and Robinson was shown intercepted despatches from d’Avaux by the Dutch envoy Baron van Heeckeren (S.P. Oakley, ‘The interception of posts in Celle, 1694–1700’, in Hatton and Bromley, *William III and Louis XIV*, pp. 100–1, 105, 107).

Denmark was the traditional ally of France, and Versailles made much of the Prince Royal (later Frederick IV) during his three months’ stay at the beginning of 1693. He cancelled a projected visit to England, only paying his respects briefly to William III at the Hague on his way home in April (pp. 22, 24, 36, 72, 75, 508–9, 512–15, 773). He was said to have told the French court that Denmark would declare for France if Sweden could only be relied on not to attack, ‘mais que la crainte réciproque tient tout en balance’ (p. 514).

Sweden’s intentions were therefore crucial. Nottingham’s papers are of value here because the State Papers Sweden (SP 95) contain no correspondence for the year 1693. Robinson’s correspondence with his masters survives only among Blathwayt’s papers (BL Add. MS. 35105, ff. 8–124) and Nottingham’s (pp. 10–12, 33, 39, 44, 49–50, 59–60, 84, 94, 111, and 278–9. The last is the undated despatch from Robinson already mentioned, and the others are letter-book copies of Nottingham’s out-letters). Robinson found attempts to enforce the blockade a waste of time: ‘hedges of aire’ as he told Nottingham on 15 March (Add. MS. 35105, f. 34). A week later he

alerted him to a much greater crisis. The Swedish chancellor, Bengt Oxenstierna, had close ties with Vienna and had long been acting in the Allied interest. Since 1689 he had been receiving a secret annual pension of £2,000 from England, as well as less regular sums from the Dutch, the Emperor and Spain. There were signs, however, that his influence was waning. Robinson's own opinion, as expressed in his letters to Blathwayt, was that a more useful ally might be found in Count Hastfer, a Swedish field marshal and intimate friend of Charles XI. Unfortunately this opinion was repeated by the Earl of Portland in the hearing of a friend of Count Oxenstierna, who wrote and told him. Oxenstierna's secretary complained to Robinson. Robinson's letter of 22 March to Nottingham explaining all this in cipher was forwarded on 11 April by Nottingham to Blathwayt to lay before the King, and is now among Blathwayt's papers with a transcript in his hand annexed: 'The E. of Portland was heard to say that tho' C. B. Oxenst. meant very well yet his interest and power was very low and that others in Sweden had done more than he in favour of the new Elector...' (Add. MS. 35105, f. 39). This disastrous indiscretion was promptly denied by all parties, his annual pension of £2,000 was remitted at once to Oxenstierna (with a duplicate bill of exchange by the next post in case the first should miscarry), £300 went to Oxenstierna's secretary Ehrenstolpe (this too became an annual fixture), and £500 to Countess Oxenstierna, who had asked for it on behalf of the Queen Mother of Sweden. Portland also sent Robinson a note of apology or explanation (pp. 50, 84–5, 90, 94; Hatton, 'Gratifications and foreign policy', pp. 76–8).

The Allies had backed the right horse. While these payments were still going through, Heeckeren reported to Heinsius that Oxenstierna had more credit and favour with Charles XI than ever, although the French and Danes were moving heaven and earth to overthrow him. Count Hastfer, however, accepted from France a pension of 8,000 écus – roughly the same as Oxenstierna's – and was soon wholly in the French interest (*Downshire I*, pp. 556–8; Hatton, 'Gratifications and foreign policy', pp. 77, 81–2).

GERMANY

Nottingham's private papers for 1693 contain only a small amount of diplomatic correspondence relating to Germany in the first quarter of the year, while he was still sole secretary of state and the King was still in England. Even for this period, most of his diplomatic in-letters can be found in the Public Record Office, as for earlier years (*Finch III*, p. v; *Finch IV*, p. v). The secret service papers throw a little more light on affairs from the French perspective.

The controversial creation of a ninth electorate of Hanover from the

possessions of the Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg – part of Ernest Augustus's price for joining the Allies, who also paid him 30,000 crowns a month (p. 62; BL Add. MS. 38698, f. 87) – was exploited by France as a source of division. Stepney warned Nottingham at the beginning of 1693 that it would create as many problems as it solved (Spens, *George Stepney*, pp. 62, 346). 'Tis feared the princes who protest against the 9th electorate will recall their troops from the Rine', the newsletters reported in late January, and soon the princes were said to be assembling an independent force of 40,000 men under the command of the Duke of Holstein-Plön, 'an important and dangerous affaire under our present circumstances' (pp. 24, 34–5). Denmark, Sweden and the papacy were all being encouraged by France to join in the protests, and the French general commanding on the Rhine, the Marshal de Lorges, made overtures to the German rebels (pp. 23, 37, 60, 281, 459, 477, 485, 496, 506, 512, 514, 521, 559, 639). But his capture of Heidelberg on 12/22 May (p. 130) and subsequent devastation of the Palatinate proved counter-productive. The protests came to nothing, although the Allied command in the Rhineland that summer could hardly be called united: there were thirty-six commanding generals, including three sovereign rulers – the Margrave of Baden, Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel – and four field marshals (Spens, *George Stepney*, p. 348 note 20). The Rhine campaign nevertheless ended in disappointment for the French. Upon the news of the storming of Heidelberg the Dauphin was detached with a quarter of the army of Flanders to take over command from the Marshal de Lorges and consolidate his victories, but logistical problems and sickness slowed down his advance and wasted troops that might have been better employed in Flanders or Piedmont. Louis had hoped to put pressure on the Emperor to accept the peace terms he was now offering, but instead they were rejected (pp. 582–3, 587).

FLANDERS

Nottingham had little direct responsibility for the conduct of the war in the Low Countries, or Flanders as the whole of the battle zone was loosely known, then and later. This was the arena in which William III wielded greatest power, both political and military. His dual role as King-Stadtholder and commander-in-chief of the Dutch and British armies gave him undisputed leadership of all the Allied forces in the Dutch and Spanish Netherlands. He controlled officer appointments as closely as Louis XIV did, abolishing the purchase system; supervised administrative and logistical arrangements, and in addition commanded in the field. His jack-in-the-box resilience was the despair of the French – from every defeat he seemed to bounce back stronger than ever. As Renaudot complained to Croissy, four years of lost battles and captured fortresses 'ne font qu'augmenter son

autorité' (*Lettres inédites de l'abbé E. Renaudot au ministre J.-B. Colbert ...* (1931), p. 35). The French did not feel they had the same margin of error, but were persuaded (as Nottingham's man in Paris reported) that four battles won would do them less good than one battle lost would do them harm (p. 466). This was exactly how the English felt during the invasion scares about a possible defeat at sea.

Nottingham had not been on the Continent since he had attended the King for three months at the Hague early in 1691, but he was nevertheless a privileged spectator of the action. This volume gives a much fuller picture of the campaigns in Flanders than its predecessors. Only Nottingham's general correspondence for 1689–92 was calendared in *Finch II–IV*, but *Finch V* calendars three relevant sources: his general correspondence for 1693, again rich in exchanges with Blathwayt at the front; the news reports enclosed in Blathwayt's letters for recension in the *London Gazette* (in earlier volumes dealt with only by cross-reference to the printed versions), which covered all theatres but were particularly detailed for Flanders; and the secret service papers for 1691–3. These contain much additional material about the campaigns of 1691–2, especially the siege of Namur in May and June 1692 and the battle of Steinkerck on 24 July/3 August (see index entries). The course of these campaigns has been described in the introductions to *Finch III* and *IV* and need not be repeated here.

By October 1692 both sides had begun to assume that the campaigning season was over. The Allies had given up their plans to attack Dunkirk. Fourteen battalions under Leinster's command were ordered back to England, and he curtailed his plans to fortify the newly taken towns of Furnes and Dixmude near Nieuport and perhaps to winter in the area. Most French officers left their regiments. A surprise French attack on Charleroi, the main Allied fortress remaining on the Sambre, was countered with the minimum force necessary (pp. 312, 445, 449, 466, 476, 478–9, 483, 487–94; *Finch IV*, pp. xxxvi–xxxviii, 454, 458, 462, 480, 484; John Childs, *The Nine Years' War and the British Army 1688–1697: The Operations in the Low Countries* (1991), pp. 208–10). An attack on Huy on the Meuse in late December was equally unsuccessful (p. 3; Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, p. 210). This however had been a feint to cover attacks on Furnes and Dixmude. Furnes surrendered on 27 December/6 January, yielding large stocks of grain, artillery and other stores, and Dixmude was evacuated on 31 December/10 January (pp. 3, 8, 17, 506, 783; Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, pp. 218–19; John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667–1714* (1999), p. 227). There was then a pause, the unusually wet weather preventing the French from attempting anything against Nieuport, Ostend or Charleroi. For several months there was much brisk skirmishing instead. It was mid-May before the main armies were ready to move.

In February 1693, before the French strategy for the new season had been settled, Nottingham's most reliable agent in Paris, Samuel Poulion, predicted that there would be 45,000 French troops in Flanders, 10,000 on the Moselle, 80,000 on the Rhine, 60,000 in Piedmont and 10,000 in Catalonia (p. 514). On 1/11 May he revised his estimate for the northern theatre sharply upwards: 80,000 troops under the Duke of Luxembourg and 50,000 to be commanded by Louis in person, with another 25 to 40,000 for smaller contingents on the Moselle and elsewhere, total 160,000. He stressed that these were paper numbers and that the effective strength would be lower by a quarter (p. 546). On 15/25 May he was able to give more exact figures as multipliers of the number of battalions or squadrons on the official *état general*: 80,360 troops near Mons (under Luxembourg) and 55,120 near Tournai (currently under Boufflers), plus 55,820 in Germany, 70,160 in Italy, and 21,800 in Roussillon (for Catalonia) (p. 550). These figures tally well with those given by modern historians. Poulion's 78 battalions and 161 squadrons at Mons, 52 battalions and 117 squadrons at Tournai, can be compared to Professor Lynn's 78 battalions and 152 squadrons for the one army, 50 battalions and 109 squadrons for the other (*The Wars of Louis XIV*, p. 233). And Poulion's total for the two armies – 135,480 troops – is very close to the 133,000 troops counted by Professor Childs as under the command of Luxembourg and Boufflers in the Low Countries (*The Nine Years' War*, p. 222). The Allies had nearly as many men, but a much higher proportion were in garrisons, whereas the two French marshals had stripped their garrisons and had about 110,000 troops available for immediate deployment, as Poulion and Childs agree (p. 563; *The Nine Years' War*, p. 224).

The last fortnight in May saw some rapid developments. Louis duly arrived to take over command of Boufflers' army, which joined forces with Luxembourg's at Gembloux north-west of Namur. William moved his much smaller army from Diegem near Brussels to Parck Abbey near Louvain. While Louis hesitated over the next step he received news of the storming of Heidelberg, and decided to send the Dauphin and Boufflers with 30,000 men to the Rhineland to follow up this success, returning himself to Versailles and leaving Luxembourg a free hand in Flanders with the remaining 80,000 men (pp. 562–3). Saint-Simon has left a graphic description of the consternation caused by this decision, echoed by Poulion: 'tout le monde est dans le dernier étonnement' (p. 564). Many explanations have been offered, but the traditional one is still current: that Louis had planned to lay siege to Liège or Brussels, found them too well defended, and thought it beneath his dignity to preside over the reduction of a minor fortress such as Charleroi or Huy. A pitched battle was never on his agenda (Macaulay, *History*, IV.17–19; Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, pp. 224–5).

The opposing forces were now more nearly matched, and for the next month

there was something of a stalemate. The Allied garrison at Charleroi made successful raids on the French lines between Mons and Maubeuge, and William sent a detachment of 8,000 foot and 6,000 horse to West Flanders under the command of the Duke of Würtemberg, who succeeded in forcing the French lines between the Lys and Scheldt at Dottignies (pp. 141, 150, 153, 172, 181, 190–1, 212, 583). On 13/23 July, however, Huy capitulated to Villeroy after only a brief resistance while William was marching to its relief (pp. 191, 193–5, 197, 212). This forced him to send substantial reinforcements to Liège. With Würtemberg not yet returned, Luxembourg had regained his numerical superiority, and after a feint at Liège which drew William's forces towards him, launched a full-scale attack at dawn on 19/29 July on the temporary Allied camp at Landen. From the name of the village where the most bitter fighting took place, the battle is also known as Neerwinden.

William had had time to fortify his position overnight, and the narrowness of the front, hemmed in by two small but swollen rivers, meant that neither side could deploy its full resources. The battle lasted most of the day. The infantry bore the brunt of the fighting, much of it hand-to-hand as villages were taken and retaken. Eventually William's army had to retreat, with many deaths from drowning, but Luxembourg's army was too exhausted to pursue. Over the next fortnight the Allies reassembled near Brussels, Würtemberg's detachment returning by forced marches to Alost, twenty miles from William's camp at Eppegem. The Tilly brothers brought in substantial reinforcements from the garrisons of Liège and Maastricht. By 3/13 August the confederate army was reunited and Queen Mary could be told that there was no need to send over the troops in England awaiting orders to embark, apart from a few drafts to make up numbers in the regiments that had suffered most heavily (pp. 201–29, 588–98, 697–9 *passim*).

Accounts of the battle and its aftermath, chronologically arranged below within each section of text, can be considered here in the order in which Nottingham received them (in Old Style dating). The King's hurried note to the Queen from his camp near Louvain assuring her of his safety reached London on 26 July, and a brief notice of the battle was accordingly inserted in the *London Gazette* for 24–27 July, putting the best face on the defeat: 'Tis certain, they have lost double the number of Men that we have: They were above 80,000 effective Men, and we were not more than 45,000'. The next day's post brought no news, and by the 28th Nottingham had still heard nothing further, except a rumour from Rotterdam that William had turned on the French and routed them (p. 208; *London Gazette*, no. 2891; Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, III.145–6). On 29 July, however, a captain from Würtemberg's detachment who had left Alost on the 24th arrived in London on private business and was seized on for news. A French-speaking clerk took

down the account printed below and an English version appeared in the *Gazette* for 27–31 July, with the byline Whitehall, July 29 and an explanation of its provenance. All the Allied troops had distinguished themselves, none more than the English ‘qui se sont battus comme des lions’, defending themselves until their ammunition ran out from behind ramparts of their dead. William had since reviewed his strength and found that Allied casualties (dead, wounded and prisoners) amounted only to nine or ten thousand. The French had suffered more heavily by their own confession, for according to the Lille gazette of [23 July/] 4 August their infantry alone had suffered 16,000 casualties. Ten or twelve thousand Swiss troops in French service had been surrounded and cut to pieces, and the total French casualty bill was rumoured in Lille to be 25,000 (pp. 209–11; *London Gazette*, no. 2892; Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, III.150).

On 1 August Nottingham at last received his first letter from Blathwayt, written on the day the Würtemberg officer had left camp so containing nothing about more recent developments, but enclosing a full account of the battle expressly for publication. Nottingham sent it to press the same day as a special supplement to the *Gazette*, along with an inaccurate list of French officer losses (pp. 198, 201–3; Wing R815A). ‘This has extreamly revived us,’ he replied, ‘for the French have nothing to boast of but having gain’d the field, and at the same time by the great destruction of their troopes may be said to have lost the battle’ (p. 218). Blathwayt was not yet able to send details of the Allied losses, but the wording of the account he enclosed, ‘the enemy has suffered at least as much, especially in their infantry’, has been altered in manuscript to ‘the enemy has suffered a great deal more, but chiefly in their infantry’ (p. 203). It is not clear whether this alteration was made at Blathwayt’s end or Nottingham’s, but in either case it was justified by the figures known to have been published in the Lille gazette. Another French newsletter of the same date that has survived among the Portland papers also admitted that more deaths had been suffered by the French, and all Luttrell’s sources spoke of a great disparity in favour of the Allies (*HMC Portland III* (1894), pp. 538–9; Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, III.147–53).

By the same post Trenchard too received his first official news of the battle, in the form of a letter from Portland; he had already seen a printed copy of the account sent by Dijkveld to the States (Nottingham University Library, PwA 1416). On 2 August Nottingham received another letter from Blathwayt enclosing further bulletins, sent from Eppegem on 27 July and repeating the claim that ‘the French according to their own account have lost more than double the number’ (pp. 207–8). A recension of the latest news with an Eppegem byline of the 27th appeared in the *Gazette* for 31 July to 3 August. This number also carried a separate Paris byline, for on the same day Nottingham had received from Poulion an account of the battle as

brought to Paris by Major d'Artagnan (pp. 588–9; *London Gazette*, no. 2893). This was the first of six despatches relating mainly to the battle sent by Poulion from Paris between 23 July and 11 August and forwarded in transcript from Rotterdam (pp. 588–98). They had originally included a printed French account of the battle, enclosed by Poulion on 4 August in exchange for a printed Allied account sent to him by Jurieu on 27 July, but this was extracted in Rotterdam and forwarded to William III, Jurieu's secretary Legoux adding a note of apology to Nottingham for not having had time to make him a copy (pp. 594–5). A manuscript French account of the battle in Legoux's hand does survive, without date of writing or receipt and no indication of provenance (pp. 697–9). It may or may not have come from Poulion, and was probably enclosed in one of the letters from Jurieu at this time which are clearly now missing (p. 330).

On 7 August Nottingham received from Blathwayt an exact state of the casualties in English pay, with the wounded distinguished from the killed or prisoners (pp. 215–18), and a week later, once the identities of the officer prisoners had been established, another table distinguishing them from the killed, and an abstract of the casualties of the whole confederate army. The final figures were close to the initial estimate: 6,005 killed, 3,958 wounded and 171 officer prisoners, amounting to 10,134 casualties (pp. 226–9).

Nottingham also received on 7 August the first official estimate of French casualties, which Poulion explained that nobody believed. They had been reported to the papal nuncio as four to five thousand, but were already known to be at least twice that. Allied casualties were said to be 22,000, with many more by desertion; but the published claim that seven or eight thousand had been killed in the final attack was clearly suspect, since the French general in command was only claiming two thousand. A week later the official estimate of French dead and wounded had risen to seven thousand, still thought to be an underestimate. Three days later and nine thousand losses were being conceded by those who had originally only admitted to half as many. At last Poulion was able to send a provisional state of French casualties: 4,512 (or 4,518) dead and 5,818 wounded, total 10,330 (or 10,336). 'Je croy que cette liste approche la vérité' he said with his usual caution (p. 597). These figures dated from a review at the beginning of August and it seems likely that a quarter of the wounded were still to die, to judge by the known rise in the number of officer deaths over the following fortnight. The final casualty figures for the two sides were thus remarkably similar, with French losses being the greater by a few hundreds.

It is worth drawing attention to the casualty figures because this was the only area where the French and Allied accounts of the battle were in substantial disagreement, as Poulion observed (pp. 592, 594). They agreed on the main

events of the day and on the conduct of the principals, particularly in singing the praises of William III and the Elector of Bavaria. Enemy losses, however, were wildly overestimated by both sides, and historians have followed suit. Macaulay and Churchill, although they disagreed about which side suffered more, both thought that over 20,000 had died (*History*, IV.24; *Marlborough: His Life and Times* (1939), I.367). Professor Childs suggested that the Allied losses were 12,000 and that the French 'probably lost more men than the Allies, perhaps about 15,000' (*The Nine Years' War*, pp. 240–1).

'We are constantly assured that the dead and wounded of the French amount to 20,000 men', Nottingham was still hearing from Blathwayt in mid-August (pp. 226–7), ten days before the real figures arrived from Poulion. It was not his fault if the *Gazette* got it wrong. But it was a gift to his opponents. Overnight on 31 August 'great numbers of scandalous papers reflecting on the miscarriages of the Turkey fleet, battle at Landen, &c. taxing the *Gazet* with false accounts, were thrown about the streets' (Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, III.176; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, p.308). The most prominent of these, 'Remarks upon the London Gazette, relating to the Streights Fleet, and the Battle of Landen in Flanders', reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, XI (1814), pp. 462–7, took particular exception to the treatment of Allied losses: 'These the Gazetteer runs over so lightly, and describes with such a handsome neglect, as if the loss, if any, was inconsiderable... His peculiar talent is to lessen a disadvantage, and make it invisible'.

Yet the losses were in fact felt more keenly by the French – at least in governing circles – because the proportion of officer deaths, including those who died later of their wounds, was so much higher: about 1,200 as against well under 300 (pp. 198, 217–8, 225, 228–9, 245, 597). This was partly because the proportion of officers to men was much higher in the French army (p. 454). And whereas the two most notable Allied losses were unlamented – William's cousin Count Solms, hated for his refusal of help to the British at Steinkerk, and the Prince de Barbançon, who had yielded Namur prematurely and was suspected of treachery, cowardice or both (pp. 203, 207, 209, 434, 436; *Finch IV*, p. 194) – the whole French court was in mourning and 'étonné de nos grandes pertes, demeura dans un silence triste' (p. 588). The mood continued throughout August. 'Le Roy ces derniers jours a paru fort resveur, et fort triste... On commence à dire à la cour et à la ville que tout cela ne sert de rien, et que c'est toujours à recommencer' (p. 593). 'Le Roy ne se porte pas trop bien et est triste... On ne nous parle que de malheurs' (pp. 599–600). 'On abandonne tous les projets sur l'Allemagne... Le Roy est fort ennuyé de la guerre, et fort porté à faire une paix *quoque modo*' (pp. 600–1).

In the Allied camp, on the other hand, morale had never been higher. The

Earl of Portland, although wounded in the hands, took up his pen to tell Nottingham 'que jamais bataille ne cest donnée où le parti battu a moins perdu à proportion et où le parti victorieux a plus de sujet de regretter sa victoire. Nostre armée est ... tres forte et en bon estat' (p. 221). It was an extraordinary contrast to the mood after Steinkerk, another French victory where the actual losses on both sides had been roughly equal but where the effect on morale had been the exact reverse (pp. 452–6, 458, 499–500, 727, 826; Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, pp. 204–5; Macaulay, *History*, III.479–80).

As Blathwayt had pointed out, the losses suffered by the French at Landen were 'more sensible to them which renders them unable to make any use of their victory' (p. 219). It was a month before Luxembourg could resume the offensive. Reinforcements had marched from Brittany to join him, and Boufflers brought back 15,000 men from the Rhine, while the Dauphin returned to Versailles. At the beginning of September Vauban invested Charleroi. William was unable to send relief until too late, but in spite of its hopeless situation Charleroi put up a long resistance. Nottingham was sent a copy of the lieutenant-governor's letter reporting that 'tous paroissent de bon courage et dans une grande union' (p. 248). It capitulated on 1/11 October after losing 2,800 men from its garrison of 3,900, but inflicting 4,000 casualties on the French (pp. 230–2, 234, 240, 245–6, 248, 253–4, 256, 258, 260, 263, 593, 596–7, 599, 606–8, 611–14, 616–17, 619, 621–2; SP 8/14, ff. 178–244 *passim*; Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, pp. 241–6). Winter was by then too close for any further initiatives.

Louis XIV had thrown more resources into both his navy and his army for the campaigns of 1693 than he had ever done before. At the end of the year William was bloody but unbowed. From this time the war would turn in the Allies' favour; for as Queen Mary wrote on 26 September/6 October to her cousin Sophia, 'the King of Frances tresure must have a bottom' (Doebner (ed.), *Memoirs of Mary*, p. 106).

SAVOY

After Flanders, the front that received most coverage in the agents' reports to Nottingham in 1691–3 was the war being waged in south-east France and northern Italy between the French forces of Marshal Catinat and the Allied forces led by Victor Amadeus of Savoy. The crucial importance of this theatre was recognized from the outset by William III, belatedly by Louis XIV, and only recently by historians. It is now held that for its bullying early stance towards Savoy, 'France was punished by losing the Nine Years War' (Guy Rowlands, 'Louis XIV, Vittorio Amedeo II and French military failure in Italy, 1689–96', *English Historical Review*, CXV (2000), 569).

The Duke of Savoy had begun as a compliant ally of France, marrying Louis

XIV's niece in 1684, expelling his own Protestants after 1685, and contributing regiments to the war in Flanders in 1689. But his legitimate aspirations were treated with such contempt by Louvois and Croissy that he was forced into the arms of the Allies in the spring of 1690. By the end of the following year the French had overrun all his territories on the west side of the Alps: the duchy of Savoy in the summer of 1690 (it should be noted that Savoy is often used more widely for all the Duke's possessions), the county of Nice in the spring of 1691 and the stronghold of Montmélian in December.

On the east side of the Alps they defeated him in battle at Staffarda in July 1690 and took a number of places to add to their isolated fortresses of Pinerolo and Casale. However, all their new conquests except Susa had to be abandoned when sickness in the army and inadequate logistical support prevented them from wintering in Piedmont. In 1691 they faced superior Allied forces there and continued difficulty in supplying the men they had. Louis's military adviser Chamlay was sent to Pinerolo in August 1691 to settle differences in the French high command (pp. 382, 344–5, 351), and in December to offer far more concessions to the Duke than he would happily have settled for in early 1690, but which he now spurned (pp. 382, 384, 389, 392, 394–5, 397, 399, 401; Rowlands, 'Louis XIV, Vittorio Amedeo II and French military failure', pp. 542–7). Louis had the terms published to show the rest of Italy how reasonable he was being (pp. 300–1, 374–5, 405–6), and accounted for his volte-face by telling his courtiers that he had foreseen that war with Savoy would be ruinous and fruitless, and had criticized Louvois for his aggressive policy on the very day of his death – precipitating the minister's fatal heart attack (pp. 389, 410; Jean-Christian Petitfils, *Louis XIV* (1995), pp. 514–15; Guy Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and the Army under Louis XIV. Royal Service and Private Interest, 1661–1701* (2002), p. 61).

William III (through Nottingham) was meanwhile urging that the Habsburg troops in Savoy, now commanded by the Duke's cousin Prince Eugene, should be put 'into a condition of acting offensively and early; for since the French...seem to design onely to stand upon their defense, the opportunity of attacking them this year should not be lost' (*Finch IV*, pp. 11, 14). In July 1692 the Duke accordingly launched a full-scale invasion of Dauphiné, penetrating into France as far as Gap, while the need to defend Pinerolo kept Catinat from pursuing him. 'On est étonné que le Duc de Savoye, qu'on traittoit *da poco*, soit à present le plus à craindre', reported Nottingham's man in Paris at the end of August (p. 473). But his next bulletin brought the news that the Duke had smallpox. He was believed for months to be dying and it was the spring of 1693 before he was fully recovered. The invasion forces withdrew and a complicated succession crisis raged, for the Duke as yet had no sons, and his daughters could only inherit parts of his lands (pp. 494,

497, 512, 516; Rowlands, 'Louis XIV, Vittorio Amedeo II and French military failure', pp. 548–51; Christopher Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy 1690–1720* (1999), pp. 196–7).

The French were now using the papal nuncio in Turin as their intermediary and offering ever more generous peace terms to prevent the Duke from renewing his treaty with the League of Augsburg, which after three years was about to expire (pp. 550, 553, 556). On 15/25 May 1693 Blathwayt sent Nottingham copies of Victor Amadeus's correspondence with William III, 'from whence your Lordship will see that the tempter is at hand and that more than the strongest assurances are requisite to keep that duke steady to the alliance' (p. 121). The Duke had sent William an account of the latest French offers, which he had of course rejected out of hand, with 'la fermeté avec laquelle je seray toujours inviolablement uni à ses [your Majesty's] interets, et à ceux de la Ligue' (pp. 122–3). The King had responded in kind, expressing his admiration for 'cette éclatante vertu qui vous attache inseparablement à ces maxims d'honneur et de probité qui font la gloire des plus grands princes et la lustre de vôtre serenissime maison' (p. 123). Clearly something had to be done quickly to cement the Duke's allegiance. News then came from Turin that the Duke and his Spanish and Imperial allies had agreed to commit their forces to an attack on Provence through the county of Nice if Allied control of the Mediterranean could be assured. This, however, depended on the reinforcement of the Spanish navy by Rooke's overdue Anglo-Dutch squadron. Savoy's envoy to England and the United Provinces, President de La Tour, told Nottingham that if it had reached the Mediterranean in April as expected, Villefranche and Nice would already have fallen; but it was not yet too late (p. 119).

Blathwayt's letter of 15/25 May on this subject was intended to be seen only by Nottingham, Carmarthen and 'such as your Lordship shall think fitt to trust with the secret, I mean the design of the Duke of Savoy to enter into France by Provence as soon as he shall have the countenance of our squadron' (p. 121). He accompanied it with another letter of the same date for Nottingham to lay before the Cabinet Committee, conveying the King's 'express pleasure that the Mediterranean squadron be forthwith order'd to sail. His Majesty is induced to this resolution by so many urgent reasons that he conceives a speedy compliance of the greatest weight and necessity to his own service and the interests of his allies that are concerned in the Mediterranean' (p. 120). By the same post he wrote to inform President de La Tour that the King had given, and would continue to give, positive and repeated orders for the squadron to sail by the first fair wind, and once in the Mediterranean to join with the Spanish fleet in assisting the Duke (p. 122). By June the news that Provence was under an amphibious threat had leaked

and thrown Versailles into confusion (Rowlands, 'Louis XIV, Vittorio Amedeo II and French military failure', p. 552). The ambush of the Smyrna fleet off Portugal, which prevented the Anglo-Dutch squadron from entering the Mediterranean that year, did not change the situation as much as William had feared. The Duke of Savoy did not desert the Alliance. Instead of invading Provence he besieged Pinerolo. The reason for the change of plan was well known (pp. 219–20); and the spectre of an Anglo-Dutch naval descent on the Riviera while Spanish and German troops poured over the Alps continued to haunt France for the next three years, tying down dozens of battalions in the south-east that could have turned the tide elsewhere (Rowlands, 'Louis XIV, Vittorio Amedeo and French military failure', pp. 556–7). The Duke's advance on Pinerolo in July 1693 was itself enough to bring immediate relief to his hard-pressed Spanish allies in Catalonia. French troops there were transferred to Piedmont and an assault on Barcelona was postponed to another year (pp. 562, 595–6). Other troops were transferred from the Rhine, just in time to save Pinerolo and Casale and give Catinat another major victory at Marsaglia on 24 September/4 October. But as elsewhere, the French were unable to capitalize on their victory. Louis had given priority to the French fleet and the armies of Flanders and Germany. His failure to pay the company supplying the armies of Italy and Catalonia caused a breakdown in the supply system which made it impossible for Catinat to move on Cuneo or Turin. The prison fortress of Pinerolo had been crippled by the siege, and for the rest of the war this prestigious white elephant continued to drain France of men and supplies. Louis's refusal to consider its cession in 1693 had been a principal cause of the breakdown of the peace talks, as Nottingham's agent correctly reported (p. 556); in 1696, after sixty-six years of French occupation, it was finally handed back to Victor Amadeus (Casale having already been surrendered the year before). The massive amount of coverage given by Nottingham's agents to the course of these distant campaigns in 1691–3 was thus an accurate reflection of the key role they played in diverting and consuming French resources.

There were costs to the Allies too. Keeping the Duke on side in 1693 did not come cheaply. While Spain and the Emperor supplied most of the troops fighting in Piedmont, the second Duke of Schomberg was fatally wounded at Marsaglia and his Huguenots took heavy casualties (pp. 260, 273–4, 620–5, 628). William's gamble with the safety of the Mediterranean convoy, ordered to sea irrespective of the whereabouts of the main French fleet, lost Nottingham his job and the Dutch many merchant ships. And in 1693 alone, English subsidies to Victor Amadeus cost far more than Nottingham's intelligence service throughout his ministry (Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy*, p. 106). From William's point of view, however, it was a price worth paying.

THE BALKANS

Writing in September 1692 to the Dutch envoy in Vienna, Coenraad van Heemskerck, Nottingham thanked him for the measures he had taken 'pour soutenir le Duc de Savoye et les interest[s] publics, mais il ny a rien qui y puisse tant contribuer que la paix avec le Turc' (*Finch IV*, p. 454). Ending the war in the Balkans between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires had the highest priority for the maritime powers, for it would have released large numbers of Habsburg troops for service against France in Piedmont, the Rhineland and Flanders.

William's fear that Savoy would accept French peace proposals was therefore matched by French fears that the Ottomans would accept the peace terms offered by a succession of English and Dutch mediators in the Balkan war in which they, like the French, were officially neutral. Louis's aim was to keep the Emperor's forces pinned down there, and to increase military pressure on his western flank whenever Imperial successes in the field made the Ottomans more likely to contemplate peace. The Habsburg victory in August 1691 at Slankamen, one of the bloodiest battles of the century, 'a fort attristé tout le monde icy', as an Allied agent reported from Paris, 'et sur tout les ecclesiastiques... Quelques frondeurs n'ont pourtant pas laissé de dire que les Musulmans s'en affligeoient avec la cour et que les bons chrestiens s'en rejouissoient avec Jesus Christ' (p. 348). French wits were aware of the irony of a compact between the Most Christian King and the Turks against the Holy League. Another anecdote related that two priests met a monk and asked for news: 'The Christians have beaten us in Hungary' (p. 352). A certain amount of hypocrisy was needed to sustain the French position. In 1692 the Venetian ambassador reproached Croissy because a thousand French troops, hired by the Venetians for the siege of Canea in Crete, had deserted to the Turks as soon as they landed, resulting in the abandonment of the siege. Croissy claimed that they had deserted because they were poorly treated and paid. The ambassador replied 'que c'étoient les suites de l'alliance du Roy avec le Turc; sur quoy Monsieur de Croissy s'emporta, et luy dit que ce discours étoit indigne de son caractère...' (pp. 495–6; Sir Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Turks Beginning with the Year 1679...* (1700), p. 497). The raising of the Imperial siege of Belgrade in September 1693 was said to be as welcome to the French as their own imminent reduction of Charleroi. Jokes were made about the (crescent) moon basking in the regard of the sun (p. 616).

There are many other references to the Turks as allies of France (pp. 353, 440, 444, 459, 521, 530, 533, 541, 544, 563, 568, 790), French attempts to spoil the peace negotiations (pp. 119, 388, 435–6, 464, 512, 584, 740, 794), the negotiations themselves, and disputes between the negotiators (pp. 128–9, 215–16, 226, 231, 237–8, 340, 382, 406, 426, 443, 445, 461, 463,

466, 491, 502). The course of these negotiations is now well known (Rycaut, *History 1679–1699*, pp. 397–501 *passim*; Colin Heywood, 'English Diplomatic Relations with Turkey, 1689–1698', in William Hale and A.I. Bagis (eds.), *Four Centuries of Turco-British Relations* (1984), pp. 26–39, reproduced in Heywood, *Writing Ottoman History. Documents and Interpretations* (2002); *idem*, 'An undiplomatic Anglo-Dutch dispute at the Porte: the quarrel at Edirne between Coenraad van Heemskerck and Lord Paget (1693)', in Alastair Hamilton, Alexander H. de Groot and Maurits H. van den Boogert (eds.), *Friends and Rivals in the East. Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Levant from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century* (2000), pp. 59–94; *idem*, 'English Diplomacy between Austria and the Ottoman Empire in the War of the Sacra Liga, 1684–1699, with special reference to the period 1689–1699' (London Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1970, to be published shortly in revised form as *King William's Other War*); John Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe 1680–1730. The Life and Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, Soldier and Virtuoso* (1994), pp. 101–17).

Negotiations were bedevilled by the high turnover in negotiators. Eighteen months saw four English ambassadors to the Porte: Sir William Trumbull (left August 1691), Sir William Hussey (died September 1691), William Harbord (died July 1692) and Lord Paget (arrived January 1693). Rumour attributed the sudden deaths of both Hussey and Harbord to an excess of zeal on the part of the French ambassador, and jokes were made about Paget being his next target (pp. 474, 544; *Finch IV*, p. ix; Heywood, 'An undiplomatic Anglo-Dutch dispute at the Porte', p. 67). Other parties with pretensions to represent the English were the Constantinople factory chancellor and secretary of embassy, Thomas Coke, who acted as chargé d'affaires during vacancies; the Imperial officer Count Marsigli, attached to Hussey's staff in an ill-defined capacity; van Heemskerck, transferred from Vienna to the Porte and accredited to fill the gap between Harbord's death and Paget's arrival; and the Dutch resident Jacobus Colyer, whose claims to represent English interests were roundly denied by the Dutch themselves (*Finch IV*, p. 229). As an English factor wrote to Trumbull, William had more public ministers at the Porte, or those that pretended to be so, than all the other Christian princes besides, and they were of all degrees and sizes, like a nest of boxes (*Downshire I*, p. 402).

The final flurry of negotiations took place in the late summer of 1693. On 31 July Blathwayt sent Nottingham copies of Heemskerck's last proposals, together with a covering letter asking the Cabinet Committee to consider how far the maritime powers should risk guaranteeing to the Turks that the Emperor would ratify any treaty agreed (pp. 215–16). Nottingham relayed the Committee's careful response on 8 August, and the King agreed that Paget should be instructed in these terms (pp. 226, 231). Nottingham duly

forwarded his commission on 29 August, stressing that Paget was on no account to guarantee that the Emperor would observe the terms of any peace or truce arranged, but only that he would sign up to it as he had already promised. Otherwise any infringement might be visited by the Ottomans on the English factories in the Levant (pp. 237–8, 244).

But it was all too late. French spoiling tactics, internal disputes, and the non-arrival of the Smyrna fleet, however large they bulked in Nottingham's papers, probably had less to do with it than changes of grand vizier and Ottoman hopes of military recovery in the Balkans. On 2 October Paget wrote to Stepney: 'I am sure since I have been here, there has not been one thing done, that might give us just grounds to believe they were minded so much as to incline to (much less enter into) a treaty of peace' (SP 104/161, pp. 150–1). The Anglo-Dutch proposals of 1692–3 were eventually to be adopted as the basis for negotiation at the Congress of Karlowitz, but only after another heavy Ottoman defeat at Zenta in 1697.

NORTH AFRICA

From 1660 to 1681 Nottingham's relatives had occupied the English embassy to the Porte. He was well aware of the economic importance of the Levant trade, and the need to supplement diplomacy by a naval presence in the Mediterranean which could be used not only for convoy duty but also to show the flag and enforce as necessary the treaties negotiated with the Ottoman regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. He had been first lord of the admiralty for the last part of the hard-fought Algerine war of 1677–82 (pp. liv–lv). From early in the War of the Grand Alliance he was readier than most English ministers to consider keeping a squadron in the Mediterranean – not so much for the benefit of William's Continental allies as because he believed it might induce all three North African regencies to break with France (*Finch III*, p. 115). Yet his administration ended with the failure of William's hopes for active support from any of them.

In 1689 Algiers had made peace with France, and although still at peace with the English, continued to recognize James II. The divan of Algiers, however, elected as their new Dey in October 1689 Hajji Shaaban Khujja, a personal friend of the former English consul at Tripoli, Thomas Baker. At Baker's request Shaaban had bought two fine Arabian horses on his way back from Mecca in 1684 for Baker to present to his patron the Duke of York. This had resulted in Baker's appointment as clerk of the cheque at Deptford, a post he retained after the Revolution. When the consul at Algiers died he was encouraged to apply for the vacancy and persuade his friend the Dey to recognize William and if possible declare for the Allies. The consulships of Algiers and Tripoli were the only two directly remunerated by the crown – an

indication of their political importance – and he held out successfully for a rise in salary and allowances, although an annual performance bonus of £500 as long as Algiers kept the peace was too much for the Cabinet Committee to swallow (*Finch II*, pp. 304, 314, 321, 336, 494–5; *Finch III*, pp. 385, 388, 402; C.R. Pennell (ed.), *Piracy and Diplomacy in Seventeenth-Century North Africa. The Journal of Thomas Baker, English Consul in Tripoli, 1677–1685* (1989), pp. 56, 61, 155–6, 171–2, 184, 194, 202–3, 213; J.S. Bromley, ‘A letter-book of Robert Cole, British consul-general at Algiers, 1694–1712’, reprinted in Bromley, *Corsairs and Navies 1660–1760* (1987), pp. 29–34).

He arrived early in 1691, and Captain Aylmer (whose squadron had brought him out) reported to Nottingham ‘that the Dey of Algiers was very civill, and that our merchant ships have been very kindly treated by their ships of war, and that they rail at the French, and Consul Baker hopes they will speedily break with France’ (*Finch III*, p. 61). He was authorised to promise them \$2,000 as soon as they did so (*ibid.*, p. 402). In April 1692 Nottingham was informed ‘that the Tripolins have broke with France, and that the Algerines might be prevailld with to do the like if some presents to the value of 3 or 4,000 dollars were made to the great men of that government...’ (*Finch IV*, p. 104). After La Hougue the King asked for consideration to be given to sending a squadron to the Straits, and Admiral Russell agreed with Nottingham that it ‘provably mought’ induce the Algerines to make the break, but he excused himself on the grounds that ‘a litell mo[n]e]y a mong the governing men att Alger woud produce the same thing, as I believe’ (*ibid.*, pp. 209, 223, 227).

Nottingham was anxious to pursue both methods, especially after he learned from his agents that the French famine was being relieved by North African grain. In September 1692 he told Blathwayt that ‘if the Mediterranean squadron could be hastned it would have great effect, both in preventing the French from getting corne and in inducing the Algerines to a breach with France’ (*ibid.*, p. 459). He also had the sum available for presents raised to \$10,000 (nearly £2,500). By January 1693 Baker had already drawn the first instalment of \$600 on the English consul at Leghorn, who had in turn drawn a bill for the whole \$10,000 on the government banker Sir Joseph Herne. Baker also asked that Rooke’s squadron should bring out five hundred barrels of powder for Algerine use, but Nottingham replied that they could not yet be spared. He did however see personally in 1692 and 1693 to the provision of better-quality cloth for presents than that originally supplied: pieces or half-pieces of the finest cloth in black, mazarine blue, scarlet and crimson for the Dey’s officers, a whole bale for the Dey himself, ‘and in regard the Dey’s lady has an irresistible ascendant over him, twenty yards of the very richest brocado for her’ (pp. 26, 53, 58; *Cal S.P. Dom. 1691–92*, pp. 90, 302). However, the action at Lagos Bay prevented any detachment from Rooke’s squadron from reaching Algiers with these

presents (or William's letters to Shaaban Dey), and Wheler's squadron the following spring was no more fortunate. An opportunity was lost and the French truce with Algiers made permanent.

For the smaller corsair state of Tripoli, fighting France was a high-risk strategy. Economically dependent on its gains from piracy, it could expect far more prizes from a war with the French than with the Dutch or English, but the French navy was also a greater threat, which it was less well equipped than Algiers to resist. The outbreak of war in 1692 was followed by the bombardment of Tripoli. The Tripolines waited in vain for the promised Anglo-Dutch help. Five hundred rounds of iron shot and a hundred barrels of powder were indeed delivered to Rooke's squadron for their use, along with the royal letters he was carrying to all three regencies, but they were unaware of this. In the spring of 1693 Consul Lodington reported that the Tripolines were very angry because they had never received any answer to their letters to the King, and had accordingly begun to treat with France. Nottingham and Blathwayt were astonished to hear this and immediately had fresh letters written which left Brussels on 30 June for Tripoli via Leghorn, but it was too late. On the same day Nottingham's agent in Paris reported that the French had just concluded a peace with Tripoli, and that in restitution for the prizes they had taken during the war, the Tripolines were to send a grain fleet to France (pp. 41, 150, 153, 158–9, 172, 577, 595–6, 603; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1691–92*, pp. 488, 494; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, p. 18; Pennell, *Piracy and Diplomacy*, pp. 45–52).

MALTA AND SICILY

Among the most interesting documents sent to Nottingham is a long letter about the great earthquake which devastated Sicily and Malta at the beginning of 1693 (pp. 517–19). It is dated [6/]16 January 1693 and is evidently addressed to someone who had recently left Malta. The writer is Alexandre Bernard de Loménie, Seigneur de la Ville-aux-Clercs, son and brother of the Comtes de Brienne, former French Secretaries of State, and himself a Knight of Malta and an eyewitness to some of the events he describes; he was on a Valletta street corner when the main shock struck in the early afternoon of Sunday 1/11 January. A copy of his letter was obtained by the principal Allied agent in Paris, Samuel Poulion, and forwarded by him to Jurieu in Rotterdam as an enclosure in a report of [20 February/] 2 March. The earthquake letter is not in the same hand as the report copy and is innocuous enough to have been sent *en clair*, unlike the covering report whose real message in invisible ink had to be transcribed for Nottingham by Jurieu's confidential clerk. Both were received by Nottingham in London on 3 March, and he lost no time in having the earthquake letter summarised in English for the *London Gazette*, where it appeared in no. 2851 for 6 to 9 March 1692[/3], under the byline

Malta, January 16. It was seized on by a prominent Presbyterian minister and author, John Shower (*DNB*), who quoted from it at some length in a tract on earthquakes which he published shortly afterwards with a preface dated 26 May 1693, *Practical Reflections on the late Earthquakes in Jamaica, Sicily, Malta, etc., Anno 1692* (1693). A second edition was published in 1750 by a protégé of Shower, Thomas Bradbury. Shower's citation was quoted in turn by contributors to the tercentenary volume edited by Canon John Azzopardi, *Mdina and the Earthquake of 1693* [1993], pp. 11, 16, 328, amid speculation about its provenance.

With each new appearance the information content of the letter was dwindling: no. E83(1) below ran to 1300 words, the *London Gazette* reduced it to 450, from which Shower selected 150, and the Maltese scholars could do no better, for the author of each version had access only to the one before. What survived was part of the eyewitness account on p. 517, but none of the longer description on pp. 518–19 of events in Sicily, although Ville-aux-Clercs was well briefed about these. For the Order of St. John no longer baked its ship's biscuit in Malta, but had its main bakery in Augusta, Sicily; and four of its galleys (*Galera Patrona*, *Galera Magistrate*, *Annuntiata*, and *Paola*) had just arrived there to take on biscuit for the coming campaign against the Turks in Crete when the first shock was felt on [30 December 1692/] 9 January 1693. This killed four hundred in the port, but was minor compared to the main shock two days later, radiating from Mount Etna less than forty miles to the north. There was massive loss of life throughout eastern Sicily. The galleys lost 180 of their complement in the ruins of the bakery and from the explosion of a powder magazine, but as each carried at least 500 men they were able to sail on the 2/12th and reach Malta on the 5/15th. When Ville-aux-Clercs wrote on the following day the Knights of St. John were already mounting a relief expedition to take medical aid to the survivors in Augusta and Syracuse, the two ports on which their order depended for biscuit and grain.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

A squadron of French warships and privateers was reported in February 1693 to be cruising in the Bay of Biscay, and the King decided to send a squadron under Rear-Admiral Aylmer to Bilbao to protect commerce and show the flag. This had to be cancelled for lack of available ships (pp. 56, 59, 733; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1693, p. 52). There were however no major setbacks in consequence, and in June more than a hundred merchant ships bound for northern Spain and western Portugal detached themselves from the Smyrna fleet and reached their destinations safely before the main convoy rounded Cape St. Vincent. After the action in Lagos Bay many of the Allied merchant ships that had escaped to the eastward were captured or burned in southern

Spanish ports, but French plans to intercept the Spanish plate fleet returning from America were unsuccessful (pp. 226, 232, 255).

In Catalonia, where the campaigns of Marshal de Noailles received considerable coverage in the reports of Nottingham's agents, the fortress of Rosas held out just long enough against an amphibious French attack to prevent d'Estrées' squadron from joining Tourville in the attack on the convoy. The surrender of Rosas on 30 May/9 June was the main incident of the 1693 campaign. The Spaniards blamed its loss on the failure of Rooke's squadron to come to their aid as expected (pp. 150–1).

The effect on neutral Portugal, however, was unexpected. John Methuen, the English envoy extraordinary in Lisbon, informed William III on 13/23 June that the plight of Rosas had so alarmed Pedro II 'that he will enter into any measures necessary for preserving Spain' (p. 228). Anglo-Portuguese relations had been improving steadily since the recent return of the dowager Queen Catherine of Braganza. As Methuen reported to Nottingham in July, 'upon all occasions especially the unfortunate accident of our Smyrna fleet [she] shews her affection to England and her readiness to doe any good office with her brother the King of Portugall' (p. 180). King Pedro issued helpful orders about the salvaging of goods washed ashore (pp. 229–30). Queen Catherine had also asked Methuen 'to acquaint your Lordship that she preserves the memory of your kindness to her and shall never forget her obligation or lose the esteem she hath always had for your Lordship and my Lady' (p. 180, and pp. 218–19 for Nottingham's reply). His autobiography records his real regard for her: 'a lady of excellent understanding and most obliging affability and had great command of her passions' (uncalendared Finch MSS., P.P. 148).

Although Methuen had no instructions to this end, he took advantage of Pedro's anger at the harrying of Portuguese shipping by French privateers, and their unsanctioned use of Portuguese ports as bases, to sound him out about the possibility of 'an alliance that might prevent the King of France from giving laws to other princes' (pp. 85, 93, 128, 178, 227). The Spanish envoy and Dutch resident made similar representations. Pedro now seemed ready to enter into an alliance that would probably lead to war with France, and to back it up by raising an army of 20,000 foot, 4,000 horse and an artillery train. His ports, ships and seamen would also be a formidable gain to the Allied cause (p. 228). Methuen in Lisbon and Stanhope in Madrid were authorised to follow this up (pp. 187, 215, 230–1), but for ten years nothing came of it. In 1703, with Nottingham back in office, Methuen again in Lisbon and Queen Catherine about to become regent for her ailing brother, Portugal entered the War of the Spanish Succession on the side of the Allies.

AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES

In 1692 the King decided to send an expedition to attack the French in the West Indies and subsequently Canada. Preparations for this expedition, which sailed in January 1693, were the subject of extensive correspondence in *Finch IV*, and to a lesser extent in this volume, between Nottingham and the expedition's commander-in-chief Sir Francis Wheler, who was appointed Rear Admiral of the Blue. Nottingham had taken an interest in Wheler's career since 1680 (J.D. Davies, *Gentlemen and Taraulins. The Officers and Men of the Restoration Navy* (1991), pp. 239–40), and in 1685 Wheler had married Nottingham's first cousin. Initially a Herbert protégé, he had nevertheless risen on his own merits, and is shown as very well approved by the flag officers in a list drawn up for Russell in April 1692 of officers of the fleet and the flag officers' opinion of them (noted in *Finch IV*, p. 65, as in N.M.13; now part of N.M.29, as noted on p. 820 below). Although the expedition of 1693 turned out to be a disaster he was not blamed personally, nor did his absence cost him promotion as he had feared (p. 10). His friend Shovell wrote to Nottingham on his behalf in June (p. 155), and in his last letter to Nottingham on 19 October he duly mentions 'being honored with the Rear Admiral of the Red flag' (p. 272). He succeeded immediately to Rooke's Mediterranean command, sailed with the reconstituted Smyrna convoy in December, and was drowned off Gibraltar in February 1694, the wreck of his flagship *Sussex* now being explored for the gold or silver he was supposed to be bringing out to the Duke of Savoy.

Written thirty years later, Nottingham's autobiography recalls that one of his main concerns in connection with Wheler's expedition was the need for secrecy in the victualling and other arrangements so that the French should not guess its destination (Aiken, *The Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham*, p. 115), and this is borne out by their correspondence in *Finch IV* and SP 42/1. *Finch V* highlights another problem, the breakdown of communications in connection with the second leg of the expedition. After attacking the French in the West Indies Wheler's force was to proceed to New England and there concert an attack on the French in Quebec. Wheler had asked Nottingham to alert the New England authorities as late as possible for security reasons (*Finch IV*, p. 523). It was accordingly arranged that the newly returned envoy extraordinary to the Swiss cantons, Thomas Coxe, should be sent out there early in 1693 to brief the governors of New York and Massachusetts Bay in person. But after constantly delaying his departure he refused at the beginning of April to go at all, and it became clear that his acceptance had only been a ploy to extract much greater sums for his extraordinary expenses in Switzerland than he could otherwise have hoped for (pp. 61, 74, 76, 78, 89; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, pp. 10, 40–3, 394–5). It was too late to find another suitable emissary, but the King's letters to the two governors

notifying them of the expedition, originally entered in Nottingham's letter book on 23 February and revised on 16 March, were hastily rewritten without reference to Coxe and signed by the Queen on 6 April (pp. 45–6, 63, 75–6). Nottingham added covering letters of his own, as well as one to Increase Mather, President of Harvard, and on 7 April entrusted the whole packet to a King's Messenger to carry out via Dublin to Galway. There the fast ketch *Eaglet*, Captain David Greenhill, was expected daily, and the messenger carried the Queen's orders for Greenhill to sail with all speed for New England, with supplementary directions from Nottingham to throw the packet overboard rather than let it fall into enemy hands. He also carried a letter from Nottingham to the Lord Lieutenant in Dublin asking for an order to the Galway authorities to hire a suitable vessel to carry the packet to New England if the messenger should reach Galway before the *Eaglet* (pp. 76–8).

All these precautions 'that this enterprise may not be frustrated by any unhappy delay' were to fail. Nottingham's letters to Blathwayt of 2 and 13 June convey the facts substantially as they were to be established at Captain Greenhill's court martial in November. On 17 April Greenhill wrote from Galway, where he had only just arrived, that he had received the packet safely and would sail as soon as he had enough provisions for the voyage. But four weeks later he wrote again to say that he had only just managed to get the ketch victualled and under way. (The Lord Lieutenant reported that he had been fully victualled four days earlier). Even then he loitered for another week at the Aran Islands at the mouth of Galway Bay (not of course the Scottish Isle of Arran as stated in some accounts), in the hope of being joined by two merchantmen who would pay him handsomely for convoy to America. Instead two strange ships appeared in the offing which Captain Greenhill, then on shore, sent the ketch's master out in the pinnace to investigate. When the pinnace did not return he borrowed an island boat and approached the ships himself. They turned out to be privateers from St. Malo, the *Philippe* and *Grenade*, with largely English and Irish crews, who had lured the pinnace's crew aboard and now captured Greenhill after a brisk exchange of fire. This show of resistance was probably what saved him from the severe punishment that Nottingham and the King thought he deserved, for he was only docked a year's pay, with temporary loss of rank, in which he was reinstated after service as a volunteer. But Nottingham's despatches had after all escaped the enemy, thanks to the gunner left in command of the *Eaglet*, John Hoare, who cut her cable and took her out to sea for a six-hour engagement, at the end of which he had Nottingham's packet thrown overboard before running her on the rocks (pp. 90, 120, 142–3, 150, 151; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, pp. 152, 156, 170; P.R.O., ADM 1/5254, ff. 11, 17, 21–25; D.J. Hepper, *British Warship Losses in the Age of Sail 1650–1859* (1994), pp. 15–16).

Meanwhile Wheler's expedition had arrived at Barbados in good health and

good heart, with twelve men of war and two regiments, soon reinforced by eight hundred militiamen from Barbados, with another thousand due to join in the field from the Leeward Islands. On 30 March they sailed to attack the most considerable of the French Antilles or 'Iles d'Amérique', Martinique and Guadeloupe. Wheler, his two colonels and the Governor of Barbados all wrote to assure Nottingham of their expectations of success (p. 105; *Cal. S.P. America and W.I., 1693–96*, pp. 39–43, 79–80). The same message came from France: the French governor-general of the islands, the Comte de Blénac, had been driving the slaves and French settlers (many of them Protestant) so hard that they were ready to rise up and welcome the enemy – although they would have surrendered more readily to the Dutch than the English (pp. 668, 735, 738, 740; *Finch IV*, p. 529).

Guadeloupe was the less heavily defended of the two and had nearly been taken in 1691 (pp. 703, 706–11). The defences of Martinique, on the other hand, had been so strengthened by Blénac that the island could only be taken by a large force, as French and English sources were agreed. This strengthening was not the result of any recent security lapse, for it is mentioned in a French description of the islands copied for Nottingham in 1691 or later by Jurieu's secretary, but originally written before it was confirmed that the French had been driven out of St. Kitts, which had happened in 1690 (pp. 689–92). Wheler was also only too well aware (*Finch IV*, p. 521) of the threat to his forces from yellow fever, which the slave trade had brought to the Caribbean and which was fatal to any crowded body of men without immunity. Internal dissension was the third danger, for Wheler did not have a free hand, but had to abide by the decisions of a council of war.

The combination of these three factors proved too much: after an assault on one of Martinique's two strong forts had been repulsed, and a thousand men had died of fever, his officers refused to attack again or to attempt Guadeloupe. Wheler, who had voted each time for attack, had no option but to dismiss the colonial militias, regroup his own forces at the healthier island of St. Kitts, and set sail on 18 May for Boston, barely able to work his ships. On reaching the latitude of Bermuda he sent the *Quaker* ketch back to England with despatches for Nottingham and others. She made a quick passage and on 4 July Nottingham was able to forward copies of the most important documents to Blathwayt and the King (pp. 182, 185–6, 266). Wheler's letter of 4 June to Nottingham does not survive either among the Colonial State Papers like his long despatch of 6 March (*Cal. S.P. America and W.I., 1693–96*, pp. 41–3), or among the Finch papers like his long despatch of 13 October (pp. 266–9 below), but there are copies of some of the enclosures among the papers of the Secretary of State for Ireland Sir Robert Southwell (Add. MS. 21494, ff. 21–2) and the rising M.P. Robert Harley (Add. MS. 70017, ff. 57–83, partly calendared in *HMC Portland III*

(1894), pp. 516–28), in the latter case sent to pre-empt criticism since Harley was a commissioner of public accounts with a keen interest in naval affairs. The main journal of Wheler's proceedings was summarised in the *London Gazette* (no. 2885 for 3–6 July 1693).

On 23 July Nottingham received via Blathwayt the King's response to Wheler's report, and on 26 July he wrote to Wheler enclosing the Queen's new orders to him. These were sent straight out to New York by the fifth rate *Richmond*, Captain John Evans, with instructions similar to Greenhill's, but did not arrive until 1 October, too late to be forwarded to Wheler before his return to England (pp. 196–7, 204–6; *Cal. S.P. America and W.I., 1693–96*, p. 171).

Wheler's weakened squadron had meanwhile reached Boston on 12 June, to the astonishment of the governor, Sir William Phipps. 'I shewed him his Majesties orders for our coming there, in order to goe to Quebeck', Wheler later reported to Nottingham (p. 266). 'His answer was that he had not received one word of notice and directions from his Majesty of this expedition, that he ought to have had at least four months notice to have raised his men, and that it was absolutely necessary to sayle from Boston by the first of July at furthest. And that that expedition required at least four thousand men.' Coxe and Greenhill were of course responsible for the failure of any orders to reach Phipps before 24 September, when another copy of the King's letter finally arrived from Virginia (*Cal. S.P. America and W.I., 1693–96*, p. 165). Yet as Phipps pointed out, even if the orders had come and the men were ready, none would have been willing to embark on board ships still rife with fever and dysentery.

Quebec was now out of the question, but Wheler was determined to attempt something against Canada, and on 3 August sailed with his convalescent squadron for Newfoundland, the secondary Canadian objective in his instructions (*Finch IV*, pp. 510–11). Here he could not persuade his officers to mount an amphibious operation against the well-defended port of Placentia, and was only able to destroy the smaller French settlement on St. Pierre. The remnants of the expedition arrived back in England in October with little to show but an appalling list of casualties. According to Wheler he had lost 1,900 sailors out of 2,700 (with another 50 lost by desertion), and 800 soldiers out of 1,300. It was to his credit that he had managed to bring his command safely home, even with the assistance of the remaining soldiers and 130 French prisoners of war.*

* Wheler told Cotton Mather (who reported it in *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), II. 71) that by the time he reached Boston he had lost 1,300 out of 2,100 sailors and 1,800 out of 2,400 soldiers (the latter presumably including colonial militia). Regular updates survive of his figures (pp. 266, 268; *Cal. S.P. America and W.I., 1693–96*, pp. 103, 124; Add. MS. 70017, ff. 57–83 *passim*).

EAST INDIA TRADE

There were fresh developments in 1693 in the long struggle for control of the East India trade, which cut across normal party lines. As he had pointed out the previous year (*Finch IV*, p. 251), Nottingham had no stock in the old East India Company and intended to have none in the new, but remained strongly convinced that widening the charter would be in the national interest. He twice expounded his views to Blathwayt while enclosing the latest petitions and memorials from the interested parties. Although the Crown's legal officers confirmed that by failing to pay its taxes on time the Company had technically forfeited its charter, and could not therefore insist on its right to three years' notice of a dissolution, the King decided in the end to grant it a revised charter. Parliament's discovery in 1695 that Nottingham had opposed this in spite of being offered a large bribe by the Company was to contribute to his political rehabilitation (pp. 73–5, 93, 95–6, 102–3, 110, 114, 116; Henry Horwitz, *Revolution Politics*, p. 154; *idem*, 'The East India Trade, The Politicians and the Constitution: 1689–1702', *Journal of British Studies*, XVII no. 2 (Spring 1978), 1–18, which draws on the papers calendared below).

FRANÇOIS DE GAULTIER, SIEUR DE SAINT BLANCARD

François de Gaultier, Sieur de Saint Blancard (referred to sometimes as Gaultier, sometimes as Blancard, and not to be confused with the Abbé François de Gaultier, the well-known diplomat employed for many years by the French government in Anglo-French negotiations), was originally a Protestant minister at Montpellier. He left France in 1683, going first with his wife and children to Switzerland and thence almost immediately to Holland, where he found employment with William of Orange. Early in 1685 William sent him on a mission to the Elector of Brandenburg, with whom a treaty of alliance was in course of negotiation (Jurieu was also concerned in this). He remained at Berlin in the service of the Elector, who employed him in the triple capacity of pastor to his household, polemicist and diplomatic agent, in early 1689 sending him to London, where he stayed until the beginning of 1690. From this time onwards he was deeply involved in promoting insurrection in the Cevennes, the return of the Vaudois to Piedmont, and the invasion of Dauphiné by the French Protestants who had taken refuge in Switzerland. In the spring of 1690, on the orders of William III, he went himself to Switzerland on a mission to raise 4,000 men for Allied service in Savoy, visiting the Hague and Berlin on the way and reaching Zurich on 5 April. He remained in Switzerland for the rest of the year (SP 96/7 *passim*; *Finch II*, pp. 298, 306, 325; *Finch III*, pp. 437–8; R.J. Howells, *Pierre Jurieu: Antinomian Radical* (1983), pp. 43–4, 79; L.A. Robertson,

'The Relations of William III with the Swiss Protestants, 1689–97', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser. XII (1929), 149–50). On 31 December, on the King's orders, Nottingham arranged for his agent in London to receive £100 from the Treasury (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1690–91*, p. 198).

In January 1691 he was requested by Thomas Coxe, the English envoy to the Swiss cantons, to go to the Hague (where a congress of the Allies was in progress) in order to acquaint William III 'with some matters of importance relating to the present state of things' in Switzerland and France (Coxe to Nottingham, 24 Jan. 1691, SP 96/8). His memorial (pp. 285–6) shows that he was at the Hague in February. He had conversations there with both William III and Nottingham before they all returned to London in mid-April.

The memorial, probably written in May and received by Nottingham before his missing letter to Jurieu of 2 June (see p. 287), is crucial to the establishment of the network centred on Rotterdam which was to be Nottingham's main source of news from France in 1691–3. Previously it was neutral Switzerland which had been the principal clearing-house for agents and news from enemy territory. But there were two problems about this. The first was the length of time needed for information to reach Holland or England by this circuitous route, which had been tolerated only because the information was in any case not of high enough quality for speed to be vital. Secondly, Nottingham had come increasingly to doubt Coxe's reliability. As he wrote on 26 May to Viscount Sydney, by then with the King in Flanders, 'I am very willing to pay for intelligence, for his Majesty allows me money for it, but I am not so willing to trust Mr. Coxe's management of it'. His doubts were shared by others (p. 703); and indeed the French resident in Geneva included in his expense account for 1690 the cost of maintaining a spy in Coxe's household (H.V. Aubert, 'Les espions de France à Genève après la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, LXXII (1923), p. 43). Nottingham thus welcomed Gaultier's suggestion that the new agent who had offered to write to Coxe from Paris should be encouraged instead to send his reports directly to Holland; and not to the postmaster of Leyden as the King had suggested, for all his mail from France was opened, but under cover to a merchant in Amsterdam or preferably in Rotterdam, where it could quickly be passed on to Gaultier's friend Pierre Jurieu. Nottingham asked Sydney to finalize arrangements with Jurieu for forwarding and paying for the agent's reports: 'I will defray the charge, and there will be no need that either the intelligence or the money should pass thro' Mr Coxe's hands' (*Finch III*, p. 77).

Gaultier now began to take a less prominent role, although he continued to assist the Allies until the end of the war, and it is clear that Nottingham and his successors consulted him regularly in London and sometimes used him a channel for payments to Jurieu. He also reported regularly on English affairs

to Portland (pp. 295, 322, 323, 334; J. Dedieu, *Le Rôle Politique des Protestants Français (1685–1915)* (1920), pp. 305, 307, 318; Nottingham University Library, PwA 151–65). He died in 1703, his son Claude succeeding him as pastor at Berlin (*Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, XV (1980), col. 764). From now on the network was to centre on Jurieu and his ally Etienne Caillaud in Rotterdam.

JURIEU'S NETWORK AND THE HISTORIANS

Pierre Jurieu has always been a controversial figure. The son of a pastor in a leading French Protestant family, he studied in France, Holland and England (where one of his du Moulin uncles was professor of ancient history at Oxford), and became professor of theology and Hebrew as well as pastor at Sedan. When the academy of Sedan was suppressed by Louis XIV in 1681 and he was himself threatened with prosecution for seditious publication, he fled to Holland and in 1682 became pastor of the Walloon church in Rotterdam, where he remained until his death in 1713. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 he worked to put pressure on Louis XIV to withdraw the Revocation, supporting armed intervention when this no longer seemed possible by peaceful means. From 1686 to 1689, and again in 1694, his bi-monthly *Lettres Pastorales adressées aux fidèles de France qui gémissent sous la captivité de Babylone* were smuggled into France to help sustain the Protestant population. The jury is still out on whether he wrote the anonymous *Soupirs de la France esclave*, a powerful indictment of many of the political, social and economic conditions that were to bring about the French Revolution a century later.

In 1691 he was at the height of his bitter public quarrel with Pierre Bayle, his former colleague at Sedan, who had also settled in Rotterdam as professor of history and philosophy at the Ecole Illustre. Although they had their theological differences, the real ground for their estrangement was political: Bayle was convinced that the only way back for the refugees was through appeasement of Louis XIV, by demonstrating their loyalty as Frenchmen, and he had attacked the militants in his *Avis important aux réfugiés sur leur prochain retour en France*, published anonymously in 1690. Jurieu found this incompatible with Bayle's acceptance of Dutch protection and campaigned for his dismissal from his teaching post. Although he would take no financial reward for his service to the Allies, he wrote in January 1693 to Nottingham enclosing a paper against Bayle (now missing) which he evidently asked him to show to William III, then still in London. Nottingham replied that he had done so, and believed that the King would give whatever orders might be necessary (p. 293). Jurieu's grateful but self-justificatory response, 'C'est uniquement pour l'intérêt du Roy que j'ay entrepris de pousser ce fripon qui est traistre au Roy et a la religion...' (p. 295) suggests that this exchange

probably had a major influence on Bayle's dismissal later that year.

Bayle did not leave Rotterdam but devoted more time to the preparation of his *Dictionnaire*, which was to make him a hero of the Enlightenment. His enemy Jurieu was left with a posthumous reputation as a quarrelsome zealot and extremist which would last two hundred years. He was seen as a traitor to France even though his clandestine activities as a spymaster long remained unsuspected.

The existence of his network was brought to the attention of historians when sixty pages of original correspondence relating to the agents imprisoned in 1696 were published in a special section, 'Espions', by an assistant keeper at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal: François Ravaisson, *Archives de la Bastille*, X (1879), pp. 82–141. It exposed Jurieu because it drew on the Public Record Office as well as the Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Bibliothèque Nationale, and of course the Bastille archives held by the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. The latter (not seen by the present editor) are evidently more extensive as sources for the network than would appear from Ravaisson's selection. The dossiers of Samuel Poulion and two of the Marseilles agents imprisoned in 1696 (Bastille 10506–8) alone run to 436, 600 and 667 folios and include papers seized from the agents dating back to 1690 as well as police procedural and detention records of 1696 (*Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France. Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, IX: Archives de la Bastille* (1892), p. 82). These would obviously repay closer examination.

Next to appear was an excellent piece of research by a French naval captain: A. Desbans, 'Une affaire d'espionnage maritime à Marseille en 1696 (d'après des documents inédits)', *Revue Maritime*, CLIX (March–June 1906), pp. 203–54, 445–88, which was also published separately. Captain Desbans had come across four voluminous files in the Archives du Greffe du Tribunal Maritime de Toulon relating to the spy trials of 1696, which again included private correspondence, memoirs, account books etc. seized from the accused, as well as the procedural records. He filled in the background at the Archives Nationales (from Marine B² 109, 111–21, B³ 93–8 and B⁶ 27–9, 90–2), and produced a well-written account of the Allied quest for naval intelligence from Toulon and Marseilles which ended in the hanging at Marseilles in 1696 of three Swiss Protestant agents recruited to the network after Nottingham's time.

What is still the largest body of material was then published by a Roman Catholic priest, director of studies at the Oratorian college of Juilly: Joseph Dedieu, *Le Rôle Politique des Protestants Français (1685–1715)* (1920). Besides a chapter on the quarrel with Bayle (pp. 66–81) this contained four chapters devoted to the spy network (pp. 158–248); Jurieu's correspondence with the English government from the end of 1693 (with one letter of 10/20

May 1692) to 1708 (Appendix I, pp. 281–331); and Caillaud's correspondence with the English government from 1696 to 1722 (Appendix II, pp. 332–58). For this major feat of research Dr Dedieu had ransacked the English archives, citing in his bibliography nearly 150 volumes or files in the Public Record Office and an impressive number of manuscripts in the British Museum. He also consulted the HMC Reports and Calendars, quoting for example from the correspondence of Jurieu and Caillaud (now in Yale University Library) described in the report on the Manchester papers in the Commission's *Eighth Report*, App. II (1881), pp. 14, 84–7, 108–9. He had not neglected French sources, citing the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal and Archives Nationales, already drawn on by Ravaisson and Desbans, and finding fresh material in the Bibliothèque Nationale, including 'nouvelles à la main, adressées de France au Roi d'Angleterre, Guillaume III, et aux secrétaires de ce Prince (1693–1694)' (Fonds fr. n. a. 4801, formerly part of Phillipps MS. 10076). These news reports were among the Blathwayt-Southwell papers purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps from the bookseller Thomas Thorpe in 1836. They fill 184 folios and are described by Dedieu as providing detailed intelligence about the French fleet in the summer of 1693 and later. A reasonable assumption would therefore be that they are the missing copies of reports from Poulion and others which we know were made by Jurieu's secretaries for the use of Blathwayt and the King in Flanders. Dedieu refrained from providing any excerpts since he could not be sure that the reports were of Huguenot origin. However, he stated on p. 166 that they were 'adressées sous le couvert de John Parker, qui fut sans doute l'intermédiaire'. This would be a surprising alias for Jurieu's network to use, since Colonel John Parker was a notorious Jacobite agent. But he was much later to be imprisoned in the Bastille as a suspected double agent, who applied on his release to Caillaud for employment (*DNB*). The references in *Finch III–IV* and below (pp. 38, 61, 72, 113) give no hint of any connection with Nottingham, although protection at some high level has long been suspected. In 1693 he was seen playing bowls at Southwark while a warrant was out for his arrest; soldiers were sent to take him, but he escaped (T.C. Porteous, 'New Light on the Lancashire Jacobite Plot, 1692–4', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, L (1934–5), p. 8). In 1694 he was arrested in May and committed to the Tower, but on the Queen's instructions was then allowed fresh air and certain named visitors until he escaped in August (*Cal. S.P. 1694–95, passim*). The news reports in Paris would therefore also clearly repay closer examination.

Dedieu detested the subject of his painstaking research. Like Ravaisson, who had expressed horror at finding a man of the cloth 'abaisser son caractère au rôle de chef d'espions, et un Français se joindre à l'ennemi' (*Archives de la Bastille*, X. 82), Dedieu believed that Jurieu 'entretenait avec l'Angleterre une

correspondence criminelle'; 'il ourdissait dans les ténèbres de meurtriers complots' – the reverse of the truth, since the network was more concerned with preventing assassinations than plotting them. Dedieu's allegations were immediately refuted by Frank Puaux, the venerable president of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, who pointed out that when Jurieu was approached in 1689 by a renegade Benedictine monk offering to stab Louis XIV, he had had the man clapped into prison in Rotterdam, and had written to inform the French authorities (*Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, LXX (1921), 175–82. See also Eugene Grisaille, 'Louis XIV et Jurieu. D'après une lettre inédite de ce dernier (4 avril 1689)', *ibid.*, LV(1906), 147–69, for a fuller account of this incident). *Finch V* supplies another example of where the line was drawn. When Nottingham learned that a contact serving with the French army in Germany had offered to spoil all the flour magazines in his care, he asked Jurieu to make further enquiries: 's'il pretend a les gaster par poison, c'est une maniere d'agir si infame qu'il ne faut plus y songer'. Only if the flour could be destroyed by fire or otherwise put safely beyond consumption should the agent be allowed to go ahead. Jurieu entirely agreed: 'Vous avés raison de croire que le dessein d'empoisonner des magasins est trop abominable, et que les droits de la guerre ne peuvent rendre legitime' (p. 313). He wrote loftily back to the intermediate agent Braconnier: 'Nostre cour ne pourroit se resoudre a se servir d'empoisonnemens et d'assassins, chose dont on ne fait pas de conscience dans la vostre' (pp. 380–1).

The background to the espionage at Rochefort and La Rochelle was next filled in by the publication of the intendant's private correspondence for the period: Louis Delavaud and Charles Dangibeaud (eds.), *Lettres de Michel Bégon, I. Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XLVII (1925). This was swiftly followed by an article by a local canon: P. Lemonnier, 'Espionnage et contre-espionnage à Rochefort en 1696', *Revue de Saintonge et d'Aunis*, XLI (1926), pp. 1–20, which published a substantial group of letters from Pontchartrain to Bégon relating to the spy ring in the archives of the port of Rochefort (vol. I E 38). The archives of the Préfecture de Police of Paris furnished additional details about 'le bureau d'espionnage de Rotterdam' to the naval historian Charles de La Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*, VI (1932), pp. 211–13.

Dutch historians now began to exploit the material brought to light by Ravaisson, Dedieu and Lemonnier: G. Das, 'Pierre Jurieu als middelpunt van een spionage-dienst', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, XLI (1926), pp 372–82; F.R.J. Knetsch, *Pierre Jurieu. Theoloog en politikus der Refuge* (1967), pp. 345–66. The latter was a chapter devoted to Jurieu's role as a spymaster in a revised doctoral thesis. The same year saw a reassessment of Jurieu's position by the great Bayle scholar Elizabeth Labrousse, 'Le Refuge hollandais: Bayle

et Jurieu', *XVIIe. siècle*, 74 (1967), pp. 75–93. She pointed out that Jurieu's theology was not eccentric for a churchman of his day, and that in his eyes it was Bayle who was the traitor, both to his religion and to the King-Stadtholder who sheltered him: 'un pur et simple déserteur de la cause commune, voir un traître, agent secret du Roi-Soleil'. Professor Labrousse's views are echoed in the critical but balanced article on Jurieu by Madeleine Fabre in Jean Sgard (ed.), *Dictionnaire des Journalistes 1660–1789* (1999), pp. 535–8. Dr Fabre urges fresh research on the network: 'Les thèses de J. Dedieu, qui d'une part déteste Jurieu et d'autre part, a, semble-t-il, une conception anachronique de ce qu'il appelle une "agence d'espionnage", devraient être reprises et confrontées à ses sources (conservées au Public Record Office à Londres); l'abondance des archives justifierait cette nouvelle recherche.'

French historians of the network have generally remained unaware of the discoveries made in English archives since Dedieu's researches over eighty years ago. This introduction does not pretend to be a comprehensive account, especially of the Dutch sources – the great find would be the archives of Etienne Caillaud, who inherited Jurieu's papers as well as his network. But the survival (and prospective publication) of Nottingham's secret service papers among the archives of the Finch family was revealed in the introductions to *Finch III* (1957) and *Finch IV* (1965), the latter also quoting extensively from the material. Since Dedieu's time there have also been many relevant accessions to the British Museum. There are letters from Jurieu in the Vernon papers acquired in 1923 (Add. MSS. 40771, 40775), and his reports to Blathwayt, 1692–8 and undated, were bought at Sotheby's in 1973 (Add. MS. 57943, ex Phillipps MS. 10020). Extensive correspondence of Caillaud and Jurieu with Sunderland and Marlborough is among the Blenheim papers allocated to the British Library in 1978 (in Add. MSS. 61258–61566), although neither they nor their network receive any mention in the survey of Marlborough's sources of intelligence from France in Henry L. Snyder (ed.), *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, I (1975), p. xxx. Two books based on French doctoral theses have been published which supply new information about the network from French sources, without taking account of English archives since Dedieu. Alain Boulaire, *Brest au temps de la Royale* (1989), pp. 295–7, has fresh details about the spying at Brest for which exact references were only given in his 1988 thesis. Lucien Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV* (1990), provides the fullest description of the network to date, devoting three sections to it: 'Le réseau protestant de Jurieu' on pp. 88–91, 'L'instrument de contre-espionnage' on pp. 148–9, and 'Le Refuge face à Louis XIV' on pp. 193–5. Although he does not cite Lemonnier or Boulaire or the archives at Rochefort, Brest and Vincennes on which they drew, he

makes extensive use of the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères at the Quai d'Orsay and many other sources for a thorough exploration of the links between espionage and diplomacy. In the absence of information about English sources made available since 1920, however, he believes that up to the time of Nottingham's dismissal he and Jurieu had only had two agents, one who had toured the ports and provided an inaccurate list of ships, and another in Paris; and that their ideas for expanding the network were only taken up and implemented by Trenchard shortly before his own death in April 1695. The network was thus discovered in the spring of 1696 within a year of its establishment –whereas in fact it had been spreading undetected for five years.

The tercentenary of the death of William III has been a focus for some relevant recent Dutch research, as has the magisterial edition of Dr A. J. Veenendaal, *De briefwisseling van Anthonie Heinsius 1702–1720* (19 vols., 1976–2001), which includes correspondence with both Jurieu and Caillaud. The biographical index to the edition, freely available over the internet ([www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/BrievenAnthonieHeinsius1702–1720/Index](http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/BrievenAnthonieHeinsius1702-1720/Index)) is a major international resource. It is to be hoped that the edition can be extended back to the 1690s, for Heinsius was a party to the network from its inception. In February 1692 Nottingham asked Jurieu to pass on to him any news from their agent in the Ministry of Marine that might be worth communicating (p. 297), and their agent in Normandy a year later was actually sent there 'par l'ordre de Monsieur le Pensionnaire Heinsius' (p. 317). Jurieu's expenses, in the year of Grandval's plot, included an allowance for special messengers to Heinsius as well as to the King (p. 310). The Earl of Portland was also in the well-kept secret (pp. 285, 316, 377). He had his own independent sources of intelligence. A series of reports sent to him by an agent in Paris between [22 September/] 2 October 1693 and [9/]19 April 1694 is among his papers in Nottingham University Library (PwA 2804–60). There is an online calendar covering the ostensible messages as well as the parts in invisible ink (http://mss.library.nottingham.ac.uk/cats/port_1stearl13cat.html).

THE DUTCH ROUTE AND INVISIBLE INK

For fast and reliable clandestine correspondence between France and England all parties came to prefer the Dutch route. This was the case even with the French, who as we have seen made greater use than the Allies of the cross-Channel smuggling route. They were also involved in a three-cornered traffic via the Spanish Netherlands. In 1692 the Canterbury postmaster was ordered by the postmasters-general to investigate the provenance of a mysterious regular packet called the Flanders mail. He reported back in 1693 that every two or three weeks the Dover smugglers carried wool from Romney Marsh to a French port, then coasted to Nieuport or another port

in Flanders 'where they received letters, which had come over Land from the Merchants in *France*, to their Correspondent or Correspondents in *Flanders*', and brought them back to England, ostensibly from an Allied country (p. 111; *The Case of John Woodgate, Late Post-Master of Canterbury: Turn'd out of his Place for discovering Smugglers and a Correspondence with France, during the late War* [1697]). The no-man's land of Flanders was easy for merchants on either side to visit or write to legitimately, since the large armies of occupation needed constant supply. Blathway's campaign bulletins came via Ostend. Nevertheless the spymasters on both sides found it best to send their mail on to the United Provinces in order to take advantage of the well-established links between the merchants and bankers of Amsterdam and other Dutch commercial centres and their correspondents in London and Paris.

Trade between France and the United Provinces was far commoner than trade between France and England, and there were virtually no banking restrictions. The great international banking houses carried on as usual. In 1685 La Reynie had listed the Protestant merchants and bankers of Paris, and although by 1692, when Abraham de Pradel published a directory of *cambistes* – those who specialised in letters of exchange – all had conformed outwardly, they were still regarded as Protestants at heart (Herbert Lüthy, *La Banque Protestante en France de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes à la Revolution*, I (1959), pp. 70–6). As Professor Bély remarks (*Espions et ambassadeurs*, p. 644), they were 'à la fois indispensables et suspects'. The London bankers Nicholas Tourton and Isaac Guiguer or Guigier, part of a multinational concern with branches in Amsterdam, Geneva, Lyon and Paris (Lüthy, *La Banque Protestante*, I. 78–91), arranged for £10,000 to be paid to Thomas Coxe in Swiss rix-dollars in 1690 and continued to correspond with the *nouveau converti* Jean-Claude Tourton in Paris, whose name had been given to Nottingham early in the war as an accommodation address for letters in cipher (p. 813; *Cal. Treasury Books 1689–92*, pp. 899, 1218); but it quickly became apparent that such prominent ex-Huguenots were security risks. Similarly the Jacobites began by sending letters to Sir Daniel Arthur, the principal Jacobite banker in Paris specialising in English, Scottish, Irish and Dutch transactions, but soon they too were advising against using him for clandestine correspondence (*Finch II*, pp. 359, 376; Lüthy, *La Banque Protestante*, I. 76; William A. Shaw, *The Knights of England* (1906), II. 266). Ironically it was the French authorities who seized Arthur's correspondence in 1695, to the acute embarrassment of Renaudot (Burger, 'Spymaster to Louis XIV', p. 119).

Below the risky top level there remained a huge pool of potential contacts. Over 50,000 French refugees had settled in the United Provinces since the Revocation – more even than in England – and most had remained in touch with their relatives in France, especially the merchants and bankers among

them. The volume of correspondence was too great to be monitored other than selectively, as for example we have seen Nottingham arrange in the case of letters sent by de Gennes or the Duquesnes, and the French in the case of letters addressed to the Leyden postmaster Clignet. It was easy for both sides to find Huguenot merchants in Holland not yet under suspicion, Bayle men who could be appealed to as patriots, or Jurieu men who could be appealed to as Protestants, who had legitimate reasons for writing to Brittany, Saintonge or Paris.

It is interesting to see how closely Renaudot's plans for communicating with his agents in England resembled Nottingham's for communicating with his in France. In either case the intermediary was a French Huguenot in Holland ostensibly corresponding with his business contacts in France and England. Even the Jurieu-Nottingham leg, where such precautions were unnecessary with both ends under Allied control, initially used merchants as accommodation addresses until Nottingham asked to be sent his letters directly to save time (p. 292). He only made occasional use of the diplomatic bag sent to the English envoy at the Hague (pp. 221, 329–30). The same packet boats which plied between Harwich and the Hook of Holland with Mary's letters to William, and his less frequent replies, also carried Nottingham's correspondence with Jurieu and the correspondence of Renaudot and Melfort with their agents in England. In a memorandum probably enclosed in a letter of [2/]12 November 1693, 'Addresses pour faire passer les lettres d'Angleterre en Hollande pour leur donner passage jusques a Paris', Renaudot lists alternative routes: from England to Jean Cossart, merchant in Rotterdam, then to André Hebert, banker in Paris; or to Isaac Muysart, banker in Amsterdam, then to Monsieur de Varenne, merchant at St. Malo; or to Isaac Cossart, merchant in Amsterdam, then to Monsieur Goujon, merchant at La Rochelle; or to the widow Beauquillioen in Rotterdam, then to Nicolas de Santeul, banker in Paris. These intermediaries were not to open the letters but simply forward them another stage as indicated by the superscription (BN Fonds fr. n. a. 7491, ff. 214–15). Although Nottingham had noted in 1690 that Isaac 'Corsar', merchant in Amsterdam, was a forwarding address for Seignelay (*Finch II*, p. 377), none of the other names appears in his papers, and similarly his own agents appear to have been largely unknown to the French before 1696. Fears that they might be playing a double game were unfounded.

Both sides, however, stepped up their security at the end of 1692. The Allies made more frequent spot checks on the Harwich mail, and the French, anxious to conceal their feverish naval preparations, ordered all letters sent from Brest and other ports in France to be delivered to the French post offices unsealed (*Finch IV*, p. 532). As it became more likely that letters sent by the Dutch route would be read at the post office, there were still two ways

for an agent to get his message across without using the cryptic language that would alert the enemy. He could fill out his letters with news and gossip which would seem natural but would still have some intelligence value, 'midway between business letters and spy reports' (Burger, 'Spymaster to Louis XIV', p. 118). Or he could use invisible ink. He could do this between the lines or at the end of an innocuous letter, and a belt-and-braces agent might encipher at least part of his invisible-ink text for greater security.

Invisible ink, then known as white ink, was usually based on milk, lemon or vinegar. Nottingham knew exactly how to deal with intercepted Jacobite correspondence in this medium: 'If writt in milk, rub it with burnt paper ashes, and if not come out, then with fire, which fetches out onely lemon or vinegar' (*Finch II*, p. 377). His papers include a number of such intercepted letters (e.g. *Finch II*, pp. 358–60, 361–2, 367–8, 376–7). And although most of the agents' letters sent to Jurieu in invisible ink were to reach Nottingham as transcripts, he also received some originals. In one case the ink had faded so badly since transcription forty years earlier that the present editor had to have it reheated in the Record Office's conservation workshop before the transcript could be checked.

Jurieu's secretaries had similar problems. The network's principal Paris correspondent, Samuel Poulion, used a mixture of lemon and alum water which sometimes failed to become visible when heated. A long letter of [2/]12 May 1692, sent at the height of the invasion scare, could only be partially transcribed by the frustrated secretary in Rotterdam, who carefully noted the length of each gap – '(manque demi ligne)', '(manque 7 lignes et demie)' – and eventually had to concede defeat: 'Tout le reste de la lettre, qui contient encore une page, ne se peut lire absolument, n'y ayant que quelques mots marquez par cy par là. On donnera avis à celui qui écrit de prendre garde que ce défaut n'arrive plus cy apres' (pp. 418–19). The next letter was so faint that not a word could be read (p. 306). There were no problems with the next, but the one after was held up at the Paris post office, and part of the next was again difficult to read (pp. 421–3). From the inception of this correspondence the agent's reports had been written partly in cipher, but faint number groups were harder to make out by guesswork than faint words, and the figures continued to give trouble in spite of the agent's apologies for using too weak a solution – 'La drogue étoit trop vieille, je la rafraichiray plus souvent' (pp. 294, 472–3, 522–3, 529, 537; Dedieu, *Le Rôle Politique*, pp. 282–3). These difficulties were compounded by the agent's inability to check what he had written: 'Quand on ne voit pas ce qu'on écrit, on ne sait ce qu'on fait' (p. 527).

Correspondence was not routinely checked for invisible ink in the post offices, and it was more likely that an agent would attract suspicion by the

amount of time he spent locked away writing and enciphering. Poulion wrote long reports every Monday, and in eventful times he also wrote on Fridays. Although the *en clair* portions of his letters have not survived, his cover would have checked out as genuine, for he was a Paris merchant writing to his first cousin the Rotterdam merchant Etienne Caillaud. Caillaud immediately passed his letters on to Jurieu's confidential secretary the Sieur de Legoux, who was also a cousin and personal friend of Poulion. Legoux would spend most of Wednesday or Thursday deciphering and transcribing the Monday letter for Nottingham and making another copy for Blathwayt and the King during the campaigning season (pp. 309–10). Nottingham's copy would catch the Friday packet from the Brill to Harwich and be with him the following Tuesday or Wednesday, wind and weather permitting. These were average times; the Paris to Rotterdam leg could take as little as one day (pp. 389–90, 484–5), and the Rotterdam to London leg as little as three (pp. 303, 312). All parties were anxious not to miss a post, and in May 1693 three successive Monday letters were endorsed by Nottingham as received the following Monday (pp. 546–52). There were of course unexplained delays, and occasionally letters went missing, but on the whole it was a remarkably swift and secure operation.

Similar arrangements were made for the reports from other agents, usually sent to Caillaud under one of his many aliases. Nottingham was sometimes sent the originals, sometimes copies; the handwriting of the copies shows that at least two other copyists besides Legoux were employed on a long-term basis. Other hands appear for shorter periods. Three corresponded directly with Nottingham in Jurieu's absence: one who does not give his name, Legoux, and de Pierrefritte, also known as 'Madame de Pierrefritte' for greater security. The childless Jurieu was similarly referred to on occasion as 'Mademoiselle Jurieu' or 'Mademoiselle' (pp. 288, 297, 306, 378, 670, 695). He had clearly assembled a formidable clerical team to service his spy network; and like the spies, they had to be paid. Legoux himself, who spent two days a week on the work, received an annual gratuity of 200 florins, with another hundred for postal expenses (pp. 302, 309–10, 331).

PAYING THE AGENTS

The financing of Jurieu's organization has a prominent place in his correspondence with Nottingham, and is mentioned in over half the hundred letters exchanged between them (section B, pp. 287–335). As the senior secretary of state Nottingham had an annual allowance of £3,000 for secret service payments, secured on the customs and largely paid in tallies, for which he did not have to account in detail. Sir John Habakkuk, in estimating the savings out of which Nottingham paid for Burley-on-the-Hill,

assumed that he kept the whole of this allowance as an additional salary. 'For the cost of real secret service Nottingham received separate payments which are not usually recorded in his private accounts, and when his private accounts record payments for secret service...they are generally covered by receipts of money granted specifically for the purpose' ('Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham: his house and estate', *Rutland Record*, X (1990), 355). A missing account book kept by Thomas Armstrong for Nottingham in 1702-4 may have included sums received and spent in this way (*ibid.*, pp. 357, 361 note 53). It seems likely, however, that these payments related to expenditure on counter-intelligence and police costs, or subsidies and bribes to allies and neutrals, rather than foreign intelligence. In seeking intelligence Nottingham sometimes mentioned his allowance from the King for this purpose, and when he prepared a speech in defence of his record in 1693 he stressed his liberality in spending it on a variety of informants in France. 'I have promised and constantly paid to all these correspondents whatever they, or their friends, thought a proper reward of their services. And in all the directions I ever gave, I never limited them to any sum, but desired them to procure me intelligence at any rate. And, I can assure you, I have sometimes laid out my own money, and once had anticipated the King's allowance almost £2,500' (Aiken, *The Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham*, p. 127).

Nottingham's part in the financing of the network, after Thomas Coxe had ceased to be involved, was to provide the necessary money, while Jurieu's was to forward it to the agents and to negotiate the terms on which they would serve. Remittances to Holland were usually made by bills of exchange in Jurieu's favour to be drawn on Benjamin Poulle of Amsterdam, which Poulle would recover from Sir Joseph Herne, a London merchant and M.P. extensively employed in making payments abroad for the English government (pp. 287, 291, 311, 314, 322, 330-2). This was to continue for many years (Dedieu, *Le Rôle Politique*, pp. 286-7, 291, 298), although other intermediaries were also used. Trenchard's first payment to Jurieu after Nottingham's fall was for example a bill of exchange on Poulle backed not by Herne but by another M.P., Sir Stephen Evance, who belonged to the same syndicate for financing the army in Flanders (SP 78/152, f. 48; Cruickshanks, Handley and Hayton (eds.), *House of Commons 1690-1715*, III.993-4, IV.343-4).

Poulle could then either pay Jurieu in cash or arrange for at least part of the sum to be sent to France. Amsterdam was the clearing house for most payments in the European trading system (J. Sperling, 'The international payments mechanism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. xiv (1961-2), 466), and so was safer than Rotterdam, where regular payments to Jurieu might have reached the ears of his enemies. He was however a comparatively wealthy man with a well-

deserved reputation for charitable giving, and once he had received the money he could easily launder it for the agents' use through a 'lettre de change sur nostre bourse' (p. 331) or other means not divulged to Nottingham. Bilateral use of the exchange mechanism between England and Holland, and then between Holland and France, was obviously more secure than a multilateral transaction involving England, Holland and France, and much more secure than a bilateral transaction between England and France. Nottingham did make one secret bilateral payment to Sweden, specifying the exchange rate – 'two thousand pounds sterling at twenty four copper dollars per pound' (p. 94) – but did not attempt this with France.

The payments (or promises) made to individual agents are described in the sections dealing with those agents. There were, however, a number of other payments which the service required. Besides Legoux's annual 200 florins there were payments to other 'scribes et copistes' – £30 or £40 in September 1693 (p. 332); for carriage of letters – 200 florins in the year to 1 April 1692 (p. 302), besides the special messengers already mentioned as sent later in the year to the King and Heinsius (p. 310); to 'entremetteurs' employed by Jurieu to find an agent for a special mission at the beginning of 1693 (p. 322), and £120 'pour ceux qui sont employés à chercher les correspondants' in the autumn (p. 332). On 1/11 April 1692 Jurieu sent Nottingham an itemized account of the uses to which he had put a sum of 1,500 Dutch florins received the previous January (p. 302), and many subsequent letters contain details of payments made or liabilities to be met. Nottingham never disputed the specific arrangements made by Jurieu, and always responded promptly to requests for payment. Jurieu for his part kept his requests to the minimum, did his best to obtain value for money – especially as the King sometimes took an interest in costs (pp. 300, 303–4) – and was also prepared to make advances from his own pocket. Before he received a bill of exchange for £200 sent to him on 29 August 1693 he had already engaged for the whole sum in money or promises, 'voyant que la machine n'alloit point du tout', but was soon able to report that 'depuis que la machine est graissée elle va un peu mieux' (p. 331).

Jurieu's network was exceptional for the late seventeenth century in that most of his agents were serving primarily out of conviction, rather than for money. Nevertheless as he pointed out, they could not be expected to work for nothing (p. 322). Unlike accredited diplomatic agents such as Thomas Coxe or Hugo Hughes, they had to meet their own postal, travel and entertainment expenses. Naval officers and port officials were unlikely to make a boon companion of a poorly turned out spy who never paid his share at the ordinary. 'Il faut dequoy subsister honnestement, et entretenir intelligence avec les gens de métier', as Poulion told Jurieu (p. 624). Jurieu was later to gloss this remark to Trenchard: 'La depense que l'on propose comme

nécessaire au dessein, c'est de mettre les gens que le Roy employera en estat de paroistre [make a show] avec les officiers de la marine' (SP 101/22, endorsement in Jurieu's hand on copy made for Trenchard of no. E146(1) of [6/]16 Oct. 1693 below; Dedieu, *Le Rôle Politique*, p. 192).

The privateering interest at St. Malo was another élite body whose drinking standards had to be met. Jurieu's agent there reported that he had never tasted better Canary than that pressed on him by his hosts when three English prizes were brought in with cargoes which included Spanish wines (p. 651). There were few such compensations. Travelling round the French ports in winter or early spring, when news of naval preparations was most urgently needed, could take a heavy toll not only on an agent's purse, but also on his health and his horse's (pp. cl–cli and 644–63 *passim*).

At the end of 1692 Jurieu asked Nottingham for a general discharge for the money paid him during the past two years, for which he had himself given receipts in duplicate to Benjamin Poulle. This discharge Nottingham sent him in a form which Jurieu himself had drafted (pp. 311, 314). In November 1693, on learning in a missing letter from Nottingham of his succession by Trenchard, he made a similar request, asking him to give Gaultier in London a general discharge for all the money that had passed through his own hands during Nottingham's administration, including the £400 received since August. He also asked him to explain to Trenchard the financial engagements he had entered into for the expansion of the network; if these were not honoured he would find himself 'dans un assez grand embarras'. And he clearly felt a genuine regret at Nottingham's departure, 'puisque'on ne peut faire les choses ni plus exactement ni plus honnestement que vous les avés faites. J'auray toute ma vie le souvenir de vostre bonté pour moy' (pp. 334–5).

He need not have worried. The transition was handled by all parties with efficiency and discretion. A courteous letter of 10 November from Trenchard was already on its way, inviting him to continue to supply intelligence on the same terms as before (SP 78/152, f. 46). The financial arrangements already in place were continued and in December he received another £200 from Trenchard, together with a polite invitation to let him know if it were not enough (*ibid.*, f. 48). Successive changes of secretary went equally smoothly and the network continued to grow. It was only when Nottingham's second administration ended in April 1704 that payments began to fall into arrears in spite of urgent reminders from Jurieu and Caillaud (BL Add. MS. 61548, ff.1–26 *passim*).

The sums mentioned in Jurieu's correspondence with the secretaries of state are expressed in a variety of currencies and coinage denominations, including English guineas or pieces and 'livres sterling', French écus, pistoles, louis d'or,

and livres or florins, Dutch florins or guilders and Flemish schillings. The rates of exchange are sometimes stated; the payment by Trenchard just mentioned was for £200 at 33 Flemish schillings per £ sterling. Jurieu found it easiest to deal in round figures when currencies were of approximately equal value. He made no difference between pounds sterling and guineas or 'pieces', using all three terms interchangeably; and he treated fifty guineas as the equivalent of 600 Dutch florins in 1692 (pp. 302, 308), and 600 French florins in 1693 (p. 331), in the same letter also calling this sum 600 livres, i.e. livres tournois. Earlier in the year he had explained to Nottingham that a guinea, or twelve florins, was really only worth eleven livres tournois, and that he had had to promise the Amsterdam merchant (presumably Poulle) that he would reimburse him for the difference if Nottingham objected to remittances to France having been made on the basis of twelve instead of eleven livres to the guinea (p. 322).

As already mentioned (p. xxxii), the agents refer frequently to Pontchartrain's currency manipulations, including their effect on exchange rates. There is also a good deal of information about weights and measures and commodity prices, particularly in the letters from Rochefort and La Rochelle, ostensibly from merchants writing to their correspondents in Holland about putative shipments of brandy or wine. Although intended as camouflage – Jurieu told Nottingham to ignore these passages – the details seem accurate enough, so may be of interest to economic historians. There are also many references to the rising costs of provisions in the provinces, indexed under France: famine.

THE FIRST AGENTS

Jurieu's first agents – de Alet, La Touche and Braconnier – were not recruited by him but by Thomas Coxe, the British envoy in Berne, as Jurieu was quick to point out when they proved a disappointment. The writer of the twenty-four holograph letters in section C (pp. 336–67) called himself St. Aubin, but this was 'un nom supposé' according to Gaultier (p. 285), and his real name was de Alet. Coxe, who had known him for nearly twenty years, described him as 'a bold and a brave man', 'a gentleman of honour and worth, though of no great outward appearance', who had lived in England for twelve or fourteen years and served in Ireland in Colonel Belcastel's regiment of French foot in Allied service. He had returned to Paris, conformed outwardly, and supplemented a meagre income as a language master by writing newsletters (pp. 328–9; SP 96/8, 24 Jan., 14/24 March 1691).

Although he must have offered his services to the Allies soon after his return, for Gaultier showed William III a letter from him in February 1691 and obtained approval for a correspondence with him to be opened (p. 285), it took some time for a safe route to be established. Ciphers and money were

sent to Paris for the use of de Alet and La Touche, 'but they both absolutely refuse to correspond by Holland or Flanders', Coxe reported to Nottingham in April, 'alleging they have already run great danger of their lives that way, all their letters that way to and fro having been opened, which they are not this way' (SP 96/8, 13/23 April 1691). Some letters from de Alet, now missing, did reach Nottingham in the late spring after having made 'le tour de Suisse' (p. 287), but the first to survive of the letters which the agents were eventually persuaded to send by Holland is dated [7/]17 August (p. 336).

De Alet gave two addresses to which letters for him should be directed: (1) the outer cover to 'Monsieur Douay, marchand de vin, rue des Boucheries, Fauxbourg St. Germain, à l'enseigne du Duc d'Yorck a Paris' and the enclosure to 'Mademoiselle R. La Grange' (perhaps the co-signatory of the letter from 'R. et St. A.' on pp. 347–8); (2) to 'Monsieur Desbans, pottier d'étain, rue Neuve des Fossees proche le carrefour de la rue Dauphine, Fauxbourg St. Germain à Paris' (pp. 347, 348). Nothing is known of the identity of 'Monsieur Bernard, étudiant en médecine a Leyden', the addressee not only of his reports but also some of those from his friends La Touche (alias 'La Confidente des Amours') and Braconnier (alias de la Tour) (pp. 368–70, 376–80). Probably Bernard was one of Caillaud's many accommodation addresses, since one letter is addressed to 'Monsieur Erienne Cailleau pour faire tenir à Monsieur Bernard étudiant en médecine a Leyden' (p. 339). This particular letter refers to three 'billets de change', in fact one report cut vertically into three strips sent separately for greater security as enclosures in the two letters preceding the Caillaud letter and the one following it (pp. 336–41). The report, when pieced together, appears to be an offer to collaborate in Allied acts of sabotage, for example if boats were sent up the Seine to seize and burn Rouen and the galley-fleet stationed there. It also provides the addresses of nine 'magazins d'argent', evidently in Paris (the street names do not belong to seventeenth-century Rouen), but whether as targets for further raids or as houses where agents were already in place is left unclear. Jurieu was unable to comment on these proposals, as he had already forwarded the first two strips by the time the third arrived (pp. 287–8), and Nottingham ignored them, perhaps thinking them too far-fetched to take seriously.

He was already dissatisfied with de Alet, agreeing with Jurieu that his news was 'tirées d'une gazette assez mediocre', and in December Jurieu dismissed him (pp. 287, 289, 290, 291). De Alet protested and continued writing until February 1692; and although he had been paid all that his employers considered due to him – £50 or 200 écus quarterly, first through Coxe and then through Jurieu, since the beginning of 1691 – he demanded a further 100 écus for expenses (pp. 288, 290, 297, 361–6; SP 96/8, *passim*). Nottingham declared that he had already had more than his services were

worth, and Coxe too would have nothing further to do with him (pp. 298, 299). De Alet made two further attempts at contact, in April 1692 (pp. 303, 366–7; *Finch IV*, p. xx note 3), and again in July 1693, when Nottingham received a letter (no longer among his papers) which he told Jurieu he believed to have come from the correspondent dismissed ‘à cause qu’il ne mandoit que de bagatelles et des choses imprimées dans les gazettes’ (p. 327). Jurieu confirmed this identification, adding that the editor of the Rotterdam gazette had given up her subscription to his newsletters because their news was always stale: ‘Jugés si des nouvelles qu’on ne trouvoit pas assés bonnes pour la gazette seroyent bonnes pour vous’ (pp. 328–9).

The sixteen letters in section D (pp. 368–80) from Braconnier (alias de la Tour, alias Brisson) and La Touche (alias ‘La Confidente des Amours’ or ‘La Confidente’) are again part of a larger correspondence, which had begun under Coxe’s direction in January 1691 (p. 368). La Touche was a Roman Catholic but according to Coxe Braconnier, like de Alet, had been born and bred a Protestant and had converted only recently, possibly for cover purposes. Braconnier was later to claim, in an undated letter almost certainly written in 1706, that he had given the Allies ‘vingts annez de services continuels’ (BL Add. MS. 61300, f. 4), but there is no evidence of his having done so before the end of 1690, after twelve years as an officer in an old French regiment. He then travelled from Paris to Switzerland to offer his services to the Allies through his friend Seigneulx, a Lausanne banker described by Coxe as being ‘totally in the King’s interest’ and as having ‘lately paid very dearly for his being so’ (*Finch III*, p. 179). Two of Braconnier’s letters in SP 96/8 are copies made by Seigneulx, and it is clear that for some time he acted as an intermediary in Braconnier’s correspondence with Coxe.

However it was William’s envoy he had come to see – ‘the man came on purpose hither to me from Paris’, reported Coxe, who received ‘all the characters of fidelity and zeale of him that are allmost possible’ (SP 96/8, 21 March 1691). He was personable, if something of a dandy; Jurieu described him the following year as ‘un grand garçon bien fait, beau de visage, blond, le tour du visage ovale, et plein, sans estre excessivement gras, la phisionomie heureuse, et l’air ouvert. Il est fort orné, fort doré, et la perruque blonde’ (BL Add MS. 57943, f. 10). He had a wide acquaintance and according to Coxe was ‘a most intimate friend of Monsieur Alexander, Monsieur La Touche and others of Monsieur de Louvois and Monsieur de Pontchartrain’s chief secretaries and commis, particularly for the affairs relating to the marine’ (SP 96/8, 21 March 1691). Coxe reported that Braconnier had gone to Brest for a fortnight but would thereafter be reporting from Paris, where he promptly enlisted his ‘Confidente’ La Touche as promised. Braconnier acted as his cut-out, receiving all La Touche’s reports himself and forwarding them initially to Coxe and later to Caillaud. Perhaps he had doubts about his fidelity,

although he was potentially an extremely valuable accession to the network: as Coxe told Nottingham, 'The confidante of his amours is a man of great trust and employment in the navall affairs' (SP 96/8, 13/23 April 1691). Jurieu confirmed his identity and that he had been a clerk in the Ministry of Marine since Seignelay's time. 'Ce commis a soin de toutes les affaires de la marine, elles passent par ses mains, et outre cela il a grande intelligence avec tous les autres commis des autres bureaux pour savoir les affaires. Il peut donc assurément rendre de grands services' (p. 294; Add. MS. 57943, f. 2, where Jurieu described him to Blathwayt as 'premier commis du Bureau de la Marine').

The first surviving report from Braconnier is enclosed in a letter from Coxe to Nottingham of 21 March 1691 in SP 96/8, and is signed with his alias de la Tour. Most of his subsequent reports are signed Braconnier. This means poacher and was also a *nom de guerre* according to his Bastille files (10496 and 10504), which call him 'P. Brisson, dit Braconnier', and identify him as the son of a tax farmer from Lusignan in Poitou; but he remained known as the Sieur de Braconnier throughout his long career in Allied service.

Fortunately he exercised great caution when instructed to send future reports to Clignet, the blown postmaster of Leyden. In April Coxe reported that 'Mr Clignet having given him no secret or coverd way of adres to him it was 1000 to one but he had been discoverd, for 2 of his letters to Mr Clignet were open'd, but he not venturing to write materially, nothing hapned upon it, his character and feigned name of La Tour not being knowne. If otherways, the consequence would have been his being broke upon the wheele' (SP 96/8, 29 April 1691). After this it was hardly surprising if he hesitated to provide information of substance before the safety of the new Dutch route had been confirmed.

Like de Alet, Braconnier was initially supposed to receive £50 a quarter, duly paid to him in April 1691. Since he had been put to greater expense and was rated more highly than de Alet as a potential informant, Coxe promised him an additional advance of 1,000 écus, and told him to apply to Jurieu for payment. But by July he had still received 'no orders or regulation for his quarteridge', as Coxe informed Nottingham, and only in September did Nottingham finally send Jurieu a bill of exchange for 3,500 livres (about £200) to be forwarded to Braconnier in Paris, out of which he gave 200 louis d'or to La Touche (pp. 288–90, 294–5; SP 96/6, 29 April, 15 July 1691). Nottingham thought the latter sum 'assez considerable', since La Touche had failed to respond adequately to his repeated questions on naval matters. Braconnier however reported 'ma Confidante' as 'tres bien intentioné depuis qu'elle a veue les louis d'or', but unwilling to part with fuller information until assured of a regular reward. He had asked Braconnier to make a

personal visit to 'le Roy et ses ministres d'état, pour scavoir quelle recompense il pourroit esperer pour ses services'.

Braconnier accordingly returned to Switzerland to ask Coxe for a letter of introduction to Nottingham, and if possible an escort to London, since he knew no English. He received the letter and in the third week of January arrived via Germany in Rotterdam, to the great surprise of Jurieu who had written off the 3,500 livres after two months of silence. Braconnier had with him a questionnaire devised by Jurieu in the autumn. It had arrived at Braconnier's Paris address after he had left for Switzerland, followed him there, and been sent back to La Touche, who had completed it in early December and returned it to Braconnier. Now Jurieu forwarded it to Nottingham, who received it on 31 January (pp. 294–6, 370, 794–8). It reflects Jurieu's interests and his desire to exploit La Touche's access to the highest levels of policy-making. 'Faits sur lesquels on voudroit etre eclaircy' include French diplomatic, strategic, religious and financial plans, as well as the likelihood of a rising in the provinces. La Touche did not offer false hopes, or dissemble his belief as an old Roman Catholic that the *nouveaux convertis* had been treated with great indulgence. He expressed the opinion that a rising was becoming increasingly unlikely, and that Louis would never restore the rights the Huguenots had enjoyed in 1685, either in the near future or as part of a peace package.

Jurieu and Braconnier worked out a compromise whereby La Touche would not receive any further payment until he had supplied intelligence of concrete value, but with two provisos: if no effective action was taken on any information of his which was sound and sent in good time, he should not on that account go unrewarded; and if any French merchant ship was captured by his means – and since he handled their passes none could sail without his knowledge – he should receive a share of the profits, even though this would be tricky to arrange since it would have to come out of the admiral's or privateer's share. This was assented to by Nottingham, and by William III after his arrival in Holland on 6 March. The Dutch minister Dijkveld, with whom Braconnier had an interview at the Hague in February, also expressed his approval. Further memorials of the intelligence required of him were sent to La Touche, who at last began to respond in more detail (pp. 294–301, 370–5; SP 96/8, 2 Dec., [3/]13 Dec. 1691).

Before leaving Holland Braconnier was received by the King, who suggested that the most useful service he could now perform would be to join the French army in Flanders and report from there to Portland. As he was returning first to Paris, on a passport obtained for him by La Touche, Jurieu asked him to take along a Protestant minister also bound there, Elisée Giraud, who accompanied him in the guise of his manservant and was safely

delivered to Jurieu's friends in Paris. A few days later, however, Giraud was arrested, and Jurieu concluded that Braconnier was responsible. His suspicions hardened as he failed to hear after the beginning of May from Braconnier or La Touche, and it became clear that the latter's reports had underestimated the strength and state of readiness of the French fleet. 'Ainsi je conclus que ces deux correspondants sont apostés par la France.' Nottingham agreed that they were likely to be plants (pp. 307, 375–8; BL Add. MS. 57943, ff. 2–3).

By June Jurieu had convinced himself of worse. The real purpose of Braconnier's recent journey had been to familiarise himself with William III's appearance in order to return and assassinate him. He sent Blathwayt the agent's description so that he could be picked up if he reappeared in the Allied camp. He began to fear for his own safety; he should never have told Braconnier that he would be taking the waters at Aix-la-Chapelle in the late spring, for the magistrates and inhabitants of the town, he found, 'ont le coeur françois', and 'la cour de France a une particuliere haine contre moy'. The news that French partisans had seized the Aix-Maastricht postilion and read his mail was proof that Braconnier was setting a trap for him. He did not dare leave Aix for Maastricht without an armed escort which he begged Blathwayt to provide. This was duly done, and Jurieu returned safely to Rotterdam at the beginning of July (pp. 307–8; Add. MS. 57943, ff. 4–10).

On 12 July he was taken aback to receive a letter of [9/]19 July from Braconnier reporting that a contact of La Touche in Luxembourg's army had found him employment there as instructed, and that he was now a *sous maréchal des logis des camps et armées du Roi*. He had been present at the siege of Namur in June and had sent several reports directly to William III. In return the King 'a eu la bonté de m'envoyer un homme de conséquence déguisé en paysant, qui a esté assurément fort content de moy.' La Touche's contact, however, had turned awkward, telling Braconnier that the latter would probably be sent to serve in Germany or Piedmont, and that the contact himself would take over liaison with the Allies. This unnamed contact was 'un gascon incapable de sincérité', 'un fin matois' (a sly piece of work), and Jurieu should warn the King on no account to trust him, for sooner or later he would betray them. It would be best for Braconnier to go on reporting directly. 'Soit que j'aïlle en Allemagne ou en Piedmont, sa Majesté n'aura qu'a me faire sçavoir a qui elle veut que je m'adresse, et elle verra tousjours avec combien de zele je la serviray.' His address was 'a Mademoiselle M. Warnell chez Madame Garnier deux portes apres la croix blanche, rue neuve St. Roche a Paris' (Add. MS. 57943, f. 12), a different name at the same house as in April (p. 377).

Jurieu was reluctant to acknowledge that he had again suspected Braconnier unjustly – 'je suis bien certain que c'est un scelerat' (p. 308) – but on

receiving another letter from Braconnier in August he asked Blathwayt to check his story with the King (Add. MS. 57943, f. 16), and when Braconnier's advice that Charleroi would be the next target proved true he began to regret his haste, whilst telling the agent frankly about his past doubts. Braconnier now told Jurieu that he had identified the real traitor, a Jersey woman married to a French carpenter called Moquet; she had betrayed not only his own 'valet de chambre' Giraud in April but also another Protestant minister, La Bastide, in February, and others in the same circle (pp. 378–9, 397, 402, 405). Simultaneously, however, Braconnier told Bonrepaus that he himself was the informer, upon which Bonrepaus recommended him for a police reward (O. Douen, *Les Premiers Pasteurs du Désert (1685–1700)* (1879), I.304–5, 342–7; Ravaisson, *Archives de la Bastille*, IX. 458–62, where Giraud and Gardien-Givry are confused).

In October 1692 Braconnier reported that he had the opportunity to join Bonrepaus's entourage for his mission to Denmark, which Jurieu and Nottingham agreed could yield valuable intelligence (pp. 312, 378). The last dated letter from Braconnier among Nottingham's papers was written on 9/19 December 1692, eight days before Bonrepaus sailed (pp. 379, 509), and was followed within a day or two by the separately mailed 'secret pour faire gater toute la farine de un magasin danst 24 heures' already discussed (pp. cxiii, 379–80).

Although the sequence of letters from Braconnier and La Touche is not complete, and La Touche was not expected to write regularly but (by William's own orders) 'se reserver pour les coups importants, de peur de tomber dans quelque piege et d'estre decouvert' (p. 301), there is no indication that he ever resumed contact after Braconnier had left for Namur in May 1692. By December Pontchartrain was using La Touche for liaison between Renaudot, Jones-Simpson and de Thosse about English affairs (Ravaisson, *Archives de la Bastille*, IX. 388–9). Four years later an Allied spy at Toulon was instructed to report back 'sous le couvert de Monsieur de la Touche par Allemagne' (Desbans, 'Une affaire d'espionnage', p. 247), but the name is probably coincidental. The *commis* in Pontchartrain's bureau compromised in 1696 was not La Touche but du Trion (Lemonnier, 'Espionnage et contre-espionnage', p. 3). Braconnier's silence can however be explained, whether or not he did go to Denmark with Bonrepaus. For in May 1693 he was arrested as a double agent and imprisoned first in the Bastille and from 1695 in the Château de Guise under a *lettre de cachet*. His sister and niece were shut up in a convent (Douen, *Les Premiers Pasteurs*, I. 347–8; Ravaisson, *Archives de la Bastille*, IX. 500, 512–3). Evidently he did not talk, for he could of course have exposed Jurieu. In 1698 he was released and immediately applied for further orders to Portland, then ambassador in Paris. He was told to report to Matthew Prior, the secretary of embassy, and

continued to serve as a channel for intelligence to Prior and to Portland's successors the Earls of Jersey and Manchester, receiving a pension from William III (*HMC Bath III* (1908), pp. 231–429 *passim*). On the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession he was again clapped in prison. Released in 1706, he immediately made his way to the Allies to offer his services once more: 'neuf annez que j'ay souffert, en deux fois, de rudes prisons, pour la bonne cause, doivent estre des marques autentiques, et plus que sufisantes de mon zelle, et de ma fidelité'. Portland could vouch for his having earned the pension which he hoped would be renewed (BL Add. MS. 61300, ff. 4–5). The next three years saw a revival in his fortunes. His intimate knowledge of the eastern borders of France, and his contacts in the French army and the Huguenot resistance, were seen as valuable assets in the context of Allied plans to invade France from the south-east and reignite the smouldering rebellion among the Camisards. Initially sent out to Prince Eugene in Italy on an abortive mission to detach a former Allied general (the Prince de Vaudémont) from his new allegiance to France, he was then employed in protracted preparations for a strike into Dauphiné or Franche-Comté. His original modest proposal for the seizure of Auxonne, a fortified town on the Saône, was expanded by the Allies into a project for an invasion of Franche Comté by several thousand Huguenot partisans and Prussian regulars under his own command, for which he received a colonel's commission from the Elector of Hanover. But the project's success depended on simultaneous strikes to the north and south of his own force, and collapsed when the Imperial general in the north attacked prematurely and was defeated. No more was heard of Braconnier (BL Add. MSS. 61145, 61339, 61537, 61648, *passim*; Henry L. Snyder (ed.), *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence* (3 vols., 1975), pp. 639, 647–9, 1012–13, 1015, 1018, 1030–1, 1037, 1310, 1353, where he is usually referred to as La Breconnière).

THE HUGUENOT RESISTANCE

In 1702, when Etienne Caillaud heard rumours that a rival spymaster was proposing to send an agent to France, he wrote to Blathwayt pouring scorn on the idea. It was no use sending one man on his travels and hoping for instant results; just as no effective army could be raised overnight, so the groundwork for an espionage network had to be laid well in advance, and sleepers put in place years before being activated. 'Il faut donc avoir des gens qui se tiennent sur les lieux, et il leur sera bien difficile d'y parvenir. Je scay par experience ce que c'est, ce nest pas louvrage d'une année, il en faut plusieurs pour le metre sur le pied ou je l'ay establi. Vous saves, Monsieur, tout ce qui en est, ainsy vous en pouver mieus juger que personne' (BL Add. MS. 21552, f. 49). (By the same token the success or failure of the network

cannot be judged on the basis of papers confined to the years 1691–3, and no attempt has been made to do so here.)

Caillaud is seldom mentioned in Nottingham's papers, but he and his relatives were employed by Jurieu from the outset, although Caillaud himself would accept no payment until ruined by his exposure in 1696. In 1706 he claimed to have maintained a correspondence with France on England's behalf for twenty years, obviously an exaggeration (Add. MS. 61548, f. 6). On 24 November/4 December 1696 Jurieu told James Vernon that his own confidential secretary, Caillaud's cousin Legoux, 'sert le Roi depuis six ou sept ans pour nos correspondances par l'un de ses parents et amis qui est a Paris et de qui nous tirons de fort bonnes nouvelles' (SP 84/220, f. 408). It is not clear who is meant, as Legoux's cousin Poulion had only been on the Allied payroll for five years and was by then in custody. Legoux himself was a 'gentilhomme françois réfugié' as he subscribed himself during Jurieu's absence at Aix (p. 306), 'un homme d'esprit et habile' as Jurieu described him (p. 331). He may have recruited his cousin Caillaud, rather than the other way round.

Caillaud had been a merchant of La Rochelle before his flight to Rotterdam, and still had many relatives in the area. When Richelieu had defeated La Rochelle and its English allies in 1628 he had allowed the Rochellois to continue the practice of their religion, and it remained the most Protestant of French seaports. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes there had been a large exodus abroad, but those who remained were to include some of Nottingham's most able and devoted agents. Even if they had conformed outwardly they were subject to discrimination. This varied widely across France (see index under France: Protestants, France: Roman Catholic converts, and local subheadings), but like the professed Protestants the *nouveaux convertis* were forbidden to keep arms in their houses, paid heavy additional taxes, and in some places might even have to be buried in unconsecrated ground. In 1691 and early 1692 bully-boys described by one agent as 'sauterelles d'enfer' – locusts from hell – descended on the *nouveaux convertis* of La Rochelle and Rochefort and broke into their houses, seized their books, papers and money, and took away their children to be raised by the Jesuits. This was said to have been done with the connivance of the intendant Bégon, 'qui est un bigot outré, quoi que d'ailleurs homme d'esprit' (the begonia was named after him), but after the French defeat at La Hougue the mob too turned against them and he became their protector. 'Les nouveaux convertis sont fort maltraités de la populace, et même de gens qui d'ailleurs sont assez raisonnables. On les assaille de paroles injurieuses sur les rues, et partout ailleurs, comme estant la cause de cette guerre. On les appelle des chiens, des bougres, d'Huguenotz, qu'il faudroit exterminer', and without the restraining troops there might have been a massacre (pp. 448, 644, 709, 715, 725).

Life in such a hostile environment was a life of dissimulation. As Desbans pointed out, it was a training ground for spies. A man long accustomed to conceal 'ses pratiques, ses croyances, ses sympathies, presque ses gestes' had become insensibly hardened to the risks of a spy's life ('Une affaire d'espionnage', p. 254). Jurieu's agents were not only well paid, but they were well trained; and above all they were well motivated.

Where other seventeenth-century intelligence agencies might have to recruit from the more venal, criminal or fanatical elements of the population – 'either adventurers incapable of making a respectable living or former conspirators who had changed sides to save their lives' (Ronald Hutton reviewing Alan Marshall's *Intelligence and Espionage in English Historical Review*, CXII (1997), 202) – the fifth column that Louis XIV had created rose through all levels of society. Nottingham heard many tales of constancy in unlikely places. 'Le croiriez-vous, Monsieur', asked a pastor reporting in 1691 on his secret ministry in and around Paris, 'que Dieu se choisit des fideles d'entre les acteurs de l'opera, les personnes du monde les plus impies et les plus perdues dans toute sorte de debauches? Il n'est pourtant rien de plus constant...ils m'ont decouvert leur coeur et m'ont fait voir tant d'amour de Dieu et de sa verité, tant d'horreur pour le mensonge, tant de pieté et tant de zele avec conoissance que j'en ai été dans des ravissements' (p. 689). This pastor, 'Carriere' – possibly the pastor of that name executed at Alès the following spring (Douen, *Les Premiers Pasteurs*, II. 400) – drew 3,500 livres on Rotterdam which probably came at least in part from Jurieu's own pocket, the draft for the same amount which he received shortly afterwards from Nottingham being earmarked for other purposes (p. 289). It is clear that Jurieu was careful to compartmentalise his various activities; a letter from another pastor preaching 'sous la croix' in France, Peter Brocas de Hondesplains, is exceptional in its references to 'la Beste et le faux prophete' and 'la chute de Babylon' (p. 694), for such letters were not forwarded to Nottingham unless they contained significant intelligence material, in this case about an assassination plot against the King, to whom the letter was copied. In letters intended for Nottingham, Jurieu's own language and that of the agents he employed was notably secular and businesslike. The terms of equality on which the two principals stood have their reflection in the reports of the agents, respectful but free from deference. These were not paid informers but men risking their lives for their moral beliefs, willing to serve the intelligence agency of a foreign power in order to fight for the liberty of their conscience or their countrymen.

While the great majority of agents appear to have been Huguenots, they were actuated by political as well as religious motives. Jurieu's own work in helping to publicise the cruelties of the regime had contributed to the revulsion felt for Louis XIV both inside and outside France. The Allies and their agents in

the French resistance shared a conviction that they were fighting a just war. As one English diplomat put it to another, they were united in 'a Confederacy, the greatest that was ever knowne, against a Tyrant, and the Enemie of Mankind' (Rycaut to Colt, 7 Jan. 1690/[1]: BL Add. MS. 34095, f. 212). When Nottingham's secret service papers open, it was only two years since the regime had been changed in England, less in Scotland, and Ireland was still being won; it seemed quite possible that France would be next, and certain that Louis would make no concessions except at swordpoint. Descent plans have already been discussed on pp. xxiv, lxxii and in the introductions to previous volumes (especially *Finch IV*), but there is fresh material in the secret service papers, even though the more ambitious schemes were generally hatched by French exiles rather than by agents on the ground. Some examples follow.

A Huguenot officer serving in Britain, Labonneille, wrote in 1691 to tell Nottingham that he had composed four addresses, to the nobility of France, the people, the Protestants, and the Parlements, urging them to throw off Louis's yoke at this propitious moment, when 'toute l'Europe est sur nos frontières a nostre secours'. He enclosed copies of the first two, and offered to return to France to help distribute them (no. O4, pp. 791–4). Another Huguenot also writing in 1691 had more specific proposals for linking up the Allies with the Resistance (nos. O1–2, pp. 787–91). He began by analysing the situation. 'Il y a long tems que le Roy des François a formé le dessein de se rendre monarque universel. Pour y réussir il s'est servi de deux principaux moyens. Le premier cest de diviser, et d'abattre les forces des princes et etats ses voisins; le second, de rendre son pouvoir arbitraire et despotique sur ses sujets.' As soon as Ireland had been mopped up, the Allies should coordinate an invasion by Louis's neighbours with a rising by his subjects. France's interior lines would make her impossible to conquer otherwise; 'Rome na jamais esté vaincü que par elle même; il en est de meme de la France. On n'en viendra a bout si les Alliés ne vont dans le coeur du royaume reveiller les peuples de labattement ou ils sont réduits, et les elever contre l'opression du Roy des François' (p. 787).

He went on to advocate a seaborne invasion up the lightly defended Gironde to Bordeaux, capital of the province of Guyenne, which still resented the loss of the liberties it had enjoyed under English rule until the mid fifteenth century. Normandy, Languedoc and Poitou were other provinces which 'gemissent sous lesclavage'. The writer enclosed a long draft of an address to the inhabitants of these four provinces, to be printed and secretly distributed before an invasion, announcing William's plans to liberate them and restore their constitutional rights (pp. 789–90).

Nothing more is heard of the proposal to invade France through Guyenne. An anonymous source writing from Bordeaux in April 1692 described the

persecution there: houses razed, women raped, many sent to prison or the workhouse, others to the galleys or the gallows. 'Pour avoir prié Dieu, l'on nous pend. Mais il faut esperer qu'il nous vengera un jour. En un mot, tous ce pais est en combustion.' Yet even he thought it fanciful to imagine that 'nostre province est menacée', and far more likely that James would invade England (no. O8, pp. 800–1).

The province of Languedoc, which included the Cévennes, was also in a state of turmoil. There are references in Poulion's reports of 1691 and early 1692 to atrocities committed both by the repressive intendant Bâville and by the Protestant partisans (pp. 338, 401, 405, 435, 437). The invasion of Dauphiné by the Duke of Savoy in the summer of 1692 aroused hopes in the Allies, and fears in the French, that the partisans of Languedoc would join forces with the invader, and all the Rhône crossings were guarded to keep them apart (p. 461). When six gentlemen from the Cévennes did manage to cross, but were captured before they could link up with the Allies, two were hanged and the other four sent to the galleys (p. 475). An undated memoir was submitted to Nottingham on how an occupying force might be maintained in Dauphiné, Provence and Languedoc without alienating the local population – how indeed they might be encouraged to welcome their liberators – but it was not needed (no. O12, pp. 804–7). The invasion was short-lived and did not precipitate the expected rising. The Protestants and *nouveaux convertis* reaped little benefit for their loyalty; interventions with the King by his braver ministers brought promises of improvement, but no action. Languedoc and Guyenne, while spared the ravages of an invading army, were particularly hard hit by famine that winter. In March 1693 Nottingham was told that their Parlements, instead of drawing up new constitutions for themselves under Allied protection as had been hoped, were ordering lists to be made of the dying poor (p. 531).

The other two provinces nominated by the writer of no. O1 for Allied attention were Poitou and Normandy. The Huguenots of Poitou and the neighbouring provinces of Aunis and Saintonge (now Charente-Maritime) had been particularly badly treated. This area was the heartland not only of Caillaud's extended family but also of many other families of the Huguenot diaspora. Intelligence about the Charente estuary reached Nottingham from several sources independent of Jurieu's network. One was the Huguenot general Henri Massue de Ruvigny, Marquis de Ruvigny and Viscount (later 1st Earl of) Galway.

The miscellaneous projects and papers collected in section O include a 'Mémoire pour My Lord Nottingham' in Galway's hand, evidently written in 1692 shortly after La Hougue, proposing that while the navy burned the surviving transports at La Hougue and the twenty-two warships that had

taken refuge at St. Malo, the infantry in readiness in England should be embarked forthwith under the command of the Duke of Leinster for a raid on Rochefort (no. O10, pp. 802–3). Russell's refusal to contemplate such an operation killed the project for the moment, and Galway was soon telling Portland that it was too late (Nottingham University Library, PwA 1097–1103), but in January and February 1693 Galway supplied Nottingham with detailed information about the ships being built at Rochefort and the state of the fortifications on the Ile de Ré, the Ile d'Oléron and the Ile d'Aix, and on the mainland around Rochefort and La Rochelle (section N, pp. 778–86). On 28 April, when Galway was about to leave for Flanders, Nottingham sent Blathwayt a memorial from Galway to the King which the general could explain further if necessary (p. 106). The contents are not described, but on the same day Carmarthen wrote to tell the King about his conferences with Galway on whether to attack Brest, St. Malo or Rochefort (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, p. 111). Detained at Deal in early May by contrary winds, Galway took the opportunity to send two more letters to Nottingham. In the first he wrote that as the fleet was still there he hoped to discuss with the admirals the matter of which he was to speak to the King – clearly an amphibious descent (p. 107). In the second, an impatient three days later ('L'ennuy d'estre à Deale est aisé à comprendre'), he enclosed intelligence from John Woodgate, the Canterbury postmaster who was investigating the wool smugglers' links with France (pp. cxv–cxvi). Nottingham followed this up at once (p. 111; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, p. 125).

At the battle of Landen in July Galway's regiment played a gallant part in covering the Allied retreat, taking heavy casualties (p. 218), and he himself was briefly captured but immediately released, his compatriots not wishing to see him sent to the galleys. The story, well known from Saint-Simon – himself gazetted in error as killed or captured (p. 198) – is repeated here (pp. 593–4). When the news of the Duke of Schomberg's death after the battle of Marsaglia reached William he decided to send Galway to replace him in his military command, and simultaneously to replace the newly appointed envoy extraordinary to Savoy. Galway held both appointments concurrently for the next three years.

An expedition to the Charente estuary was to be delayed until 1696, when it unluckily followed shortly after the arrest and examination of the local agents involved in its planning (see p. clvii).

The fourth province targeted by the writer of no. O1 for an allied invasion – second in importance after Guyenne – was Normandy, and he attached a separate memorandum about alternative sites for a landing (no. O2, pp. 790–1). St. Valéry-en-Caux was his first choice, since a beachhead there would give the Allies easy access to both Dieppe and Rouen. (As we have

seen, de Alet had also suggested Rouen as a target for an Allied invasion supported by sabotage.) Dieppe could also be attacked from the east if St. Valéry-sur-Somme was preferred as the landing site; but this was the less attractive option, as it was protected by sandbanks and a small fort.

Because Upper Normandy was seen as a soft target, garrisoned mainly by 'valetudinaires', other sources also recommended a raid on Dieppe. An anonymous Frenchman in London, collating news received both from letters and from refugees, reported that 'Les gens bien intentionnez en France sont fort chagrins qu'on ait negligé de faire une descente', especially in Normandy. 'Que si la flotte avoit seulement paru de temps en temps, menaçant seulement d'une descente, cela ruinoit la province, et portoit les peuples au désespoir ... on pourroit tout esperer si l'on faisoit une descente considerable' (pp. 803–4).

Jurieu's thoughts were running on similar lines. At the beginning of the persecution (as he told Nottingham in April 1692) a number of Dieppe shipmasters had made it their business to pick up fugitive Huguenots on the coast by night and carry them over to England. If they could be persuaded to scout for intelligence instead of refugees, they could carry it to England and be back in Dieppe within twenty-four hours. Many of these men were now employed by the Allies in Dutch or English warships; nothing could be easier than to obtain an order for their release. He was in hourly expectation of a list of their names, and the names of the captains under whom they were serving (p. 305). He enclosed a memorandum on the subject, probably the undated no. J1 (pp. 687–80), which is annotated in his hand. This names various Dieppe masters in Allied service, notably Jaques La Veine – Admiral Russell's 'fatt friend Jacke the French man' (*Finch IV*, p. 138) – and the Sieur Pol, a bold and skilful pilot used to slipping his men through the defences of Dieppe and communicating with the Huguenots there through dead-letter drops (p. 687–8).

The memorandum puts the need for intelligence from Dieppe in the context of a descent on Normandy, and in particular the vulnerable Pays de Caux. Dieppe's windows were to get a rattling later in 1692 (p. 423), and when the Allied fleet appeared in the offing in 1693 the town's women and children were evacuated (p. 564), but Nottingham's intelligence sources were not put to the test until after his dismissal, in the major Dieppe raid of 1694.

The feasibility of an attack on the Cotentin peninsula in Lower Normandy was meanwhile suggested by four Allied soldiers (two Dutch and two German) who had been captured at Fleury in 1690 and forced into French service. While garrisoned at Cherbourg they had found a small fishing boat with two oars and a low sail but no compass. Carrying on board only a loaf of bread and a bottle of water each, two muskets and thirty rounds of

ammunition, they resolved to escape or die in the attempt. They were fortunate enough to reach the Isle of Wight on the third day. They provided a detailed account of French naval and military dispositions in the Cotentin, and offered to return as guides for an Allied attack (p. 798).

There is no evidence that they took any part in the Allied raids on the Cotentin which followed La Hougue in the summer of 1692 and were mainly aimed at the destruction of shipping. But Nottingham clearly valued all such intelligence windfalls, and when three French Protestants reached Devon in another open boat from France in August 1692 he sent the naval commissioner at Plymouth a questionnaire about French warships to be put to the refugees (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1691–92*, p. 408). He also saw to the debriefing of another Huguenot refugee with an unrivalled knowledge of the defences of Normandy and Brittany. This was Peter Fontaines.

PETER FONTAINES

Perhaps the most extraordinary document in this volume is no. L1 (pp. 744–50), an anonymous autobiographical narrative of the adventures of a French naval surgeon between 1689 and 1691, found among Nottingham's miscellaneous naval and military papers. If its provenance were not above suspicion it might be thought the work of Daniel Defoe or Patrick O'Brian.* It is an English translation in the same hand as a translation commissioned by Admiral Russell in February 1692 of a report on French naval surgeons by Peter Fontaines (pp. 763–6). It is clearly also by Fontaines, as it ties in so closely with the other documents in this section, most of them French originals written and signed by Fontaines. His detailed descriptions of the road from Brest to Rennes (pp. 756–61) take on a new interest when one learns from the autobiography that he had traversed it four times as a condemned prisoner with his feet chained together under his horse's belly.

Wherever it can be checked, his own account can be confirmed. He came of a good Norman family. His father Pierre Fontaine was in 1637 appointed *conseiller du roi*, *receveur* and *payeur des gages des officiers* in the Cour des Aides of Normandy (Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime, Chambre des comptes sous-série 2 B 100). After more than thirty years he was succeeded as *conseiller du roi* by the surgeon's elder brother, who by 1690 had become lieutenant-general of the bailliage of Montivilliers in the Pays de Caux. Peter Fontaines had lands of his own but trained as a surgeon in the French navy and became a master surgeon in charge of a hospital ship.

* The editor in fact read a paper to the 70th Anglo-American Conference of Historians on 14 July 2001 entitled 'A seventeenth-century Stephen Maturin: the adventures of Peter Fontaines, naval surgeon and intelligence agent'.

However he was a Huguenot and after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 lost both his post and his lands. At some point he was in Ottoman service, but by 1689 had decided to throw in his lot with the Allies. He was examined and certified by the surgeon general Richard Pearse and commissioned on 7 August 1689 as surgeon in the *Lively*, a 30-gun fifth rate whose captain William Tichborne was a personal friend of Fontaines. His career as an intelligence agent would never have begun had the *Lively* not been captured on 4 October by a French squadron south-west of the Scillies. The other officers were eventually exchanged, but Fontaines unluckily recognized the surgeon of the ship in which they were being held as his own old apprentice, the son of his father's coachman, and made himself known to him. He was promptly stripped naked and clapped in irons as a traitor. His changing fortunes over the next two years, richly detailed in the narrative, left him fluent in Breton; well acquainted with every major port from Dunkirk to Rochefort, and many parts of the hinterland; and with an up-to-date knowledge of French naval medicine after two more spells in charge of a French hospital ship and one as private surgeon to the Vice Admiral of the Blue, the Marquis of Langeron. His expertise became available again to the Allies in late 1691 when he fought a duel with the brother of the surgeon who had betrayed him, fled to escape the consequences, was seized at St. Malo after a failed attempt to reach Guernsey, and was being taken to Brest for trial and probable execution when the privateer in which he was being transported was intercepted at the last moment by two English frigates, 'by which meanes I recovered my liberty when I expected nothing but death'.

His value to the Allies was quickly recognised. He was taken back into naval service, and extensively debriefed by Leinster, Galway and Russell in person (*Commons Journals*, X. 749; *Lords Journals*, XV. 155). It is clear from the annotations on his reports that multiple copies were made in French and English, so other copies may survive outside Nottingham's papers. Only two of Nottingham's copies are in English, the autobiographical narrative (L1) and the report on French naval medicine translated in February 1692 on the orders of Admiral Russell (L9). In 1691 Russell had become alarmed by the high attrition rate from sickness in the English navy, and had initiated a number of reforms in the care of sick and wounded seamen. Fontaines' report made it clear that in many respects English naval medicine still lagged far behind French best practice, which was both medically more enlightened and better organised and financed than is commonly appreciated. But the two systems were too different for French methods to be easily applicable, the health of the fleet in any case gave less cause for concern in 1692 than in 1690–1, and Fontaines' report was shelved. In the longer term it may at least have helped to improve surgeons' pay, for the report showed that a surgeon in the French navy received a basic salary of 20 dollars a month, or about

twice the £2 10s then paid to his English counterpart; and in 1694, on Russell's return to power, the English rate was doubled to £5 (J.J. Keevil, *Medicine and the Navy, 1200–1900*, II (1958), p. 278. The pay of the surgeons of the fleet had already been raised: BL Add. MS. 9302, f. 107).

More use was made of Fontaines's other talents. By February 1692 he had been taken into Russell's flagship *Britannia*, and was still with him at La Hougue in May. After the battle he was sent towards the shore in Russell's barge under a flag of truce, ostensibly to offer terms for an exchange of prisoners, really because the admiral 'had a great minde to have knowne the names of the ships destroyed', but the barge was warned off by a 'grand coup de canon' from the fort (p. 772; *Finch IV*, p. 190; Philip Aubrey, *The Defeat of James Stuart's Armada 1692* (1979), pp. 122–3). At his own suggestion Fontaines was then locked up with the many French prisoners of war in the various English prisons where they were being held, posing as one of them, and reporting back in London on 21 October with a large mixed bag of intelligence (pp. 767–72). He was able to maintain his cover and continue this dangerous game of counter-intelligence for another four years, knowledge of his true allegiance being withheld even from the local authorities concerned. He reported directly to the successive secretaries of state – Nottingham, Trenchard, and Trumbull – and the King was also in the secret. This tight security carried its own risks, and in June 1696 he wrote to the secretary of state's office (in his first surviving letter in English) asking for a written order 'by which I may be save in cas if I was aprehendet upon suspicion for been alloways amongst papists and jacobitts that I may free my selfe from any affront of that kind', and also asking for the Privy Council to be informed of his activities, so that these might be better funded (Add. MS. 28880, f. 180).

His pay was an issue from the start. Since his recapture in 1691 he had been serving officially as a volunteer in the navy, and on 3 March 1692 a warrant was signed by Nottingham for Russell as commander-in-chief to pay him an annual pension of £80 by quarterly instalments 'untill we can find some other way to provide for him' (PRO, ADM 1/4080, f. 103; SP 44/341, p. 318). This was never paid, and in January and February 1693 Nottingham had to send the Admiralty more specific instructions from the King that Fontaines should 'be placed upon the ordinary Establishment of the Navy and paid quarterly by Bills on the Treasurer of the Navy' (no. 5 below, where £60 may be an error for £80; ADM 1/4080, f. 207; SP 44/341, pp. 488, 502). But by 13 April, when he offered to have himself put in Plymouth gaol, it was still unpaid or greatly in arrears (pp. 772–4), and on 17 May, following the Queen's orders sent through Trenchard, the Admiralty ordered the three admirals in command not only to pay Fontaines £40 still owing, but also to enter him and certain other Huguenot officers as midshipmen extraordinary on such ships as might be convenient (SP 44/205, p. 13; *House of Lords MSS., N.S. I*, p. 166).

He served accordingly as a midshipman extraordinary on board the second rate *Royal Katherine*, until on 22 August Trenchard summoned him by special messenger from Torbay to London, almost certainly for consultations about the projected descent on St. Malo (SP 42/2, no. 76; SP 44/205, p. 60; Add. MS. 35855, ff. 25, 26; *House of Lords MSS.*, N.S. I, p. 188). There is a reference on p. 752 below to multiple copies in French and English of Fontaines's description of the defences of St. Malo, although the description itself is missing from Nottingham's papers, perhaps because the raid actually took place a fortnight after Nottingham had left office, and he seems to have passed on most of his current paperwork to his successor.

It is not known whether Fontaines took part either in the bombardment of St. Malo in November 1693 or in the landing at Camaret Bay the following June. In January 1692 he had provided detailed descriptions of the defences of Brest and how they might be attacked overland from Le Conquet in the west (pp. 750–6). But he also submitted two undated memoranda recommending that after a feint at Le Conquet to draw off the enemy forces, the real assault should be on Camaret Bay in the south, offering to lead a landing party himself, since he knew the roads and the Breton language, and claiming that he could take the enemy batteries with only 400 men (pp. 761–3). Whether or not his out-of-date reports influenced the Allied decision to attack by what turned out to be a heavily defended route, Fontaines does not appear to have been blamed for the disastrous outcome. For on 28 June 1694, the day the decision was taken to send out another expedition under the command of Admiral Lord Berkeley to bombard Dieppe, Trenchard on the Queen's instructions asked the Admiralty to send Fontaines on board such ship as Lord Berkeley should direct (SP 44/205, p. 148).

Berths as midshipmen extraordinary were seagoing appointments, not sinecures (an exception was later to be made for Caillaud), and it is possible that Fontaines missed the Dieppe raid, if he had been promoted and was the Peter Fontaines or Fountaine then lieutenant of the 30-gun fifth rate *Scarborough* on coastguard duty off northern Ireland. On 18 July 1694 she encountered two St. Malo privateers, the 22-gun *Étoile* and the crack 36-gun *Comte de Revel* (whose capture of three English ships of superior combined force the previous year is described on p. 651). After an hour's resistance the frigate's captain was dead and her master mortally wounded, and Lieutenant Fontaines, now in command, ordered her surrender. The account of the hard-fought action in the autobiography of the privateer captain makes it clear that no treachery was involved; this time Fontaines (if it was he) managed to conceal his identity, and the privateer was persuaded, out of humanity for the many wounded, to set all the officers and men ashore in co. Donegal (Jean Doublet, *Le Corsaire du Roi-Soleil*, ed. Yvon Le

Cozannet and Gérard Ducable (1990), pp. 177–9). At the subsequent court martial on 5 April 1695 the gunner testified that the *Scarborough* could have fought on, and Fontaines was convicted of cowardice (ADM 1/5255, ff. 163–5), but no sentence was ever passed, and he disappears from the naval record.*

Peter Fontaines the intelligence agent is not mentioned again until 24 January 1696, when his proposals for increasing and encouraging seamen were forwarded by Trumbull to the Commissioners of the Admiralty for their consideration at the King's express command (SP 44/204, p. 113). Although evidently he was still in favour, and although the King still reserved a number of places as midshipmen extraordinary for French Protestants (*ibid.*, p. 114), Fontaines had certainly lost his place one way or another; for on 2 June he complained, 'It is not just that I shall venture my liffe upon my owne charges, which is more than my stok can beare' (Add. MS. 28880, f. 180). He was allowed to state his case two days later before the Lords Justices of England (although their minutes are discreetly silent on what was said), and on the 29th was granted a pass to go into Holland (SP 44/204, p. 263; SP 44/274, p. 150). There is no certain reference to him in any subsequent source.†

SAMUEL POULION AND THE FRENCH COURT

Unlike Peter Fontaines, who operated outside Jurieu's network and has not previously been identified, Samuel Poulion has long been seen as the lynchpin of the organisation (Dedieu, *Le Rôle Politique*, p. 223). More than

* Curiously, Fontaines (or Fontaine) does not appear at all in David Syrett and R.L. DiNardo (eds.), *The Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy 1660–1815* (Navy Records Society, 1994). Another circumstance which may support the identification is that in March 1696 an information was laid at a high level against the 'surgeon of the *Scarborough*', recommending 'enquiring into his circumstances, how he came to be entertained' (Add. MS. 9314, f. 143). This may however refer to the new frigate which had by then taken the *Scarborough's* name, as Fontaines' ship was not recaptured until 1697.

† In the later years of his reign William rewarded deserving Huguenots by pensions on the Irish civil list, recorded under surname only, and 'Fontaine' or 'Fontanne' appears from 1699 to 1702 at the generous rate of 4s. a day (*Cal. Treasury Books 1699–1700*, p. 142, 1700–1, p. 434; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1702–3*, p. 228), but this may not be our man. He is certainly none of the Peter Fontaines whose wills or administrations were proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in the next thirty years, or who were named in letters of denization or acts of naturalization, and he is not mentioned in either edition of D.C.A. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV* (3 vols., 1871–4, or 2 vols., 1886). As he never mentions dependants, it is possible that he was the refugee Peter Fontaine of Rouen recorded as having abandoned his wife and daughters in the 1680s: 'Pierre Fontaine, paroisse Saint-Gervais, m. à Elisabeth Rozel, absent; ses filles, enfermées dans un couvent, ont abjuré' (Emile Lesens, 'Liste des Protestants de Rouen qui ont été persecutés à la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes', pp. 34–5, in Jean Bianquis, *La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes à Rouen*, 1885).

half the reports from France in this volume were his work (section E, pp. 382–636). It is strange, therefore, that the name of such a key figure should be in doubt. The spelling Poulion was used by Jurieu, Dedieu, La Roncière, and the Commission's earlier editors, and has been followed here for consistency. However Pouliou (or another variant ending in u such as Pouillou) was preferred by Ravaisson (in his text – Pouillon in his index), Lemonnier (quoting La Reynie, Pontchartrain and Jurieu – incorrectly in the last case), and Bély (in his text and index – Poulion in his endnotes). Knetsch suggests that he may have been related to a Huguenot family which settled in Leyden and called itself Poeliejoe (*Pierre Jurieu*, p. 349), and Poulion does on one occasion ask for a letter to be passed on to his brother (p. 411), but the relationship cannot necessarily be taken literally. His police files (not examined by the present editor) presumably support the u spelling, as the catalogue description refers to 'Samuel Pouilloux, marchand' (*Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France. Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, IX: Archives de la Bastille* (1892), p. 82).

According to Jurieu, he was 'un homme d'age et de consideration fort affectionné à la religion et au bon parti', 'un homme de sens, d'esprit et de bonnes habitudes' (pp. 291, 294, 308). Too old and well-known himself to visit the French ports in quest of intelligence (p. 311), he employed a number of unidentified sub-agents. Some of those whose names came to light in 1696 may already have been working for him in Nottingham's time. As Caillaud's first cousin (SP 84/220, f. 355) he was related to several other members of the network (in Rochefort and on the Ile de Ré). Although described in the diary of the lieutenant of the Bastille as of Poitou (Ravaisson, *Archives de la Bastille*, X.140), according to his interrogator La Reynie he came from the small town of Moëze five miles south-west of Rochefort in Saintonge, and he was betrayed by the curé of Moëze who reported to Pontchartrain that his parishioner's conversion was only assumed (Lemonnier, 'Espionnage et contre-espionnage', p. 9; Dedieu, *Le Rôle Politique*, p. 217). Occasional autobiographical details appear in his reports: that he had lived in Rome (p. 411), that he was well known to Bonrepaus (p. 496).

Earlier sections of this introduction have dealt with the extensive naval and military intelligence that he gathered and copied out in invisible ink, and with the arrangements made for forwarding it swiftly and securely to Nottingham by the Dutch route. This took some time to establish, as Jurieu explained on 19/29 January 1692: 'L'affaire a esté retardée par la perte de quelques lettres. Mais enfin la partie est liée et commencée. Le commencement vous satisfera sans doute: les nouvelles sont bonnes, et avec le temps nous en aurons encore de meilleures' (p. 294). From the first Poulion justified Jurieu's confidence and the top rate of 200 guineas a year, paid quarterly to his refugee relations in the United Provinces, to which

Nottingham had agreed in advance (p. 290; SP 84/220, f. 175). His intelligence was generally reliable, or if not, he would indicate as much. Whereas the suspect La Touche had insisted quite wrongly that the French were about to besiege Ivrea (pp. 295, 372, 374, 796) – not mentioned by Jurieu or Nottingham among the reasons for doubting his good faith, but which might well have diverted scarce Allied resources – Poulion gave due warning that Namur would be attacked in 1692, and the Smyrna fleet in 1693. He did not disguise his frustration when his warnings apparently went unheeded, especially since his news that the main French fleet had left Brest for Cadiz came from an unimpeachable source on board the fleet itself (pp. 573, 575, 577, 580).

He was particularly careful to distinguish between the reliability of his sources when it came to court gossip. Apart from the unsatisfactory La Touche, no other agent was so close to the centre of power, but that was not very close. As Nottingham observed, ‘the counsels of France are so secret and pass through so very few hands’ that no major intelligence coup could be hoped for; ‘all that can reasonably be expected is to know matters of fact, that is, the preparations and forwardness of their ships in their several ports and the like’ (Aiken, *The Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham*, p. 126). Poulion was more ambitious, and he did attend court in person at Versailles and Marly (p. 582), but most of the time he was operating at second or third hand, sifting the news and views relayed by his courtier friends. In late September 1693, when he was kept indoors by illness and his friends were with the court at Fontainebleau, he complained that he had no means of obtaining news unless they contacted him by speaking-tube (p. 614). Nevertheless he was able to include in his Monday letter of [2/]12 October a detailed account of the battle of Marsaglia eight days earlier which had only reached Louis XIV at Fontainebleau on the Friday evening (pp. 620–1). A convalescent week in the countryside shortly afterwards is his first recorded holiday (pp. 624, 626).

Court medicine is one of many topics not covered by other agents. There are several detailed case histories, a running commentary on the King’s health, and in late October 1693 a lengthy recital of the court gossip’s text for the day – ‘l’évangile du jour’ – the surprise dismissal of the King’s *premier médecin* Antoine Daquin and his replacement by Guy Crescent Fagon (pp. 631–3). The cool irony of this well-told tale, replete with literary allusion, helps to explain why an elderly *nouveau converti* with no great wealth or connections was on calling terms with ‘toutes les personnes importantes de la cour et de la ville’, as Jurieu informed Trenchard in November, and came to be accepted into ‘la société des beaux esprits’ (SP 84/220, ff. 175, 196).

He could not always resist asking for payment in his own coin. Was there any

truth in the rumour that King William and the Elector of Bavaria had parted on bad terms (p. 619)? Would it be too difficult to send him the updated version of the classical Huguenot satire *Confession Catholique du Sieur de Sancy* (p. 631)? This Saint-Simon among spies clearly relished the satirical verses at the expense of the French establishment quoted regularly in his reports. Their inclusion had a serious purpose, both as an indication of public opinion, and for their propaganda value. The Dutch gazettes, for example, were happy to report in September 1693 that in Paris 'on entend tous les jours quelque nouvelle chanson qu'ils chantent en dérision de la cour' (Raymond Picard, *La Carrière de Jean Racine* (1956), p. 444). Even before what was seen as an inglorious retreat from the Flanders front in 1693, Louis XIV had been regularly compared to his disadvantage with William III. Poulion describes such an incident at the Opéra in March 1692. When the prologue descanted on the virtues of the King, a daring soul cried out from the pit: 'La scene est Londres' (p. 406).

It was to explain another witty comment on a piece of royal spin that Poulion launched into an excursus on ladies' fashions that year – incidentally solving a mystery for editors of French, Spanish and English dictionaries, the origin of the word *falbala* or *furbelow*. According to Poulion it was a neologism coined by Monsieur de Langlée, *grand maréchal des logis de l'armée* (p. 459). He also reported straightforwardly on other cultural events: performances at court, elections to the Académie Française, the quarrel between the ancients and the moderns. There are many references to writers and theologians – Boileau, La Bruyère, Perrault, Racine; Bignon, Bossuet, Fénelon, Pelisson-Fontanier. References to specific works have been assembled in the index under books and poems; music and musicians; plays and players.

In a letter of 7/17 November 1693 which was passed on to Trenchard, Jurieu explained to Nottingham why so much court news was included in Poulion's reports: 'pour le divertissement de la Reine'. She would find no one better informed than the Paris agent about what was happening 'entre les gens du monde', or who could turn a story more neatly. After Queen Mary's death he explained again to James Vernon that Poulion had always included 'quelque chose pour divertir cette grande princesse', but was now providing rather less detail about the court (Dedieu, *Le Rôle Politique*, pp. 282–3, 297). The Queen's memoirs and letters show her a sophisticated observer of the social scene, and although her own morality was strict (p. 8), there was no rebuke for Poulion's racier anecdotes, for example about the sexual *ronde* (p. 507). The extracts from Poulion's reports read out in the Cabinet Committee over which she presided in William's absence would not of course have included court gossip, and it may be that some of this was mediated by her favourite lady of the bedchamber, Nottingham's second wife (Doebner (ed.), *Memoirs of Mary*, pp. 42–3). Often the court news was contained in a second letter of

the same date. However, although the Countess remained in attendance on the Queen until Mary's death, she would have had no further access to Poulion's news after Nottingham's dismissal.

The Queen would no doubt have taken particular interest in reports on the activities of the French royal family. In early 1692 gossip focused on the marriages of two of the King's children by Madame de Montespan. On 8/18 February Françoise Marie de Bourbon, Mademoiselle de Blois married Philip, Duke of Chartres (the future Regent Orléans), the only son of the King's brother Philip of Orléans ('Monsieur') by his second wife Elizabeth Charlotte of the Palatinate ('Madame'). The latter was bitterly opposed to this until promised the hand of the widowed Dauphin for her fifteen-year-old daughter Elizabeth (who in fact was to marry instead Leopold, Duke of Lorraine). A month later, on 9/19 March, Louis Augustus de Bourbon, Duke of Maine married Anne Louise Bénédicte de Bourbon-Condé, Mademoiselle de Charolais, a less controversial match since the groom's sister Louise Françoise de Bourbon had already married the bride's brother Louis, Duke of Condé. The following year the main royal events were the fatal illness, dramatic obsequies and eagerly awaited testamentary dispositions of the King's first cousin Anne Marie Louise of Orléans, Duchesse de Montpensier ('La Grande Mademoiselle'). The Dauphin ('Monseigneur') received her mansion at Choisy-le Roi, but her principal legatee was Philip of Orléans.

Poulion's references to Philip of Orléans in 1693 show how his vignettes of court life can shed light on wider issues. In February Orléans visited his cousin Vendôme for a four-day drinking spree. Bets were taken on how many bottles of wine their joint household would consume: six thousand, it was thought, quite an expense since the price of the best champagne had risen to 50 sous a bottle (p. 513). Ten weeks later (in spite of his legacy meanwhile from Mademoiselle), Monsieur was so short of cash that his jewels were being hawked round the streets of Paris (pp. 549, 551). As he was both popular with the people and trusted by his brother, he was then sent to Brittany to rally the local troops and check on their readiness to repel an invasion. He returned with news of the famine, which nobody had dared to report to the King – a touchstone of an authoritarian régime, reinforced by Madame de Maintenon's ban on news that might upset him. Poulion singles out the few men permitted to speak frankly: the Ducs de La Feuillade and de Beauvilliers (pp. 354, 612), the future Marshal Vauban (pp. 399–400, 405, 406, 414, 479), and Philip of Orléans. When he described to his brother the misery in the Breton countryside the King turned to Pontchartrain: 'Vous ne m'avez pas dit cela'. The minister, faced with admitting to ignorance or concealment, chose instead to give Monsieur the lie direct (p. 612).

THE EXPANSION OF THE NETWORK

De Alet, La Touche, Braconnier and Poulion were not Nottingham's only sources of news from Paris. Half a dozen letters from other informants there which he received in 1692–3 (two of them via Blathwayt) have been collected as section F (pp. 637–42). His papers also include two letters written from Paris in April 1692 about the projected invasion, whose provenance he annotated as La Fouleresse (section M, pp. 775–7). The Danish chargé d'affaires Jean Payen de La Fouleresse may have passed them on as a gesture of appeasement, for he had caused such offence to the English government that he was about to be recalled at the request of William III (*Finch IV*, pp. 135–7 and *passim*). Another warning letter of the same date from Paris was passed on to Nottingham, at the writer's request, by Gideon Godet, the former French secretary of the English envoy in Paris, now a refugee in London with his family and a useful middleman (pp. 801–2; *Finch III*, pp. 136–7, 374–5; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1689–90, p. 486; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1693, p. 171). Finally, in August 1707 Caillaud told the secretary of state that their current agent writing from Paris 'en invisible' had been serving them for eighteen years (BL Add. MS. 61548, f. 28). This was probably an exaggeration, but may refer to another unidentified agent dating from Nottingham's time (certainly not Poulion, whose fate will appear in the next section).

It was not only in Paris that spies were needed. As we have seen, projects for an Allied invasion or at least a descent were put forward by a number of French Protestants who were ready to supply the military, naval or topographical information needed for success. The areas they targeted coincided with those on Nottingham's own list of priorities – the Channel and Atlantic ports, with the Mediterranean at this time only a secondary objective. He was not, however, content for his intelligence merely to reflect the pattern of his sources. From an early date he took a more proactive line and looked for agents who could be sent to report directly from the coast on the strength and movements of the French fleet, or who could take up residence in key ports where none were already in place. Jurieu too threw himself with enthusiasm into the expansion of the network. 'Je vous diray avec liberté', he told Nottingham in August 1691, 'qu'on ne devoit pas épargner sept ou huit cents pieces par an pour entretenir des amis et des espions en France' (p. 288). In a letter of 6/16 November 1691 now missing he volunteered to find 'des personnes de fidélité et d'intelligence' on whom the King could rely. Nottingham replied that he would leave to Jurieu both their selection and the terms of their remuneration, 'estant persuadé que vous menagerez l'affaire au plus grand avantage de sa Majesté et de la cause commune' (p. 290). On 4 December, in reply to another missing letter, he told Jurieu that he would send him money 'pour les despenses qu'il faudra

faire pour les voyages a Brest et aux autres ports' (p. 290).

In the event the credit for some of the most useful intelligence obtained in 1693 from Normandy, Brittany and the Charente estuary, as calendared in sections G, H and K (supplementing the reports received from Fontaines in section L and Galway in section N) must be shared between Jurieu and two other spymasters with a long association with Nottingham, Sir Patience Ward and Nicolas Le Cavelier.

Sir Patience Ward was a Whig alderman, and former Lord Mayor and M.P., who had been a refugee in Holland in the 1680s and still had contacts there. He was a commissioner of customs and for preventing the export of wool, and had been supplying Nottingham with intelligence since October 1690. The thirty surviving reports forwarded by him which constitute section K (pp. 700–43) date from [16/] 26 May 1691 to [25 July/] 4 August 1693 and were sent mainly from St. Martin-de-Ré, Rochefort or La Rochelle. The intelligence they contained was useful enough for two reports (nos. K6 and 7, pp. 708–11) to be read out at the Cabinet Council in the autumn of 1691 (*Finch III*, pp. 408, 410). Although they dealt mainly with naval and military activities in the Charente estuary, they included three enclosures giving first-hand accounts of the naval engagements in the West Indies in 1691 (pp. 706–7), at La Hougue in 1692 (pp. 720–3), and Lagos Bay in 1693 (pp. 742–3).

On 30 March 1692 Nottingham was warned that the Saintonge agent 'begins to be weary of this kind of correspondence for almost eighteen months without any gratuity as yet' (p. 716). The man had however taken steps to find himself a paymaster elsewhere. His report of [24 January/] 3 February 1692 to Sir Patience Ward (no. G1, p. 643) is virtually duplicated by another of the same date which Nottingham received from Jurieu (no. K9, pp. 712–14), and on 13/23 March Ward and Jurieu were each sent reports with a similarly phrased opening paragraph (nos. G2, pp. 643–5, and K10, pp. 714–16). Nottingham was well aware of what was going on, carefully annotating the initial duplicate as 'Received from Sir Patience Ward February 16 [16]91–2, and is the same with that enclosed in Jurieux letter which came to me February 14', but although Jurieu was sceptical about the value of 'le Xaintongeois', regarding the man as too stupid to be useful, Nottingham thought he should be encouraged on account of his access to naval intelligence. He had therefore written on 18 March to remind Jurieu that he had already authorised remuneration. On 5 April (within a week of receiving the agent's request for payment) Nottingham accordingly paid £100 to a 'marchand françois de Londres' and asked Jurieu to let the agent know that the money was waiting to be remitted to him. On 8 April he named the London merchant as 'Monsieur John Thompson' (pp. 292, 298, 301–3).

Jurieu was at first afraid that the money might have to be remitted to himself in Rotterdam (as we have seen, less secure than Amsterdam), since that was where the agent's correspondent Charron lived, but soon arranged instead for Charron to draw directly on Thompson in London (p. 304). Jurieu then considered himself 'déchargé de cette commission' and no longer needed as an intermediary, since the Saintonge agent 'à son ami a Londres a qui vous pourres faire donner l'argent' (pp. 306, 311). He himself continued to receive occasional reports from Saintonge until at least July 1693, but refrained from forwarding them since he knew that Nottingham already received duplicates 'par la voye de Monsieur Thompson' (p. 327).

Nottingham had all along been anxious that as few middlemen as possible should be involved, telling Jurieu in January 1692 that the Saintonge agent's reports should be addressed 'à moy et non pas à des marchands, qui ne peuvent pas me donner ces lettres sitost qu'elles me seroient rendues si elles ne faisoient pas ce tour' (p. 292). This makes it all the more strange that the reports which came in over the next year and a half, apparently a single series, should continue to be endorsed frequently by him as received from Sir Patience Ward. Why should they take such a roundabout route via two London merchants, Thompson and Ward, contrary to Nottingham's express wishes? A member of the Drelincourt family later claimed to have procured Saintonge intelligence for Sydney, Nottingham and Trenchard at Ward's 'instantes sollicitations' (BL Add. MS. 72573, ff. 23–5), but no French merchant called John Thompson can be found outside *Finch V*. The explanation may be that Thompson was a pseudonym for Ward himself. Thomas was his father's Christian name, and he had been the parliamentary spokesman of the London merchants trading to France, or French merchants (DNB; B.D. Henning (ed.), *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1660–1690* (1985), III.667–70). Moreover he was involved in lending to the government at just this time – £600 on 21 March 1692, as recorded on 30 May, and another £1,000 on 17 January 1693 (*Cal. Treasury Books 1689–92*, p. 1652; *Cal. Treasury Books 1693–96*, p. 16). There may have been another factor in the choice of alias. John Thompson was the real name of the King's Messenger most frequently employed at this time on confidential missions to Holland or against spies or smugglers in England, for example being given a warrant to search for and arrest Jacob Duquesne, Count Moreau (see p. xlv). Until Thompson blotted his copybook in 1693 when a member of the Rowe gang escaped from his custody, he may well have carried some of the reports directly from Charron to Nottingham (*Cals. S.P. Dom. 1689–93, passim*).

The identity of the Saintonge agent is uncertain. He was evidently a naval officer serving in one of the ships burned at La Hougue (p. 723). He used various aliases – Noël Bertrand (p. 717), Osée Benoît (p. 718) – but only

once named the recipient correctly as ‘Monsieur Charron, marchand a Rotterdam’, and on that occasion subscribed himself Pierre Desmierre (no. G21, pp. 668–9). He was possibly the same man as Pierre Drouillard, also a naval officer and Allied agent based at Rochefort who had similarly been sending ship lists to Holland, for whom a warrant went out during the spy scandal of 1696, apparently without success (Lemonnier, ‘Espionnage et contre-espionnage’, pp. 5, 10). The Desmierre letter is dated [28 March/] 7 April 1693 and uses phrases very similar to those in another letter of the same date sent to Ward (no. K22, pp. 734–6). Even the jokes are the same: a new fortress being built on the Ile d’Aix can hardly be a worse investment for Louis XIV, for it will command the Charente approaches ‘comme sy elle estoient faite a Londre’ in the less literate first version, ‘comme si elle étoit faite à Londres’ in the second (pp. 669, 736). Jurieu might sneer at the agent’s early slowness to put pen to paper – ‘on ne tire de luy des lettres qu’avec peine. Vous en comprenès aysement la raison’ (p. 301) – but he or his literary agent Charron had no shortage of friends willing to copy out his laborious efforts if a profit were in prospect. For he evidently also had dealings with Lord Galway’s circle, as is shown by further coincidences of language. ‘L’argent ne manque plus à Rochefort que l’eau dans la riviere!’ he twice told Sir Patience Ward (pp. 730, 733), while Galway’s London collator of news noted: ‘On escrit de Rochefort que l’argent ny manque pas plus dans les affaires de la marine que l’eau à la riviere, a l’etonnement de tout le monde. Ce sont les termes de la lettre dun homme bien intentionné pour la cause juste’ (p. 779). Moreover he was also on the books of a fourth spymaster; for his letter as Pierre Desmierre was not sent on by Charron to Ward, or Galway, or Jurieu, but to Nicolas Le Cavelier.

Le Cavelier was one of the key figures in the ‘bureau d’espionnage de Rotterdam’. Jurieu described him to Nottingham as ‘un homme habile et fidele’, ‘homme de bon sens’ (pp. 318, 320). Through his agency most of the reports in sections G (letters from Brittany, Poitou, Aunis and Saintonge) and H (letters from Normandy) were forwarded first to Jurieu and then to Nottingham, and the Normandy letters are mostly copies in his own hand. He more than any other would have deserved the *entremetteur’s* fee paid by Jurieu to unnamed middlemen. He was a former advocate from Caen, a Huguenot refugee who had become a merchant in Rotterdam (not to be confused with the better-known Nicolas Chevalier of Sedan, the pastor, medal collector and writer who settled initially in Amsterdam and later edited the Utrecht gazette). Nicolas Le Cavelier was introduced to Heinsius in connection with the Courvalet affair in 1690, shortly afterwards visiting London, probably in order to assist with Courvalet’s interrogation (see above; *Finch II*, pp. 410–1, 434; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1690–91*, pp. 103, 150). He was subsequently to liaise for at least another twelve years with Heinsius and

Jurieu or Caillaud about intelligence from the French ports (BL Add. MS. 21552, ff. 46–9; Dedieu, *Le Rôle Politique*, pp. 236–7, 344). From the spring of 1692 he was sending copies of reports from his contacts in Normandy to Blathwayt as well as Nottingham, causing occasional duplication in the latter's papers when Blathwayt forwarded his copy to Nottingham, as with a report of [6/]16 July 1692 on the vulnerability of the Seine estuary and Rouen to attack (pp. 308, 675; *Finch IV*, pp. 114–15). There were also some unfortunate gaps while Jurieu was away at Aix; on his return it emerged that a Dutch official (probably in Heinsius's service) was supposed to have forwarded copies of the reports from Le Cavalier's chief Normandy correspondent to Nottingham but had failed to do so (pp. 308–9). When Nottingham wrote to Jurieu in November 1692 asking whether Poulion could find them a man to visit Brest and Rochefort and another to go to Toulon (p. 310), it was not Poulion but Le Cavalier who obliged.

Noblet was the name of the man found (or possibly the assumed name, although pains were usually taken to conceal it). The twenty reports from him that survive (nos. G3–20, pp. 645–68, and H11–12, pp. 677–8, the last two duplicates) are among the most informative and entertaining among Nottingham's papers. It was agreed that Noblet should go first to Brest and Rochefort, and possibly then on to Toulon. Le Cavalier stipulated that he should receive a flat fee of 200 guineas, which to Jurieu seemed low for two ports, high for three, but he duly sent him 800 florins in advance and eventually the full sum (pp. 311–12, 322). A copy of his instructions was forwarded to Nottingham (pp. 313–14). He set out in December 1692, travelling from Rouen to Caen and sending his first report from Granville on [13/]23 January 1693 and his second from St. Malo five days later. Jurieu observed with satisfaction that they bore out Le Cavalier's claims for him as 'un habile homme et l'homme du monde le plus propre a decifrer et cognoistre tout. On m'assure qu'il est tres capable, et j'espere qu'il vous donnera contentement' (pp. 314–15).

For Noblet, however, it was a nightmare journey over some of the worst roads in France in the depths of an appalling winter. In Normandy 'on voit des troupes de paysans qui crient la faim et demandent l'aumone en menaçant' (p. 646), but in Brittany it was worse. 'Je suis dans un pays ou l'on parle une langue pire que l'arabe, ou je n'entends pas un mot ... ce sont de vrays sauvages qui fuyent dans la campagne lors qu'on leur demande le chemin.' On the outskirts of Pontorson his horse slipped on the ice, fell on him and dislocated his foot. A surgeon put it back but he had to rest at St. Malo for a week before continuing to Brest. Then came the thaw: quagmires up to his saddle-girths, water over his boots, a whole day to struggle three and a half leagues through the mud. For the last fortnight of his journey south, via Port Louis, Nantes and La Rochelle, there was no break in the

wind, rain and hail. He reached Rochefort with a severe case of rheumatism, again sought out a surgeon and was bled, purged and sweated until he could barely stand. His horse was in even worse shape and had to be sold for a pittance. There was by this time no question of going on to Toulon and he returned in April via La Rochelle, Marans, Poitiers and Tours to Paris to await further instructions. He heard nothing (an urgent request for orders which he sent from Paris on [14/]24 April may never have reached its destination) and was still waiting when his last letter was sent from Versailles on [29 April/] 8 May.

In spite of all his tribulations Noblet had made the most of his contacts in the ports, had drawn up the required ship lists (usually mailed separately), and from behind a smokescreen of commercial gossip and occasional false dating supplied graphic descriptions of the activity in the dockyards, especially at Rochefort.

Built new by Louis XIV as a self-contained naval arsenal, Rochefort had proved waterlogged and unhealthy, with a difficult passage down the Charente to the sea which larger ships were unable to navigate except at the most favourable tides. It was soon to be downgraded to a secondary dockyard servicing Brest and Toulon. But Desmierre in the winter of 1691–2 and Noblet in that of 1692–3 saw it in its brief heyday – ‘la seule période où Rochefort ait vraiment mérité le nom d’arsenal’ (Martine Acerra, ‘Rochefort: l’arsenal, l’eau et les vaisseaux’, in Martine Acerra, José Merino and Jean Meyer (eds.), *Les Marines de Guerre Européennes XVII–XVIIIe siècles* (1985), pp. 51–61). Both agents were deeply impressed. Eight new ships had been launched from Rochefort in 1691 (*ibid.*, p. 59). Desmierre reported in March 1692 that eleven ships of sixty guns and above were almost ready to put to sea, being worked on by four to five thousand carpenters and a host of other workmen ‘avec une diligence extraordinaire’, while the coastline and rivers from Nantes to Toulouse were being scoured to man them (p. 643). Noblet in February 1693 waxed lyrical about the twenty-one ships of the line he found nearly ready (three of them new), ‘des vaisseaux a charmer’, all gilding, paintwork and heavy metal, the latter salvaged from the ships sunk at La Hougue and recast at Rochefort. ‘J’y ay veu travailler a du canon de 36 et 48 livres de balle, c’est une chose estonnante de voir toutes les machines et le feu violent quil y a dans cet endroit la, et la quantité des ouvriers qui y travaillent actuellement’ (p. 657). Nottingham’s sources agreed that from the Seine to the Garonne the rivers were again being scoured for seamen, marines were being sent aloft, and from Dunkirk to Bayonne no merchant ship could sail until the manning of the fleet had been completed (pp. 661, 669, 779, 782, 785).

Where Nottingham did find discrepancies was in the various accounts he

received of the names and numbers of the ships fitting out in the spring of 1693. These discrepancies had innocent explanations. The French habit of renaming ships might have been designed to confuse enemy secretaries of state or modern historians. The *Content*, for example, commanded by Ste. Maure and usually based at Brest under Tourville, was often called the *Constant* as this had been her name until another *Constant* was built at Toulon in 1690–1. The latter, commanded by Chavigny and attached to d'Estrées' squadron in the Mediterranean, was often called the *Content*. The consequence was that when Nottingham saw the *Content* correctly included in Poulion's list of the Brest fleet he annotated her as 'in Thoulon', an error which must have led him to underestimate Tourville's strength by one third rate (p. 554). Another cause of confusion was the renaming of ships in the interval between launching and commissioning, particularly prevalent in 1693 when the names of ships sunk or burned in 1692 were being reassigned to new ships. The intelligence reports and other sources show, for example, that the name of Tourville's burned flagship *Soleil Royal* was considered for a new ship at Port Louis which in fact became the *Admirable*, was given to the new flagship built for d'Estrées at Toulon which was then renamed *Royal Louis*, was given next to a ship being built at Brest which was then renamed *Foudroyant* – there was also some confusion with the *Terrible* built in the same yard – and finally to a ship built in another yard at Brest which had initially been named *Foudroyant* but then exchanged names with the *Soleil Royal* (pp. 501, 521–2, 554–5, 635, 645, 650, 653–6, 659, 733, 784; Daniel Dessert, *La Royale. Vaisseaux et marins du Roi-Soleil* (1996), pp. 303, 314, 327). Some of these errors or changes are indicated under ships in the index below.

Nottingham therefore had good reason to be confused (pp. 118, 323–5, 567–8, 696–7, 818). His inability to reconcile his ship lists made him suspect Noblet's good faith, but Jurieu continued to champion him, and on 7/17 July wrote with some surprising news. The agent had just turned up in Rotterdam, by the purest chance. He was a *commis pour les vivres* in Luxembourg's army in Flanders. While moving camp he had been captured by a Spanish detachment. As he spoke Flemish he had pretended to be a Dutchman from Rotterdam, was believed and released, and took the opportunity to come to Rotterdam in reality. He had been able to satisfy Jurieu that any deficiencies in the intelligence he had supplied were not his fault, and Jurieu had invited him to undertake another, more permanent mission: he was to exchange his present commission for a similar post at Brest or St. Malo, from which he could cover the other port and perhaps also Le Havre. Although his current post carried an annual salary of 1,800 French florins he might be willing to serve for only 200 guineas a year. Meanwhile he would rejoin Luxembourg's army at the first opportunity. Nottingham replied on 16 July agreeing to these terms, but in the event Noblet did not

take up Jurieu's offer that year, although he may have done so at some later date (pp. 325–30).

When he passed through Normandy in January he had possibly had contact with another network agent who knew his mission, for the second agent mentions in a letter of [11/]21 February from Normandy, 'Le commissaire des vivres est nostre voisin et amy' (p. 676). Because Noblet's primary target was the shipyards of Brest and Rochefort, it had been decided that another agent should be sent to check out the rumours that a new invasion force was being fitted out from the Normandy ports. Although Jurieu himself discounted the rumour, Portland thought it worth taking seriously, and 'Monsieur Heinsius a esté d'avis que pour en avoir le coeur clair absolument on envoyât un homme expres visiter les costes de Normandie'. Jurieu accordingly advanced the money for this expedition on Heinsius's promise to repay it (pp. 315–17). The second agent was recruited by Le Cavalier and reported to him in the first instance. Le Cavalier forwarded the reports, or copies of them, both to Jurieu for Nottingham – in Jurieu's absence he now wrote to Nottingham himself – and to Heinsius or Blathwayt (pp. 669–70, 676). As expected, the agent's visits to Cherbourg, Le Havre and Dieppe proved negative. The year before he had found hectic preparations for the invasion, 'mais a present il ny a rien du tout' (p. 676).

Le Cavalier added two memoranda of his own about the offensive possibilities opened up by his agents' reports (nos. B74(1), pp. 320–1, and H17, pp. 679–80). He described the relatively weak defences of the Cotentin, and the logistics of a descent there. His own favoured site for a Normandy landing, however, was the stretch of coast from Ouistreham on the left bank of the Orne west through Colleville to Hermanville, the stretch later to be codenamed Sword Beach. It was the best anchorage in the world, he said; 1,500 ships could safely ride offshore, and there was room for more than 500 Allied landing craft to be run up on the sand without any danger at half-tide in the summer (pp. 321, 680).

On 28 March 1693, five days after Trenchard's appointment to the other secretaryship of state, Nottingham sent Jurieu a bare acknowledgment of this and other letters. He then did not write again for over two months, an uncharacteristic piece of neglect perhaps connected with the reassignment of duties. On 30 May, the day he received Poulion's news of the sailing of the Brest fleet together with a full but puzzling ship list, he wrote at last to demand two new lists: one of the 1692 fleet annotated to show which ships were no longer in service, and one of the 1693 fleet annotated to show which were newly built. He added airily that Poulion should be instructed to send agents to visit Brest, Toulon and Rochefort again, and also to find reliable resident agents for each of these ports who could relay 'par le plus court

chemin sans perte de temps tout ce qui y passe de plus important a l'esgarde de leurs vaisseaux' (p. 323).

Jurieu's regard for Nottingham is never more evident than in the mildness of his reply (pp. 323–5). He addressed calmly Nottingham's concerns about the ship lists and promised the new ones by the next post (duly sent). He pointed out that he had himself suggested both to Nottingham and Blathwayt that Noblet might make a summer journey similar to his winter one, but that after waiting two months for orders the agent had now made other plans. 'Si vous aviés pris la peine de donner vos ordres il y a cinq ou six semaines, je ne doute pas que nous n'eussions accompli la chose. Et une autrefois ayes la bonté de nous donner vos ordres plutost.' Nevertheless he had already arranged for enquiries to be made in Saintonge for a Rochefort man who could become their agent there, 'ce qui seroit en toute maniere bien meilleur que d'envoyer là un visage nouveau qui seroit incontinent reconnu et suspect'. He had also written to ask Poulion whether he had any contacts in Toulon who could fill the same role there, as the campaign would be nearly over by the time any new man could arrive from Normandy or Paris and report back. Hasty action would be 'quasi impossible ou du moins fort hazardeux'. This crossed with another letter from Nottingham asking him to find a resident agent for St. Malo as well as Brest, Rochefort and Toulon. Jurieu replied on 13/23 June that he had already set enquiries on foot for the four resident agents (pp. 326).

On 16 July Nottingham raised the stakes again. He now wanted two agents for each port, neither of whom should be known to the other, not so much for security reasons as to see whether their reports tallied (p. 329). Jurieu replied that he would try, but it would not be easy to find eight agents 'a cause de la terreur qu'imprime dans les esprits la severité et la rigueur du gouvernement de France... Il seroit a souhaiter que nous en pussions trouver trois ou quatre bons au lieu de huit' (p. 330). Poulion had already warned him of the difficulties, and continued to do so: 'On ne sait à qui se fier en ce temps-cy', 'le temps y est fort contraire, et le choix des gens pour la confiance et la fidelité fort difficile', 'il y a des espions par tout' (pp. 573, 575, 613).

In September, however, Jurieu was able to report that he had found two resident agents for Rochefort 'qui ne se cognoistront et qui sont habiles', and one for Brest, although none as yet for Toulon. The Brest man, who had been living in Rouen, was sent an advance of sixty guineas on undertaking to move as soon as possible to Brest, travelling via St. Malo and Port Louis in order to report on the situation there (pp. 331–3). He was delayed by the Allied bombardment of St. Malo in November (his eyewitness account, in the hand of Le Cavalier, is at SP 101/22, [15/]25 to [19/]29 Nov. 1693), but he reached Brest in December (SP 78/152, f. 56). One of the Rochefort

correspondents was also sent fifty or sixty guineas (pp. 331–2). His first surviving report appears to be one of [20/]30 October sent during a visit to Bordeaux (p. 333 note). The first letter from the other Rochefort correspondent – there was talk of sending him to Brest or Toulon, but in fact he stayed in Rochefort, where he was in business as a merchant – was dated [19/]29 September, and was enclosed in Jurieu's letter to Nottingham of 6/16 October (pp. 333–4, 624, 671–2). 'Jaccepte avec plaisir la proposition que vous me faitte', he wrote, 'croyant bien que vous ne vousderies pas mexpose'. It was an ironical opening. For the merchant, Bourigault, had been recruited by his cousin Poulion, and was sending his reports to his own brother-in-law Caillaud. Both men indeed had his safety at heart, but the correspondence would cost him his life.

THE END OF THE BEGINNING

When Trenchard took over the network it was still in the process of expansion, with the Mediterranean coast the most significant gap. Nottingham's papers include a good deal about the unsuccessful quest for an agent to report from Toulon (pp. 310–11, 313, 315, 317, 319, 323–7, 330, 332–4, 573, 575, 612–13, 624). The solution was to be found in Switzerland. Even after Coxe's recall Nottingham and Jurieu had maintained intelligence links with the Allied diplomats accredited to the Swiss cantons, and with various independent contacts there. Five unsigned letters sent to Jurieu from Geneva or Berne in 1691–3 and forwarded by him to Nottingham have been collected as section I (pp. 681–6). Throughout the war Switzerland was – as so often – a recruiting ground for spies, and in the event three Swiss agents were hired to take up residence at the Swiss hostel in Toulon and report back to Caillaud on the naval situation there and at Marseilles. The accuracy of their ship lists impressed La Roncière (*Histoire de la marine française*, VI. 213). Agents were also found for Dunkirk and Calais, and additional agents for Normandy, Brittany, the Charente estuary and Paris, so that by 1696 the network was more extensive than it had ever been.

The events of 1696 will be summarized here only in so far as they complete the personal histories of the agents recruited in Nottingham's time. Jurieu believed that the network was betrayed at the beginning of the year by a Rouen man 'qui avoit esté autrefois de ceux qu'on avoit employés'. This former agent could have been the dismissed de Alet, who certainly sent one report about Rouen in 1691 (pp. 339–41), or the anonymous sub-agent who sent reports from Rouen to Le Cavalier in the summer of 1692 (pp. 674–5; BL Add. MS. 57943, f. 18), or the agent paid to move from Rouen to Brest in 1693 (p. 333). According to Jurieu, the traitor had recently left France and settled in Rotterdam, where he consorted with other refugees from Rouen who remained loyal to Louis XIV (SP 84/220, f. 310).

No other explanation, at any rate, has been offered for the initial arrest at St. Malo of two suspected agents, St. Martin and Dubois, and their interrogation by the Paris security police chief Desgrez. Under his skilled questioning St. Martin confessed to receiving his orders from a lawyer at the Parlement de Paris, Desgranges alias La Couture, who in turn implicated Budot, a *contrôleur des fermes* at Dunkirk. A police watch was set on the post from Holland in order to intercept letters to Desgranges, and when two letters arrived for him from Etienne Caillaud of Rotterdam, Desgranges admitted that this was the same man as the merchant Daniel Corvinus from whom a suspicious letter had been found among St. Martin's papers. It was then easy to intercept all letters to or from Caillaud or Corvinus; and the network rapidly unravelled, as the agents' ignorance of each other was negated by this common link (Desbans, 'Une affaire d'espionnage', p. 207; Lemonnier, 'Espionnage et contre-espionnage', pp. 3–4).

Caillaud's brother-in-law Bourigault at Rochefort was one of the first to fall under suspicion, and his arrest was ordered on 21/31 March. To prevent him from alerting his colleagues he was placed in solitary confinement in the prison tower at La Rochelle. Pontchartrain and La Reynie then waited while further evidence piled up around the country. A letter to Caillaud from Toulon was held to a brazier, and the browned ink led to the exposure of a major operation involving Swiss bankers in the south of France. A dozen of the network's accommodation addresses had soon been listed by Vauvré, the intendant at Toulon and Marseilles. The leader of the Toulon spies was arrested and forced to write under duress to Caillaud, who made it clear in his reply that he saw through the ruse (Ravaissou, *Archives de la Bastille*, X.131–2; Desbans, 'Une affaire d'espionnage', pp. 208–19, 455–6, 468–9, 478; Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs*, p. 149).

In Paris Samuel Poulion was aware that all was not well. A letter from his sub-agent at Brest, an old Roman Catholic named François Legrand, arrived with the wafer broken and signs of heating – one browned word was actually still visible. 'Or je ne sais pas si cela s'est fait au bureau où mon ami a mis sa lettre à la poste, ou si cette fâcheuse affaire s'est faite ici, ce qui me donne, comme vous pouvez penser, d'horribles craintes, soit pour mon ami, soit pour moi, joint à cela qu'il me marque m'avoir écrit plusieurs lettres sans qu'il m'en soit parvenu aucune.' His fears were justified, for his correspondence had been monitored since the curé of Moëze had informed on him in early March; this letter and his next are now among the police files in Paris (Ravaissou, *Archives de la Bastille*, X.97, 99). Legrand was arrested on 18/28 April, and was treated with particular ferocity by the intendant Desclouseaux who had thrashed Peter Fontaines nearly to death (p. 745). Desclouseaux had long been embarrassed by the accuracy of the reports published by the *London Gazette* of the strength of the Brest fleet. As

Pontchartrain wrote ironically to him, 'L'espion de votre port est très intelligent. Il doit avoir des relations avec les commis du munitionnaire, car il donne aux ennemis plus de détails sur les vivres que vous n'en donnez vous-même.' Legrand, who was indeed employed as a clerk in the commissariat, was tortured but refused to speak. On 4/14 May, after one failed suicide attempt, he succeeded in throwing himself out of a prison window and survived only a few hours. On the orders of Louis XIV his corpse was salted, tried a fortnight later, convicted, drawn on a hurdle, hanged, and thrown on the town garbage dump to be eaten by dogs (Boulaire, *Brest au temps de la Royale*, pp. 295–7; Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs*, pp. 89, 148; Ravaissou, *Archives de la Bastille*, X.114, 137).

Jurieu had meanwhile learned of the arrests at St. Malo, Dunkirk and Brest, but was not yet aware of the secret detention of Bourigault at La Rochelle. The authorities had now realized that they were dealing with an affair 'd'une extrême importance' and that their prisoner was 'fort avant dans cette intrigue', having been sending Caillaud 'un compte très exact de tous les armements, de la qualité des vaisseaux, de l'état des équipages, du départ et des lieux pour lesquels ils sont destinés, etc.' (Pontchartrain to Bégon, [8/]18, [15/]25 April 1696, and mémoire by La Reynie enclosed, printed in Lemonnier, 'Espionnage et contre-espionnage', pp. 6–9). On 2 April/5 May Poulion was at last arrested, along with two of his sub-agents, Gédéon de Serres du Pradel and Henri-François Francion or Francillon, 'accusés d'entretenir un commerce de lettres chiffrées avec l'étranger, d'être pensionnaires des ennemis de l'Etat et de leur avoir donné des avis' (*Catalogue Général ... Archives de la Bastille*, p. 82). The charges were undeniable, but Jurieu and Caillaud still hoped to save their friends. Learning first of Bourigault's arrest, Jurieu wrote on 28 April/8 May to James Vernon to ask whether he could be exchanged for a French prisoner. Within a week he had learned that Poulion and others had been taken, and 'dans la plus vive douleur que j'aye eu de ma vie' wrote to Heinsius, the King, Shrewsbury and Vernon to see whether some of the less guilty participants in Fenwick's plot might not be offered in exchange for the ten or twelve agents by now in the shadow of the gallows. Callières, representing France at the preliminary peace talks, was approached, but this served only to reinforce Louis XIV's belief in the importance of his catch and the need to make examples as a deterrent. Gunboat diplomacy was no more effective. In July an Allied squadron appeared at last in the Charente estuary and bombarded St. Martin-de-Ré, but withdrew without attempting anything against La Rochelle or Rochefort. Bourigault was immediately given a show trial and hanged at La Rochelle in August. Three of Poulion's sub-agents in the same area – Duvivier at La Rochelle, Masson (another cousin) and St. Gilles on the Ile de Ré – were imprisoned in the Bastille for spells of up to seventeen years. The three most active Swiss agents at Toulon

and Marseilles, Jacques Vilain, Pol Robin and Abraham Baudit, were hanged in October; two more were banished, and another fined. Budot, Desgranges (La Couture) and St. Martin were tried at Rennes in November. Budot and Desgranges were hanged the following March, while St. Martin was sent to the galleys for life (SP 84/220, f. 310; Ravaissou, *Archives de la Bastille*, X.105–6, 129, 136; Desbans, 'Une affaire d'espionnage', pp. 211–14, 475–6; Lemonnier, 'Espionnage et contre-espionnage', pp. 11–20; Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs*, pp. 89–90, 148–9).

Poullion was also condemned to death, but in view of his advanced age this was commuted to imprisonment. He was sent to Vincennes together with de Serres and Francion. Efforts were renewed during the peace to have him exchanged, but without success. He was transferred in 1699 to the Bastille, where in 1704 he had a stroke, dying on [6/]16 June. He died a Protestant, but the prison authorities declared that he had recently agreed to undergo instruction, and allowed him a church burial (Ravaissou, *Archives de la Bastille*, X.140; *Catalogue Général ... Archives de la Bastille*, p. 82).

His cousin Caillaud was also to have a taste of the Bastille. In 1696 Pontchartrain had quickly realized that for espionage purposes Caillaud 'se sert de ses proches par préférence', and had ordered Bégon to investigate his family (Pontchartrain to Bégon, [25 April/] 5 May 1696: Lemonnier, 'Espionnage et contre-espionnage', pp. 10–11). Not only were his relatives interrogated, but his extensive property in France was confiscated and his bills of exchange stopped, and no merchant in France dared have any further dealings with him. Faced with sudden ruin, he was forced for the first time to ask for a pension, which was paid for the rest of William III's lifetime and renewed under Anne. In spite of the terrifying events of 1696, and the losses in Caillaud's own family, he and Jurieu were able to find replacements for the executed agents almost immediately, a testimony to the spirit of the Huguenot resistance. As Jurieu declined, dying in 1713 after many years of illness, Caillaud took over the running of the network. In 1712 Harley's administration ordered him to dissolve it and stopped his pension, but George I restored it after Caillaud had provided early intelligence about Mar's rising (BL Add. MS. 61548, f. 70). In 1722 he decided that it was safe at last to return to his homeland, and was promptly arrested and clapped in the Bastille. However, times had indeed changed, and he was released without charge, dying soon after his return to Holland. Only Nottingham survived of the old spymasters. He died at the age of 82 on New Year's Day 1730.

He was outlived by the three under secretaries who had served in his first administration, Richard Warre, Edward Finch and John Isham. They had all kept silent when in Burnet's words they were 'much blamed for taking so

little care to procure intelligence', first by the public, then Parliament, then historians. Francis Bickley pointed out that this charge was itself 'evidence of the success with which what was done in that direction was kept secret' (*Finch IV*, p. xix). 'The documents on which to base a rebuttal of this criticism exist in impressive numbers. They demonstrate conclusively that Nottingham was at pains not only to organize an effective intelligence service but to acquaint himself from every other available source ... with what the French were doing' (*Finch III*, pp. vi–vii).

Intelligence has recently come to be seen as the 'missing dimension' in the study of modern military and naval, diplomatic and international history. The intelligence reports received by Nottingham during his first ministry of 1689–93 informed his thinking in many areas over many years. They contributed to the exceptionally broad strategic outlook which he brought to his second ministry of 1702–4, in particular, 'his wide-ranging appreciation of naval strategy, linking all theatres of the war' (*British Naval Documents 1204–1960*, p. 194, introducing 'Lord Nottingham's view of naval strategy', his letter to Marlborough of 6 Oct. 1702, printed from the letter-book copy in Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch-Hatton MSS., FH 275). Yet an intelligence scandal was again his undoing in 1704. His resignation was triggered by his resentment at the lack of support he had received in countering Whig claims that he was using pleas of national security to cover up an intelligence failure, if not actual treason, over the Scotch Plot (Finch-Hatton MSS., FH 277; Horwitz, *Revolution Politicks*, pp. 191–8).

As the government's counsel said recently in his closing statement to the Hutton Inquiry, 'It has always been recognised that there is a natural tension between the use of secret intelligence to inform Ministers' decisions and the need of governments to explain their decisions publicly' (Jonathan Sumption, 25 September 2003). In 1693, with a parliamentary enquiry impending, Nottingham drafted a long speech in his own defence which he planned to ask leave to deliver to the Commons. (Perhaps he feared impeachment and meant to clear himself in advance; at any rate, it was not needed.) In it, without revealing any names, he described the kind of intelligence he had sought, and the various means he had used 'to fix correspondences in all places whence I could expect any account of any matters that might be useful'; and he planned to turn to his erstwhile colleague Sir John Trenchard, who had inherited his intelligence network: 'Let him tell you whether he can think of any other methods than what I have practised' (Aiken, *The Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham*, pp. 124–32).

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF
THE LATE
ALLAN GEORGE FINCH, Esq.,
OF
BURLEY-ON-THE-HILL, RUTLAND
VOL. V
PART I. GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE 1693

1. SIR FRANCIS WHELER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692[-3], Jan. 1. Portsmouth. 'I acquainted your Lordship yesterday that the *Loyalty*, Captain Price, was wanting. I afterwards was informed shee was at Po[rts]mouth, and ashore. I immediately sent away my lieutenant with letters to Sir John Ashby and the commissioner to give her all the assistance they could, shee being of greate importance to the King's service; and this morning I came my selfe with all the longboats of our squadron and have been and now are [*sic*] at work to lighten her. All the powder is come ashoare and all the provisions willbe by Sir John Ashby[s]' order put aboard the men of war at Spithead. Shee hath yet come to noe damage to her hull, soe that all the provisions and stores are yet in good order, and if ill weather don't come up in 24 hours, they willbe all safe. I heare the Governour with such [*sic*] John Ashby's assistance hath put the two companys of soldiers aboard two men of warr at Spithead to the [*sic*] secured: soe that, my Lord, to retreave this accident the first thing is to get the ship a flote and then to fit her againe; and if the fair wind does not presently come up I hope still to carry her with us. As soon as shee struck they cut all her masts by the board, and all her cables and anchors in [*sic*] lost.

'I therefore humbly desire your Lordship to moove his Majesty for his orders to the Admiralty, and to direct the commissioner here with all immaginable speed to make a set of masts for her and to supply her with cables and anchors and cordage and all other things that shee shall want, and I'll supply her with officers and men to fit her in few dayes. If the wind comes up, wee must crowd the men and if possible the provisions and ammunition amongst us, which is very consiederable, perticularly 110 barrells of powder and 100,00[0]lb of brisket, beefe, pork, etc.

'The master is chiefly the owner, soe he'el give obligation to the King for payment for the stores, partly out of the freight for the men and the rest from himselfe. Without this way this ship is lost to us, and her roome to carry the men is of greate use. Indeed wee shall be distrest with[out] her, and here is noe navall stores to be bought ...

'Tho the Admiralty hath written to the Ordnance Office to supply the squadron with an extraordinary proportion of paper royall, match and musket paper, yet the storekeeper just now tells mee the Board won't allow it. Tis absolutely necessary above our twelve months store ... I therefore deseire that the King will please to order that office to comply with the Admiralty's deseire.

'I humbly beg your lordship to bee speedy in this busienes because of the wind's coming up.'

P.S. 'The ship is ashoar in Stoaks Bay.'

4pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 2 Jan.*

Enclosing:

1(1). List of the anchor, cables, masts, etc. wanted for the *Loyalty*, Captain John Price commander. 1 Jan. 1692[-3].

1p.

2. NOTTINGHAM TO THE VICTUALLERS OF THE NAVY

1692-3, Jan. 2. Whitehall. Informing them of the mishap to the *Loyalty* and asking them to write to their agent at Portsmouth to hire some other vessel there, in case she cannot be got ready in time.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.64.

3. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR FRANCIS WHELER

1692[-3], Jan. 2. Whitehall. I have acquainted the King with your letters. I have asked Lord Cornwallis to direct the commissioner at Portsmouth to furnish masts, etc., to the *Loyalty*, and have also shown him what you wrote about the ordnance stores, which the Admiralty will take care of. I have desired the Victuallers to hire another ship (if there be any at Portsmouth) to replace the *Loyalty* if necessary, but hope that by your care she will be in a condition to proceed.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.65.

4. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Jan. 2. London. 'We have advice from Vienna that the Grand Vizier had by order from the fleet declared to the French ambassador that the Grand Seignior will upon no termes hearken to a peace with his Imperiall Majestye ... alsoe that the cantons have utterly rejected the proposalls of the allyes and that the French threaten to enter into the heart of Germany with 80,000 men while the Turkes do the like in Hungary.

'From Paris that the King has given possitive orders for the takeing of Rheinfelden att what expence soever.' More forces are marching from Philipsburg and elsewhere to reinforce those besieging it. There are newly brought into Brest as prizes sixteen Dutch merchant ships whose escort was sunk in their defence. The King intends to be in Flanders before the end of February. Monsieur Cattinatt is returned to his command in Piedmont. The Governor of Landau is to be ready to march to attack Mentz.

From Brussels that the French, after having appeared before Huy and possessed themselves of a church and mill, on the morning of the 29th retired towards Namure, at which time another body of French appeared before Furnes, obliging the Duke of Bavaria to bend his course that way. Letters say the French are actually before Furnesse, Dixmuyde and Newport with 70,000 men.

'The *Berkeley Castle*, a man of war of 50 guns, was cast away in the Mediterranean.

'The master of a Swedish vessel hath made oath that at Stockholm and Copenhagen are 10,000 Danes and Swedes who are intended to make a discent upon Scotland at the same time that King James makes the like on England.' The House of Lords has been debating the triennial bill and a March dissolution, 'some of them at the same time declareing that a standing house of Commons was altogether as arbitrary as a standing army. Great debates are alsoe held in private caballs among the members of both Houses concerning raiseing money for the further carryeing on the warre, wherein a certain knight told the Lord Manchester it was all in vain and said if we now were to raise 12 millions the French king would raise 20 and if we were to raise 20,000 men he would raise 60,000, and soe we might doe till Doomesday and be then as far to seeke as now.

'The Danish, Swedish and Portugall envoyes have lately pressed for an answer to their memorialls for a peace and upon refusall declare their masters will make use of their armes to obliedg the allyes thereto and if not a speedy result in the matter have orders to depart in seven dayes.'

5. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY

1692–3, Jan. 3. Whitehall. The King would have you direct Captain Moses Jaquau to be put on the establishment for £120 *per annum* and Monsieur La Fontaine for £60. I send you a list of other French sea officers, with the allowance proposed for each, that you may consider and report to his Majesty what proportion you think fit to be allowed.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.65. *For Peter Fontaines see introduction above and section L below.*

6. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1692–3, Jan. 3. Admiralty Office. Covering letter.

1p. *Signed (3 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Jan., with note:* 'Lord Godolphin told me he had the same from the Victuallers'.

Enclosing:

6(1). The Victualling Commissioners to the Commissioners of the Admiralty. 1692–3, Jan. 3. We have received from your Lordships a list of the ships intended to be fitted and completed with two months' victuals from the end of this month, *viz*, 19 ships of war and two fireships carrying 7,185 men at Portsmouth and 11 ships of war and 3 fireships carrying 3,725 men in this river.

We shall endeavour all that is possible to effect that service, and doubt not (if money be supplied) to furnish bread, pease and oatmeal, and malt and hops for beer, to complete those in the river. As to those at Portsmouth, we are at a loss what to say, the West India fleet and the numerous men of war there calling daily for provisions as fast as they can be procured, so that some quantities must be sent from hence and are dependent on wind and weather.

We have applied to and by several memorials represented to the Lords of the Treasury the state of affairs, and have given them an estimate of the charge of bread, beer, pease and oatmeal and the pursers' necessary and extra necessary money required for the ships for two months' victuals, amounting to £14,069 17s. 6d. besides flesh, cask, butter and cheese and all incident charges.

At present we are without money to pay the workmen in the yard, now three months behind, or to satisfy the pursers going to the Mediterranean, or maintain the petty warrant which is great both at Chatham and Portsmouth, or satisfy what is owing for beef and port already delivered.

We have been forced to forbear buying oxen the last market for want of money, and the person with whom we have contracted for pork declares that he will not go on with his bargain unless he is paid. Beef and pork can only be cured and saved in the season, which is already far advanced, and no wheat, pease, oatmeal, malt, hops, etc., can be procured without ready money on account of their present scarcity and dearness, so that without large supplies it will be impossible to make seasonable provision for this year's service. 'The victualling this year by reason of the rise of all species will cost in proportion at least £100,000 more than in the yeares 1690 and 1691.'

2pp. *Copy, signed by James Sotherne.*

7. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1692–3, Jan. 3. Admiralty Office. Covering letter.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Signed (3 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Jan., with note: 'Count Ox[enstie]rne to be spoke with about the ships.'*

Enclosing:

7(1). Sir Charles Hedges [Judge of the High Court of Admiralty] to the Commissioners of the Admiralty. 1692[-3], Jan. 3. In obedience to your order of the 2nd I have examined the papers of the three Swedish ships lately stopped at Spithead, and there is among them no pass or certificate as required by the treaty, nor any evidence of the ownership of their cargoes, or of their destination.

The bills of lading belonging to the *Dorothy*, and the bill relating to the *Prince Casimir*, do set forth that they are bound for Lisbon, for account of the King of Portugal and some named merchants, but these are only private papers and not to be looked upon as any proof. The other ship, the *Sweeds Arms*, has only one paper, of no weight.

The lading of the ships consists of goods very proper for France, and as they have no passes there is just cause to detain them and upon failure of legal proofs of their being really bound for Portugal, or of their belonging to subjects of Sweden and Portugal, they may be condemned as lawful prize.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Copy.*

8. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR FRANCIS WHELER

1692–3, Jan. 4. Whitehall. 'For the greater satisfaction to all officers and soldiers of an equall distribution among them of such booty as may be taken from the enemy in the West Indies, his Majesty would have the same done according to the proportions in the warrant sent to you, at a councill of warr to be respectively constituted pursuant to your instructions of land and sea officers with respect to the place where such prize shall be taken.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.66.

9. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR WILLIAM BEESTON

1692–3, Jan. 4. Whitehall. 'The King of Spaine has resolv'd to send orders to the Governor of St. Domingo etc. to concurr with their Majestys forces by sea and land in attacking the French in those parts, with directions to pursue the regulations agreed upon at the Hague in relation to the command and any ceremonies upon the joining of the forces. And therefore it will be necessary to informe you that neither side is to give or require any salute, and the commanders in chief both at sea and at land respectively are to command and have precedence by turns day by day, and to cast lots who shall have the first day.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, pp.66–7.

10. SIR FRANCIS WHELER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692[-3], Jan. 4. Portsmouth. 'Last night at high water the *Loyalty* floated and was hald off to two smal anchors, and tho the wind hath blown very fresh to night yet shee rides fast. Most of the King's provisions and a good part of the ordnance stores are ashore, the first on the beach in a tent, the other in the magazine here. It is now a going aboard of the *Martin's Delight*, who I hope will sayle out of the harbour this afternoone to Stoaks Bay, where he [will] put as much of the provisions aboard as time and oppertunity will give leave for.

'The soldiers I will disperse aboard of the other ships, but I hope the *Loyalty* may be got ready, for we shall all be extreemly crowded.

'The Admiralty have sent mee orders to devide the soldiers and provisions as I shall judge best, but to be sure to sayle the first wind. In the meane time orders are sent to the Navy Board the [*sic*] fit the *Loyalty* with masts, ground tackle and rigging, and I shall use my indeavour to doe all I can to get her ready. But if the wind veers a little more northerly, I must be gone to Cowes to prepare to sayle. I hope by the next post orders will come from the Ordnance Office for our extra store of match and paper.'

Please send to the Victualling Office to order their agent here to supply the provisions damaged or wasted aboard the *Loyalty*.

P.S. 'I deseire your Lordship won't forget the order for mee and the six eldest sea captains to be present in the councill of warr when the land booty is distributed.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 5 Jan.*

11. NOTTINGHAM TO COUNT GABRIEL OXENSTIERNE

1692-3, Jan. 5. Whitehall. I send you by his Majesty's command a reply to your representations concerning the Swedish ships brought into England. You will see by the particulars that none of the ships has been condemned without just grounds; his Majesty being determined always to maintain the friendship and good understanding between the two crowns.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.165.

12. NOTTINGHAM TO MAGNUS SKEEL

1692-3, Jan. 5. Whitehall. I have waited for the reply of the Admiralty Judge before answering your letter touching the Danish ships. He states that of all the passports with which the vessels were furnished, not one conforms to the treaty; so that the reasons and proofs of each must be examined before any resolution can be taken. This shall be done as quickly as possible, and I believe that the result will give you no cause for complaint.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.165.

13. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR FRANCIS WHELER

1692-3, Jan. 5. Whitehall. 'I am glad to hear by yours of the 4th you were preparing to sayle. The wind has bin to day soe fair that I know not whether this will reach you; but I send it to tell you that if you are not sayl'd, his Majesty would have you take the opportunity of proceeding on your voyage without staying for the exchange of the decay'd or spoyl'd provisions, which his Majesty has directed the Victualler to do, if it may be without delay to your sayling.

'Mr Fotherby has often writ for a Deal yaul, as very useful to him for the better discharge of his duty; and tho' his Majesty has not order'd such a boat peculiarly for him, yet you having one for the use of the doctor, this may be spared as often as there will be occasion to Mr Fotherby, so as not to obstruct the care of the sick men.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.67.

14. SIR FRANCIS WHELER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692[-3], Jan. 6. Portsmouth. 'After that the soldiers were imbarckt, and that I found there was not roome enough to stow them, I ordered a proportion on board of every ship to prevent the contagion that might arise in the merchantships, and upon viewing my sayling [orders] from this Admiralty I found (I think) the 11th article which forbids mee to carry any soldiers but the field officers of the forces.' I desire you to move his Majesty to direct the Admiralty immediately to send to Portsmouth and Plymouth 'to impower mee during my whole voyage to carry what soldiers I shall judge convenient in the King's ships; else wee shall meete with greate difficulty in our voyage for want of imbarcation or that I may ly lyable hereafter to be punished in case of sickness among us for disobedience of orders'; if I have already sailed, 'I hope his Majesty will please to order it to be registred in the Admiralty books that I may be indemnified.'

I trouble you about this because I desired the Lords of the Admiralty to give me leave to dispense with their order, and today they have denied my request.

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 Jan.*

15. SIR FRANCIS WHELER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692[-3], Jan. 6. Portsmouth. Mr Maris brought yours of the 4th yesterday. 'The *Loyalty* is come into Portsmouth harbour and the Commissioner hath given order to have her fitted out of hand. Her provisions, ordinance stores and soldiers are and willbe put aboard the *Martin's Delight*. But the wind

being fair at N.N.E. and like to hold, I intend in [*sic*] please God to sayle away with the whole fleet to morrow morning, and the *Advice* is to goe before us to give notice to all the merchantmen that are bound out.

'My Lord, the captain of the *Loyalty* deseirs still to be fitted, and since he don't carry soldiers he'el under take to carry over two hundred tuns of provisions, provided 70 tuns may be beef and pork, to compleat his ground teer to inable him to carry sayle. If his ship and these provitions can be got ready to goe out of the Channell with the Bilboe convoy he'el venture to run to Barbadoes, otherwise he'el come with the convoy that comes (I hope) to us in Aprill or May ... It may be convenient to hasten fitting the ship because the wind may chop about and stop us here or in Plymouth, and then her stowidge willbe very wellcome for 90 soldiers.

'I have continued here to hasten putting the provisions and stores out of the *Loyalty* into the other merchantman, and intend by and by to goe to Cowes to prepare to sayle.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 Jan.*

16. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Jan. 7. London. Several persons who took part in the last campaign in Flanders say that most of the English artillery and warlike materials were laid up in Dixmude and Furnes, and are now in the possession of the French.

When the Duke of Norfolk's divorce bill was thrown out by the House of Lords, he said he would not come any more amongst them 'and the Queen wished that those who opposed the bill might be all made cuckolds.'

The parliamentary session is not expected to end until March, so the States will not have the King with them as soon as he promised.

We have advice by yesterday's post that as soon as the French made themselves masters of Furnes they marched and besieged Newport, and have erected five or six batteries against it, and thrown several bombs into the place. Some say the Duke of Bavaria is in the town and that the Marquis de Villers was marching from Mons with eighty battalions and squadrons to joins Monsieur de Bouflers to hinder the confederates from relieving it. 'That the cheife inhabitants of Newport had removed with their best effects to Ostend by water and alsoe all the useless mouths were sent thence the better to be in a condition to defend the place'.

From Paris we hear that 40,000 French are on the borders of Daupheny and Provence ready to enter Piedmont, waiting only for the arrival of Monsieur Cattinet from court.

Our merchants have advice that a very rich ship of theirs bound from Leghorn to Cypruss was accidently blown up, and that French privateers have lately taken 24 English, Dutch and Spanish merchantmen.

The Danes and Swedes are fitting out their fleets and land forces on some extraordinary enterprise.

3pp.

17. SIR FRANCIS WHELER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692[-3], Jan. 7. *Resolution*, at Cowes. I have just received yours of the 5th. 'Our fleet is unmoored and wee shall be all under sayle in les than two houres, and I hope to get thro the Needles to night. The *Advice* is gone to Plymouth and all things among us are in order and I have taken out of the *Loyalty* every thing that the time would admit off.

'I humbly wish your Lordship health and happynes and desire you'l please to get his Majesty's order to indemnify mee for carrying the soldiers in the men of warr.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 9 Jan.*

18. REPORT BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY

1692-3, Jan. 7. Admiralty Office. As commanded by the King last Sunday, we now report on the £7,381 paid on a bill of imprest to the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Richard Onslow for paying the first eight months' pay to the officers of the two marine regiments. In accordance with the Queen's warrant to us of 7 March 1691, we gave order on 3 April 1691 for this payment. The accounts later submitted to us by the Earl and Sir Richard were referred for examination on 17 November 1692 and approved on 28 November. Copies will be sent 'to such persons as are to adjust the accounts of the said regiments for their service on shore' so that the advances already made to the officers concerned can be deducted when they receive the rest of their pay.

1½ pp. *Copy.*

19. SIR FRANCIS WHELER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692[-3], Jan. 9. *Resolution*, off Dartmouth. 'Last Saturday, the 7th instant, wee got under sayle and that evening anchored short of the Needles. Yesterday morning wee wayed and came thro the Needles and lay driving

above six houres for all the fleet, the merchantmen in these cases being very dilatory. At night wee made sayle and soe continued with an easy sayle. About two in the afternoon the *Lenox* and *Expedition* joyned us.

‘Wee brought with us about 40 sayle of merchantmen, and I believe none of the soldiers’ ships are left behind, since I left the *Experiment* to see the last man out. I am now a sending the *Dragon* without anchoring to call for the Dartmouth ships (if any) while wee all sayle off the Ram head to ly by for the *Prodigall Son* and the Plymouth ships, which will be brought us by the *Advice*. I’ll send one before us to Falmouth to meet with those ships (if any) against to morrow morning, soe that [we] shall lose noe time with this fine wind at E.N.E. and cold weather, which will keepe it from over blowing.

‘My Lord, I heare many captains pres for the vacant Channell flag, and amongst many of my seniors there are severall of my juniors. The honour and trust his Majesty hath been pleased to put in mee in this crabbed expedition, as well as the honour of my commission as reare admirall, makes mee hope that his Majesty won’t forget mee in my long voyage; and I humbly entreate your Lordship to put the King in mind of mee as occasion shall happen. The point I presume will be whether the reare Blewe flag will have place of me, tho of a later date than my commission. As all these pretenders took all the paines to shun this voyage, soe I humbly beg that my dutyfull submission and obedience to his Majesty’s comands may doe mee no hurt, tho I goe so farr out of the way from the fleet.’

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 13 Jan.*

20. NOTTINGHAM TO JOHN ROBINSON

1692–3, Jan. 10. Whitehall. If Count Oxensterne is made a Privy Councillor and consequently recalled to Sweden, the King will be very well satisfied that the person you mention should be his successor here.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book II, p.166.

21. NOTTINGHAM TO HAMEL BRUYNINCX

1692–3, Jan. 10/20. Whitehall. The King wishes me to tell you that he desires extremely that the Prince of Baden should command in chief on the Rhine. He will support his design to the best of his ability and will commend the affair to the Count de Stratman, who is here, that by his father’s good offices it may succeed to the Prince’s wishes and the benefit of the public. The King is also writing to the Pensionary touching the proposals you make on behalf of the Prince, that he may take the proper measures with the States General.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.166. (A copy in George Stepney’s hand is at SP 105/82, f. 90.)

22. NOTTINGHAM TO GEORGE STEPNEY

1692–3, Jan 13. Whitehall. The King having appointed you his agent at the Emperor's court, I enclose your credentials, together with a copy of them.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book II, p.168. (The original is at SP 105/82, f. 79.)

Enclosing:

22(1). The King to the Emperor Leopold. 1692–3, Jan. 12. Whitehall. Credentials for Stepney. Signed by Nottingham.

1p. *Latin*. Letter Book II, p.167.

23. SIR FRANCIS WHELER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692[-3], Jan. 12. *Resolution*, at sea. 'Wee are now seaventy odd leagues S.W. by W. from the Lizard, with the wind at S.E. If it keepes in that corner and does not over blow, wee may have a good passage out of the Channell. It begins to look a little durty to the southward, and if it shoulde veere to the S.W. and blow hard it would be troublesome because wee should be in danger of loosing of company, but I hope our good luck will prevent it. Wee have lost company with the *Dragon* and *Experiment*, which I reckon hapned when wee lay by for the Falmouth ships off the Deadman in the night. I conclude they are a head of us and that wee shall meet at our place of randevouze at Maderas.

'The *Expedition* and *Lenox* leaves us to night.'

P.S. 'I once more beg the favour that your Lordship will remember that victualls be sent out to both sea and land in April or May.'

1p. *Holograph*.

24. NOTTINGHAM TO JOHN ROBINSON

1692–3, Jan. 13. Whitehall. 'It may be necessary to informe you of the proceedings here in relation to the two Swedish men of warr and three merchant ships stopt at Portsmouth, for possibly you may heare of it from the ministers there as matter of complaint.

'These ships were driven into our harbour and stopt by the admirall commanding there in order to be examined what they were and whither bound, the rather because the merchant ships were laden with naval stores in great quantity.

'The papers belonging to them were sent to the Admiralty, and from them laid before the King by me, together with the memoriall of Count Oxensterne claiming all as Swedes, and his Majesty thereupon order'd them to be discharged, and I signifyd his pleasure accordingly to the Admiralty and acquainted Count Oxensterne with this resolution.

'But the Commissioners of the Admiralty upon receipt of it made no objection to the discharge of the men of warr, who indeed can scarce be said to have been stopt, but rather that they stayd for the ships under their convoy. But the Admiralty finding by the report of the Judge of the Admiralty, who was ordered to give his opinion (not a sentence as judge) that none of the 3 merchant ships had any passeport at all, much lesse in the forme required by the treaty, and that none of the papers made out the property of the ships or goods to be Swedish, his Majesty could do no lesse upon this representation then to cause this matter to be examined in the speediest manner, that tho' he resolves no injury shall be done to them, if the ships and goods be really Swedes, so he ought to take due care that his enemies be not tarnisht with commoditys so prejudiciall to us in this conjuncture, under the bare name of Swedes.

'This is the shortest account I can give you of this affair, that you may be able to speak of it and rightly to represent it, if you should heare of it there, and should have occasion given you for it.'

1½pp. Letter Book II, pp.168-9.

25. NOTTINGHAM TO HAMEL BRUYNINCX

1692-3, Jan. 13. Whitehall. Thank you for your letters, but as the King has appointed Mr Stepney his agent at the Imperial court he will in future send me news of what passes there. When, however, you have anything to tell me relating closely to his Majesty's interests or the common cause, or which would give me the opportunity of serving you, your letter will be very welcome.

⅓ p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.169.

26. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR WILLIAM DUTTON COLT

1692-3, Jan. 13. Whitehall. I have presented a letter from the Duke of Zell to the King and also acquainted him with what you wrote on behalf of the Hamburg ships stopped here. He ordered the matter to be heard yesterday in Council, but there appeared so many difficulties, and the several cases were so different, that it was impossible for him to determine them there. He has therefore ordered the Judge of the Admiralty to examine and report on them. The King will then resolve each case as favourably as possible, though among so many there may be some who will necessarily be condemned as belonging really to the French, and others perhaps may be the property of Hamburgers but designed for France with naval stores, which will justly be liable to the severest censure.

¾ p. Letter Book II, p.170.

27. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

1692 [-3], Jan. 16. 'I have been every day (since I waited on your Lordship) among some of the most eminent of their Majesties' enemies, and tho they all grant that a descent is intended, yet they utterly deny that it will be so early as is generally discoursed, because none of the officers have any notice of being ready, nor any particular commands from King James are arrived here, and they have no other notice to occasion these rumors, but what comes from private persons to their correspondents in England. I then enquired how it came to pass that the time was so confidently asserted to be in three weekes; and was answered by Dr Gray and Sir Theophilus Oglethorp that it was impossible to be so early, because two regiments of horse under the command of Major-General Shelden and the Lord Galmoy were at this time quartered at Mettz in Lorrain as also eight hundred dragoons: which being 26 daies march from the sea side would make it a month before they could joine the rest of the army in Normandy; and till they were join'd, no orders were expected in England. They also added that commands were sent to Lorrain for their speedy marching, and that the two regiments of guards under the command of the Duke of Berwick and the Lord Lucan are alredy upon their march from St Jermans towards the sea side.

'Colonel Fountaine shewed a copy of a letter that gave him account that the last generall muster King James's forces amounted to thirty-seven thousand men and that the French fleete was thus numbred, and disposed 76 men of warre for the Channel, 22 for the Mediteranean and betwix the 2 fleetes 43 fire ships. Out of abundance of stuff that I have heard from Mr Pratt I have collected somthing that agreeing with former reports wilbe very usefull to the government with which I shall acquaint you on Sunday.

'If Mrs Merryweather intends to discover, I hope your Lordship will give me your timely commands to exhibit something that may refresh her memory, and put her in the road to doe service' [the following item].

1¼ pp. *Holograph but unsigned.*

28. — TO MRS ANN MERRYWEATHER

[1692-3, cJan. 17]. 'Beeing inform'd by some of your freinds that you are resolved to run the hazard of a tryall, in hopes the government has not sufficient evidence to convict you, or at the worst that a confession after conviction will obtaine your pardon, I thought it my duty to undeceive you, lest you venture your eternall safety upon a sandy foundation; for upon my owne knowledge there is undenyable prooffe against you, and they have bin so often trick'd by pardoned criminalls that you cannot hope for such a favour. Therefore be wise in time and with all speed send Richardson to the Earle of

Nottingham with notice of your repentance, and your desire to make restitution. This may doe you good, but other reserves will ruin you. Your life is now in your owne hands, but in a few houres will be at the disposal of others; and that it may not adde to your sorrow, when grim death shall stare you in the face, that you have destroy'd your self, by neglecting so faire an opertunity, is the last advice of your real freind.'

1p. *In Dr Richard Kingston's hand and headed by him:* 'A copy of the letter delivered to Mrs Merryweather the morning before she was tryed'. (She was sentenced on 19 Jan.: see Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, III.16, and no. 33 below. See also *Finch IV* above and nos. 37, 43 and 442 below).

29. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1692-3, Jan. 17.] 'The greate buisness in vogue at this time is that Monsieur de Bon Repos and another Frenchman are going plenepotentiaries to Sweden and Denmark, and that they take with them all the principal officers of the Scotch nation, in order to be transported with ten thousand Deans [Danes] into Scotland, at the latter end of February or the beginning of March next, to joine the Cameronians there: it is likewise confidently reported that a great detachment is to be made out of King James's army, which are to be sent to Dunkirk, and there joined by others are to be landed in Scotland or the north of England at the same time. I was also told that about a month or six weeks since, severall French officers landed here with blanck commissions for English officers that would engage for King James and retire into the north for further orders; I was promised a sight of these French a weeke since, but afterward was denyed it upon a supposition that they were discovered, and therefore must keepe close; I can not yet learn their names, or lodgings. If your Lordship knowes any thing of it, I beg your honour to give me further light into it, because I beleive there is something in it. Two men also are said to be taken landing at Rye, which were expected here. If (my Lord) they are taken and continue there, if your Lordship pleases I will ride down to them: or if they are in London, and I may be permitted to goe to them, I hope to discover their errand, especially if their names are Curtis or Wake, for those are hourly expected. If your Lordship has any thing to say upon this, be pleas'd to write, or command my attendance, without taking notice of it to the bearer.'

1p. *Holograph but unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham with date.*

30. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Jan. 17. London. The French have taken and plundered Providence Island near Carolina, carrying away the Governor, Codnallteder [Cadwallader] Jones, with about 500 inhabitants.

We find by our port letters that the French privateers are gone home and that the *Spy* fireship is accidentally burned at Portsmouth.

Last Sunday three persons were seized in this city but are since discharged.

The court have advice that the French have at Brest above 1,000 transports besides those in other ports, and have put an embargo on all shipping to prevent intelligence. It is confidently said that two persons lately escaped from France have testified on oath before the King that the French are shipping men in Normandy and Brittany to make a descent on England.

‘Yesterday the Lords read aloud a second time the bill for an annual Parliament to dissolve it selfe every third year.’

Paris the [6/]16th. A ‘placette’ is published promising 10 crowns to every peasant (‘boore’) who shall seize any deserter in the newly conquered territories. Most of the King’s baggage and equipage has left for Mons. He will soon follow, having recovered completely from the fit of apoplexy he had on the 14th. King James with his whole court has been nobly entertained at Varsalis [Versailles] for three days. The King of France meanwhile caused all the furnishings in St. Germain’s to be removed and replaced by much richer new furnishings; and on his departure King James found his coaches and horses sent away and four new coaches with teams of fine horses put in their stead, as a present from the King of France.

Hague the [10-]20th. The States of Holland are adjourned for ten or twelve days, without having reached a decision about buying the new regiments they talked of from the Germans, which makes us fear that the French will be too strong for us in the next campaign.

From Brabant: the French continue to besiege Charleroy, and are expected to attack it as soon as the season permits. We lost a great many horses in the late expedition. We are furnishing the King’s house here, which gives us hopes that he will be here soon, ‘for without him things will goe untoward.

‘The Lords read the first time the bill to injoyne all officers, civill and military, to bee true to King William and oppose King James upon his endeavoring to regain his pretended right.

‘The Parliament of Scotland is adjourned to the 10 of February next. King James his 2nd Declaration was found about the 2 persons mentioned in our last to be seized in Sussex, which leaves all offenders to the discretion of a free Parliament after his restoration.

‘Just now wee heare that some of our men of warr have taken ten Deanish ships with stores for Dunkirk, as also their convoy. The scaffold is erecting in Westminster Hall for the Lord Mohun’s tryall.’

31. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1692-3, Jan. 18. Admiralty Office. Enclosing copy of a letter received this day from the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded about a French vessel come into Southampton from Cherbrough with prisoners without their Majesties' pass and contrary to the general articles for exchange of prisoners. We have ordered Sir John Ashby to have the vessel and prisoners secured until further orders. Please let us know the King's pleasure.

1p. *Signed (5 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham.*

Enclosing:

31(1). 'Copy of a letter from the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded Seamen and Exchange of Prisoners of Warre.' 1692-3, Jan. 17. We heard yesterday from Southampton that a French bark had come in from Cherbourg with eleven English and nine Dutch prisoners, desiring French prisoners in exchange.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p.

32. THE KING TO THE STATES GENERAL

1692-3, Jan. 19. Whitehall. We have carefully examined the claims of the parties interested in the *Ville de Copenhague*, on behalf of whom you wrote, being resolved to do all that we possibly could for their satisfaction under the maritime treaty of 1674. But we find that the case has already been reviewed in conformity with clause 12 of the treaty by the Privy Council, where the proofs on both sides were thoroughly weighed before sentence was given. If the parties have new arguments to put forward it is their own fault that they did not do so at the due time and place, as they have now forfeited the right to any further appeal. Nevertheless, to show our regard for your intercession, we will surrender to the interested parties all that part which falls to ourselves by the confiscation of the vessels and goods; and upon their request, will give orders that they be promptly despatched.

1p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.171.

33. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Jan. 19. London. Yesterday the Lords ordered the bill for frequent Parliaments to be engrossed. Captain Nevill, not Rook, is to command the Straits squadron. Yesterday Sir William Thomas, M.P. for Sussex, received an express from Sussex reporting that the French are shipping men in Normandy for a descent on England, which he immediately communicated to the King.

The Duchess of Norfolk has published her vindication and the Duke causes diligent search to be made after the author. A scandalous pamphlet is handed about setting forth that the King, before he accepted the Crown, promised

the Princess of Denmark £100,000 *per annum* on condition that she would quit her right to the Crown during his life if the Queen should die before him; and how he performed not his promise, etc. All wits are at work to find out the author and bring him to condign punishment.

The King of France declares that he forgives England all the charges he has had and will have in restoring King James to the throne.

Letters from Flanders say that not only the confederate troops but also the country suffered extremely by the late marches of the army. The soldiers from necessity commit great disorders, pulling down the farmers' houses for fuel.

Count de Coignis has defeated a party of Husars about Bretten, killing several and taking many prisoners, with thirty horses.

On Monday last Monsieur Le Font, recommended to the King as a very good experienced military man, was seized as a spy from France. This day Whitney the highwayman with others of that gang received sentence of death at the Old Bailey, as did Mrs Merrywether for printing King James's declaration last summer.

The Lords decided today by 50 votes to 36 to pass the land tax bill, but added that this should not be considered a precedent. The King is expected tomorrow to give his assent to that and other bills. The Lords added a clause to the bill for frequent parliaments extending the life of the present parliament to 1 January next if the King pleases.

'All the noyse in town is to amuse the people with the great extremity the people of France are in, especially for want of provisions. But not a word of the 100,000 sacks of corn found in Dixmuden and Furness besides artillery and other stores to the value of £500,000, as also its omitted to acquaint us of the miserable condition the comonalty of Holland are in for want of provisions, etc.'

3pp.

34. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

1692 [-3], Jan. 21. 'There are very lately two persons come into England from France in an English vessel that came from Rotterdam. They are said to bring with them divers letters and manuscripts which they received from King James's owne hand and are of great importance. The persons when they came on shore left their papers in the ship and sent a messenger on Fryday last was sevenight to bring them to London, but he apprehending some danger of a discovery left them behind him and went on Sunday last to Black Stakes where the ship then rode and brought them from thence to London. This I had an account of this morning and am following the scent. What I

gather further your Lordship shall have an account of speedily; in the meane time I think upon sending downe a trusty man it were no hard matter to finde out the ship and then from some of the ship's crew to know the passengers. I think the bearer would be a fitt person to make the discovery, and I the rather begge it may be done because I am sure the report is true. I am going to Mrs Roberts to enquire what she knowes of this matter.'

1½ pp. *Holograph but unsigned.*

35. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Jan. 21. Paris. A proclamation is published in Scotland commanding all heritors to hold themselves ready with good horses and arms to march on the first notice of any invasion from France.

The Lords of the Admiralty have received advice from the *Garland* frigate that 150 Danish ships are lading naval stores and other commodities in Norway for France, and have ordered four men of war to cruise between Callis and Dunkirke to intercept them. We have advice from the north that twenty ships laden with corn are only waiting for a favourable wind to sail for Holland. All the sea officers except the flag officers have now been commissioned and are pressing seamen to complete their crews.

'Great notice is taken of the Recorders speech to Whitney the highwayman at the sessions in the Old Bayley wherein he declared that he had killed a great many horses therefore was guilty of a great deale of innocent blood.' Lord Banbury has by Habeas Corpus removed his cause to the King's Bench, where he will be tried this term. The grand jury at Hixes Hall presented several taverns, alehouses, coffee houses, etc., for entertaining Jacobites, but the justices made no order therein, nor were the oaths tendered as expected.

Today the Lords read a third time the bill for the annual meeting of Parliament, and sent it to the Commons for their concurrence, receiving from the Commons the million project bill. The cause between Englesfeild and Englesfeild was heard before the Lords, and the decree was reversed. The Commons ordered Bauldin to be discharged, and resolved on addressing the King to remove Bohan the licenser from all employment. The scandalous book asserting their Majesties to be conquerors [Charles Blount, *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors*] they ordered to be burned by the common hangman. They had under consideration the pastoral letter by the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr Burnett, which contains the same in substance, but it being late the House adjourned the debate. It is believed that this will also be committed to the flames. The Marquis of Carmarthen is made Lord High Steward for the trial of Lord Mohun.

Lord Cornwallis is said to have resigned his commission in the Admiralty.

The Earl of Pembroke, Killigrew and Shovell will command the fleet next summer since Russell declines it.

The Swedish and Danish forces embarked a fortnight ago. The ships have left the Sound for fear of the frost. The horses are ready to be shipped. It is supposed that they and some French forces are designed for Scotland, which is extremely alarmed.

Very sharp words have lately been exchanged between the Swedish minister and Lord Nottingham, the former pressing for an answer to his memorial.

3pp. (For Bohun's defence over Blount's book see Finch MSS., P.P. 106.)

36. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY

1692-3, Jan. 23. Whitehall. The King having been assured by the Swedish envoy that the three ships stopped at Portsmouth are really Swedish property and *bona fide* bound for Lisbon, etc., would have you forthwith give order for permitting them to proceed on their voyage under the convoy of two Swedish men of war.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.68.

37. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Jan. 24. London. On Sunday an extraordinary Council was held at Kensington on marine affairs. It was resolved that the fleet next summer should be commanded by three commissioners, Killigrew, Delavall and Shovell. Sir John Ashby is so dissatisfied that it is said he will lay down his commission. Carter's replacement has not yet been named. Last night an extraordinary council was held at Whitehall in order to return the ministers of Denmark and Sweden an answer to their memorial within the time limit. The result is kept secret. Sir Richard Ansloe [Onslow] and the other Commissioners of the Admiralty are following the example of Lord Cornewallis and resigning.

'The King sent to offer his clemency to Mrs Mary [*recte* Ann] Meriweather provided she would discover her accomplices [*sic*] in setting a foote King James his declaration, but she continus obstinat and will not bee wrought to compliance.'

The project bill for one million sent up from the Commons received its first reading yesterday in the Lords. Their Committee reported on proceedings for Lord Mohun's trial, to which the House agreed, ordering counsel to be allowed him, and a copy of the indictment.

The King has named three flag officers: Lord Danby, Captain Mitchell and

Captain Mason. The Dutch commissaries are still here buying up corn for Holland. It is said that Lieutenant-General Talmash and several other officers are laying down their commissions. The King plans to leave at the beginning of March for Holland, where he is needed to make decisions about the 25,000 men the States of Holland are short of their quota for the next campaign. Tomorrow he goes to Banstead Downes to view the Earl of Portland's regiment and divert himself in hunting. The new Earl of Lincoln awaits his call to the House of Lords. Today the Lords concurred with the Commons 'about burning the conquering booke', and read a second time the million project bill. 'The Commons were upon a further supply and made some progresse in laying a tax upon all tradesmen, and an imposition upon several commodities.'

The court has received advice by one Captain Baker, who lately left Brest, that the French fleet is ready to put to sea, 'which bears the more credit for that none of our port letters speak of any French men of warr or privateers to be at sea.'

3pp.

38. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Jan. 26. London. Three foreign mails have come, bringing the following news. The treaty of alliance between France and the Porte is renewed with several new articles. The Tartar's envoy continues to make advantageous offers of a separate peace with Poland. The Poles have seized several English ships at Dantzic by way of reprisal, and the Algerines have taken a great many Dutch ships in the Straits. The Marshall de Lorge and the Marquis de Uxellis are expected at Strasburg at the beginning of February to dispose matters for opening the campaign which is expected to begin with the siege of Rynfelden. Cattanaht has arrived in Savoy and given orders to the troops to march on the first notice. The Duke of Savoy is still indisposed. General Caraffa has written to the Emperor asking to resign his commission by reason of his age. An envoy extraordinary from the King of Poland to King James had audience of his Majesty, the Queen, Prince and Princess at St. Germain, and complimented them on the birth of the princess. The French troops of the household and the regiments of guards have notice to be ready to march for Flanders on the first notice. The French have some great design in Flanders, for a great train of artillery is ready at Namure. Furnesse and Dixmuden will be demolished on opening the campaign. The price of corn has doubled in Holland. 23 great men of war, three newly built, were to sail on the 22nd from Toulon to Brest. The King of Spain and the whole court are inclined to a peace, but the Queen Mother, who is for the Imperial interest, opposes. The Northern crowns continue to arm with great

diligence. De Auax [d'Avaux] and Bonrepose have sailed north.

Advice is come from Ireland that a fleet of 150 sail of Deanes with seven men of war is sailed for Brest.

'The Duke of Gloucester is ill to extremity and has the symtomes of the small pox to the unspeakable grief of the Prince and Princesses.

'The million project bill was ready the 3rd time to which the King gave his royall assent, as also to an act for the taking spetiall baile in the county, and also Mackelsfilds bill to sell lands, but [he] made noe speech.'

39. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1692-3, Jan. 26. Admiralty Office. Having made enquiry concerning the two Swedish seamen who, according to your letter of 30 Dec., the Swedish envoy complains are detained on board the *Chatham* and *Anthelope*, we are informed that Andrew Nellson was pressed on 19 Dec. last by the lieutenant of the *Chatham* out of an English pink of Woodbridge coming to London, and Laurence Erickson on 9 Aug. 1691, out of an English merchant ship at the Barbadoes.

1p. *Signed (4 signatures).*

40. THE EARL OF MELFORT TO MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS MAXWELL

1693, [Jan. 27/] Feb. 6. St. Germaines. 'Here inclosed I send you a letter from Mr Montaigu North, who is as you see by his own confession at full liberty without any sort of bayle or constraint whatsoever. He arrived here yesternight, and I have sent this morning to Versailles for a pass to him which I hope to have this night, and then he parts immediatly with the first conveniency for Calais where Mr Godar [Goddard] and Van Bruk [Vanbrugh] are lykeways ordered to render themselves, and their passes immediatly to be sent to them for this effect. So now I hope the government will make no difficulty to let you part, when they see all things are so faithfully performing, and now almost entirely executed on our part, so as you may assure your self to find all the three gentlemen that are exchanged with you waiting for your arivall at Calais unless sickness or some unforeseen accident render their journey longer than commonly it should be, but that can only produce some few days delay more or less. Infin what is materiall, that is, all that depends on us, is done. Let the government on your side doe lykeways what depends on them, and all will be very quickly ended to the satisfaction I hope of both partys as to this matter.'

1½ pp. *Signed.*

Enclosing:

40(1). Mountagu North to Nottingham. 1692-3, [Jan. 29/] Feb. 8 N.S.* Paris. 'I am ordered to lett your lordship know that this day I have received the French King's passeport for my leaving France without any reserve, in consideration of my exchange with Mr Goddards and Mr Van brugs for Major General Maxwell. I am told and believe said gentlemen have the like orders, and hope Major Generall Maxwell will have had his libertie in England that we may meet with no stops before we can gett conveniences to gett outt of this country in returne to our native country, which itt will be great happynesse to see after our so hard and tedious imprisonments.'

1p. *Holograph.*

41. SIR FRANCIS WHELER TO NOTTINGHAM

[1692-3], Jan. 28. *Resolution*, 'Maderas rode'. 'Wee arrived here with the fleet the 25th instant in order to water which wee began to want and to get a new maintop mast to my ship which wee rowled by the board.

'Wee sayle this day, the wind being fair. Wee are all well but have lost company with the *Mairmaide*, hospitall ship and five soldiers' ships who I reckon must have mist this island and are gone directly to Barbadoes.

'Tho the wind hath been favourable, yet wee have met with dirty weather.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received June 1693.*

42. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Jan. 28. London. We have advice from Paris that an envoy extraordinary from the King of Poland has arived to compliment King James on the birth of his daughter, and to offer assistance in restoring him to his kingdoms. The treaty of alliance between the French King and the Porte is renewed with several new articles. The Prince Royal of Denmark has had several private audiences with the King in his closet, who has bestowed several honours on him. Monsieur Cattinet has arrived in Savoy. In Daupheny and the mountains are 40,000 men ready to enter Piedmont, where the campaign will open very early. The Duke of Savoy continues much indisposed and is not expected to recover.

The household troops have arrived at Mons and the King is expected there on 10 Feb., O.S. A great train of artillery is in Namur awaiting orders. Dixmunde and Furness will be demolished at the beginning of the campaign. 23 great men of war were ready to sail on the 22nd from Thoulon to Brest. The two northern crowns continue to arm rapidly. Marshal de Lorge and Welles are expected at Stratsbourg by the beginning of February to dispose matters for opening the campaign, it is said with the siege of

**Sic*, although the covering letter is dated earlier.

Rheinfelden. General Carraffa has written to the Emperor surrendering his commission on grounds of age.

Marshal de Luxemburgh has been for two days in private conferences with the King about the affairs of Flanders, and couriers are daily despatched to the Marquis de Bouflers, who is getting a great body of men together about east Dunkirk. It is said that they resolve to besiege two places in Flanders at once, Newport to be one.

The Algerines have taken a great many Dutch ships in the Straits. The envoy from Tartary continues to make an advantageous separate peace with Poland.

We have advice from Dantzicke that they have seized all the English and Dutch ships there by way of reprisal for our taking their ships bound for France.

3pp.

43. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Jan. 28. London. 'Warsaw the 30 past. The Tartars envoy demands a positive answer to the Cham's offers of a peace in 40 dayes upon pain of fire and sword.

'Vienna the 17. The Pope's nuntio hath orders to protest against the election of Hanover and complains against the insolencies committed by the Germains in Parma and Modena.

'They write from Rome that the Pope hath declared to the Imperiall ambassador his great dissatisfaction with the 9th electorate. A congregation extraordinary hath been held upon itt wherein it was declared to bee against the bull of Charles the 4th.

'Pignorall the 14 inst. The Duke of Savoy is taken with such suffocations that bleeding, vomiting and blisters are little enough to keepe life in him, soe that hee will not bee able to serve in the feild this yeare. In the intrim wee have 40,000 men with a world of provition upon the frontirs of Dauphiny and Province besides 10,000 more in those parts waiteing onely the melting of the snow to march and attack Coni. The Duke's subjects in Mondovi are quite eaten up by the multitude of troops quartered upon them to keepe them to their duty.

'From Mentz that a partie of French have passed the Rine, pillaged and burnt new Manheime with other places; that they have boates etc. ready to attack Rhynfelden anew, being fully resolved to cutt off[f] all commerce betwixt the uper Rine and Holland.

'From Copenhagen that the Deanes and Sweads continue to augment their forces both by sea and land with great diligence.

'Parris the 26 inst. Our armyes will certainly bee in motion next month in Piedmont, Germany and Flanders upon some early designe, and to effect it the magazins upon the borders are crambd with incredible stores. The Prince of Denmarke is treated with all magnificence and respect imaginable, and there appeares to bee great security on both sides. The Duke of Savoy's letter going to England to presse for a further supply is intercepted and brought to the King. There are 30 peeces of cannon of 60 pound ball already founded, and are to bee mounted upon new machines. There are 3 ships equipping at Rochell to convoy 6 or 7 merchant ships with all sorts of provision for the magazin of Quebeck.

'Hague 30. Our Embassador in Sweadland is comeing away without having bene able to doe any thing in this negotiation, the French interest being too great at that court. An expresse is come that the French are in motion in Germany and Flanders, that they have brought 18 peaces of artillry and 4 mortars to Furnesse, which gives a jealocie that they have a designe upon Newport, and that they doe military execution even to the very gates of Brussels. The States Generall have advanced their coins £10 10s per cent, to incourage the importation of English coyne. Tis feared the princes who protest against the 9th electorate will recall their troops from the Rine.

'They write from Barwicke of a designe discovered that the Scots were to have seized that towne.

'Yesterdayes letters from Spaine brought advice that the grandees haveing their pentions taken away by the King presse earnestly for a peace with France, which is onley opposed by the Queene mother. The Lords are adjorned to Tewsdays, and the Commons to Wensday.

'It is said the King is mightily concerned at the burning of the Bishop of Salisbury's pastorall letter. I am informed that the King should tell the judges before the tryall of Mrs Meriweather that shee should not dye but ordered them to use their endeavors to condemne her for a terror to others. It is said by the officers that Whittney is to bee hanged at the Maypole in the Strand on Wensday next.'

3pp.

44. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1692-3, Jan. 30. Admiralty Office. Having made enquiry about the complaint made by the Elector of Brandenburg's minister in his memorial of 26 Jan. about light money being required of a warship belonging to his Highness, we enclose the account we have received of the matter.

1p. *Signed (4 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 31 Jan.*

Enclosing:

44(1). Trinity House to the Commissioners of the Admiralty. 1692–3, Jan. 25. The enclosed from our collector in the Downs will show why he demanded light money of the *Seven Provinces* of Brandenburg, and how little ground there is for that prince to complain.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Copy, on same page as the following.

44(2). John Fox to the Trinity House. 1692–3, Jan. 23. Deale. I have received yours of the 21st and did demand light money from the master of the *Seven Provinces* as not being a man of war but a flyboat of about 300 tons with 18 guns and 45 men, bound for Guiney with a commission to trade on the coasts of America and Africa. 'The Captain is a knave, for he proffer'd me a bribe of two guineys if I would lett him go cleare and not to pay any lights.' If this be suffered we may look to receive none under the same pretence. About fifteen days since a great Danes ship of 30 guns and 90 men bound for Guiney pretended to be a man of war, but I found it not to be so, since he had merchants' goods on board, for which reason he paid me, 'and so this ought to do, but hath not. That is the reason I threatn'd him to arrest him, for I find it a cheate to the lights.'

$1\frac{1}{4}$ pp. Copy. Signed by J. Sotherne.

45. RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING IMPRESSMENT OF SEAMEN

1692[-3], Jan. 30. Result of a council of war held on board the *Sovereigne*, at Blackstakes, by Henry Killigrew, Sir Ralph Dalavall and Sir Cloudesly Shovell, admirals of their Majesties' fleet.

'That all seamen are lyable to be imprest, and those that actually belong to any shipp in the fleete are to be returned to their proper shipp, those ticketted and not entred to remaine with the officers that prest them.

'That all officers that send their men a pressing shall give them ticketts, no. 1 to 15, expressing to what presse gang they belong.

'That all men belonging to any shipp of their Majesties that are pressed and deteyned on board other shipp be imediately returned to their proper shipp; and all seamen and others belonging to any their Majesties' shipp and found on board merchantmen be ... returned to their proper shipp.

'Noe ticketts of leave to be given after the 5th of Feb., only to the presse gang.

'That all captains give their officers that goe a pressing order to receive all volunteers or any other men that are willing to enter into the service, and give them a passage on board the shipp they enter or designe for.

'That all men that come from New Castle or any other distant place, their pay shall comence from the time they were listed.

'All men that appeare at the pay of the shipp, their R.s [marks as 'Run' or deserted] to be taken off; provided their R.s have [?]not been put on since the King's gracious proclamation.

'That all sick men that have been putt on shoare since the 10th of May to returne to their shipp they then belonged to.'

$1\frac{1}{4}$ pp.

46. NOTTINGHAM TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ORDNANCE

1692–3, Jan. 31. Whitehall. Informing them of his letter of the same date to the Commissioners of Transport.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.68.

47. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF TRANSPORT

1692–3, Jan. 31. Whitehall. You should provide the shipping desired by the Ordnance officers for carrying powder, shot, etc. from the Tower, Plymouth and Bristol to Cork and Kinsale. You will receive from them what other directions are necessary.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, pp.68–9.

48. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY

1692–3, Jan. 31. Whitehall. I enclose an extract from a letter from Consul Blackwell concerning a bill for 10,000 dollars which he has drawn upon Sir Joseph Herne, 600 dollars of which has already been drawn upon Blackwell by Consul Baker at Algiers, according to the Queen's directions last summer, the rest to remain in Blackwell's hands until needed by Baker. I send likewise an extract from Consul Baker's letter concerning cloth and brocade, which the King would have you give order to be ready for the squadron now going to the Mediterranean.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, pp.69–70.

Enclosing:

48(1). Extract from letter from Blackwell to Nottingham, Leghorn, 5 Jan. 1692–3, reporting having drawn \$10,000 on Herne at fifteen days' sight.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.70.

48(2). Extract from letter from Baker to Nottingham, Algier, 5 Dec. 1692. 'I have often pressed your Lordship for a bale of the finest cloth to be sent me, of which there is now a more absolute necessity then before, and in regard the Dey's lady has an irresistible ascendant over him, twenty yards of the very richest brocade for her would be noe less requisite, but the former cannot be dispensed with.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.70.

49. THE KING TO SIR WILLIAM DUTTON COLT

1692–3, Jan. [31]. Whitehall. Full powers as envoy extraordinary to treat with John George, Elector of Saxony, and his ministers, and conclude a strict offensive and defensive alliance.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Latin*. Letter Book II, pp.184–5. (The copy at SP 105/83, f.20 is dated 31 Jan./10 Feb., although Colt's credentials and instructions for Saxony had been issued as early as 25 Nov./5 Dec. 1692: SP 105/83, f.19).

With:

49(1). 1692–3, Jan. Kensington. Nottingham's warrant to the Commissioners of the Great Seal for affixing the Great Seal to the above commission as well as to Colt's commission of 15/25 Dec. 1692 as envoy extraordinary to George William and Ernest Augustus, Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg (*Finch IV*, p. 526, no. 1023, and copy at SP 105/83, f.15).

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book II, p.186.

50. RICHARD HOLDER TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, Jan.] I have come with Captain Jacob Saunders, lately taken by a French man-of-war and carried to Tholoun, who returned through France and landed yesterday at Portsmouth. He wishes to give you an account of the French strength at Tholoun 'designed against the Turkey fleete from England'.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Endorsed by Nottingham*: 'Captain Sanders'. (For a plan of Toulon later received by Nottingham from Captain Sanders see N.M.56(2) below.)

Enclosing:

50(1). French ships at Toulon. [1693, Jan.] On 9 Dec. 1692 the French had at Tollone 18 warships as follows: six of three decks (one of 112 guns, the other five from 80 to 100); ten of 72 guns; six of 60 guns; six small ships from 30 to 50 guns. This includes three new ships of 112, 72 and 60 guns being built there now and to be launched in seven months' time. Six of the ships were careened before 9 Dec. (one of three decks, the other five from 60 to 72 guns). They were worked on night and day. I was told that they were ordered out cruising. The rest were to be fitted with all expedition to intercept our Turkey fleet.

I was in most of the magazines there, and saw plenty of all sorts of sea stores, except masts. On about 5 Dec. three ships from 50 to 60 guns left Tollone, two of them to cruise against the Tripolines.

'January 1692/3 as I travelled from Tollone to wards St. Mallo the cuntrey seemmed to bee messerable poore and the people in jennerrall lamenting the warr, all sorts of provisions boath for men and beast verely deare and as wee drue neere the coste of Stt. Mallo wee found the poeple to talke and feare of our making a desent into ther cuntrey this summer.

'Stt. Mallo the 6 January: I came to the walls of Stt. Mallo in company of fower English gentellmen, pressonnors, my fellow travellers, but the people would nott permitt us to com into the setty but sent us all backe to Denant and in our returne thether from a small hill I saw twelve sayle they told mee ware privateeres went outt that day, of which two of them ware nue ships, one of 54 gonns the other 48. They told mee they ware more then ordinarie mened on porpose to seeke the *Dover* and *Stt. Albens*, two of ther Majestis frigatts. They also told mee that ther was then abroade 33 sayle of privateeres in all.'

Seventeen capital ships have been built in France since last summer, as I was informed at Tollone: three at Tollone, two at the Seta near Marcellia, two at Byon, three at Rochfort, two at Port Lewise, three at Breast, two at Dunkerke.

1p. *Unsigned. Endorsed*: 'Relation of an English captain come lately from Tholon. Received from Sir Jos[eph] Herne, Jan. 23, 1692–3'.

51. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Feb. 2. London. 'A flying pacquett is here arived from Scotland with advice that the Councell had under consideration the levying of 40s. sterling for every militia man, but came to noe resolve—that the Archbishopp of Glasco upon giveing security not to goe for France hath leave to depart the Kingdom—that the Councell hath forbid any Episcopall minester to preach in any meetting house without first quallifying themselves by taking the oathes upon paine of being banished—and that the Parliament is like to be further adjurned till March next.'

Last Tuesday a considerable sum was remitted hence to the Duke of Savoy to enable him to carry on his preparations for the forthcoming campaign. Nine merchants and ships' insurers of this city are lately 'gone aside', one having lost £60,000 since the Revolution.

Last Tuesday the Lords ordered every peer present at Lord Mohun's trial and absent upon the Lords' adjournment to their own House to pay £100 to the poor of Westminster and in default be committed to the Tower; and the Earl of Faulconbridge, Viscount Newport, Lord Leigh and Lord Lovelace being absent, they were ordered to pay the said sum. Yesterday the Lords ordered every peer that was at Lord Mohun's trial the day before and then absent to be committed to the Tower and pay £100 to the poor of St. Martin's, but when the House was called over all the Lords appeared. They spent the whole day on Lord Mohone's case, and coming to no decision, adjourned it until tomorrow, ordering him to be remanded to the Tower meanwhile.

The King has named Lord Barkly to be Vice Admiral of the Blue Squadron. Two regiments of foot are to be raised, one being given to Sir James Moncreiff, lieutenant-colonel of Beveridge's regiment. The English squadron for the Straits will sail in a few days, making, with the Dutch, 20 men of war. Our navy is in great forwardness and will be ready to put to sea in March.

P.S. The King's equipage is getting ready, and orders are given that one servant or more belonging to every officer about the court shall attend his Majesty this campaign in Flanders.

'I am credibly informed that a privat pacquet came last night to Whitehall the purport of which is kept very privat, but this I am assured that tis feared it brought noe welcome newes, there being an apeareance of some dissatisfaction among the courtiers.'

3pp.

52. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Feb. 4. London. The Lords of the Admiralty have received advice that 70 transport ships under convoy of some small frigates have got into

Dunkirk. Yesterday the Lords spent all day until 9 p.m. in strenuous argument upon Lord Mohon's case, and the judges, being asked their opinion by Lord Nottingham, unanimously declared him guilty of the murder; but Lord Kingstone starting new matter, and it being late, the Lords adjourned further debate to this day, 'at which delay the King is mightily dissatisfied.

'The complaint yesterday made in the House of Commons against not preventing the French fleet above to goe into Dunkirk caused great heates, insoemuch that it was motioned since noe greater care is taken, wee should bee thoughtfull of a peace, which was seconded, but this was looked upon to proceede from the great zeale they have to prevent the like neglect, which as tis said lies in the Counsell for not givinge the Lords of the Admiralty instructions therein. The Commons have passed a resolve to tax the stocks of the severall companies of the West Indies, Affrica, Hudson's Bay, etc., at 5 per cent.

'Wee have further account of severall eminent cittizens that dayly goe aside for want of credit. The great price of corne occasioned by the vast quantity transported hence to Holland causes the poore to mutiny in severall parts of this kingdome. This weeke and the close of the last severall horses were seized in and about the Citty and are not owned. This day 20 eminent merchants were arrested upon the Exchange for debt, which was never known before.' Three foreign mails arrived at 10 tonight.

The Lords spent all day until 4 p.m. on Lord Mohone's trial, and acquitted him by a majority verdict of 69 to 14, 'upon which the Lord High Steward dissolved the court, and broke the staffe. The 14 peeres who voted the Lord Mohon guilty are as followeth, vizt. Capell, Clifford, Culpepper, Waymouth, Warrington, Monmouth, Portland, Rochester, Nottingham, Sandwich, Kingstone, Westmerland, Bridgewater and Oxford.'

Paris, Feb. 2. An express to the Duke of Orleans from Piedmont advises 'that the Duke of Savoy was on the 17 and 28 past attacked with violent paine in his side and a stopage in his stomack of which hee lay extraordinary ill. The King is resolved to make some new offers of peace to his Highnesse which shall bee the last, and in case of non compliyance will forth with enter the remainder of his country with fire and sword, to which end our commisaries in Savoy have orders to take bread for 55,000 men that lay ready for the word of command. Our preperations upon the sea coast are carried on with all application imaginable. There are fower men of warr fitting out of Dunkirk to be commanded by Monsieur Boniean and are to joyne the grand fleete at Brest. Severall prizes are brought into Dunkirk fower of which are laden with corne bound for Holland.'

A separate peace between the Polander and Turk is now concluded, as is the association about the new Elector of Hanover.

53. HENRY KILLIGREW AND SIR RALPH DELAVALL TO NOTTINGHAM

1692[-3], Feb. 4. According to our promise last night we send you a copy of the enclosed.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Signed.*

Enclosing:

53(1). Admirals Killigrew, Delavall and Shovell to the Commissioners of the Admiralty. [1693.] The line of battle you propose for this year consists but of 48 first, second, third and fourth rates and 18 fireships, which is 6 third rates, 9 fourth rates and 5 fireships fewer than last year, and by all advices the French will be as considerable as ever.

'Therefore we judge our line of battle ought to be as good in every respect as it was last year, more especially in the beginning of the summer, for afterwards the fleet may be reduced or modell'd as the enemy shall give occasion or opportunity. For tho' at present we can have no certainty of the enemy's intentions, yet in the month of April, or may be in March, we may get some notice of their projects, till when we think it adviseable to get and keep together as many of our fleet as 'tis possible.'

We observe that three 80 and two 60 gun ships are still upon the stocks. The builder at Chatham will not engage to launch the 80 gun ship there before May, and we may expect the same backwardness of the rest, or at least we have little hopes of their being fit for a line of battle until June. Moreover two third rates and a fourth rate now on convoys cannot be expected much sooner than May. This will reduce the line of battle to 40 sail, whereas last year it consisted of 63; 'but admit the line of battle intended by your Lordships could be ready in time, tho' joyn'd with the Dutch, yet we judge [it] not capable of beating the French fleet, which we question not but is intended and expected from us; wherefore we desire we may have strength to make us capable as last year.'

1p. *Copy. There is also a duplicate copy in another hand.*

54. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1692-3, Feb. 6. Admiralty Office. It being the King's pleasure, signified by Mr Blathwayt, that a treaty should be made with the Dutch in relation to salvage, we directed the Judge of the Admiralty to give us an account how the matter stands at present, and now send you a copy of his report to be laid before his Majesty for his further directions.

1p. *Signed (4 signatures).*

Enclosing:

54(1). Undated report from Sir Charles Hedges to the Commissioners of the Admiralty in obedience to their order of the 27th. By a treaty with the Dutch of 22 Oct. 1689 it is already provided that ships and goods rescued by men of war before they have been carried into the port or fleet of the enemy shall not pay more than one eighth part of their value for salvage; that ships and goods retaken by privateers within 48 hours shall pay one fifth part; that any such ship having been in the enemy's possession between 48 and 96 hours shall pay one third part, and if above 96 hours one moiety; and that any prince or state in alliance with their

Majesties or the States General may be comprehended in the treaty on the same terms. This treaty, to the best of my recollection, has been punctually observed by the Court of Admiralty where the subjects of the States General have been concerned, and I have heard no complaints; but if it be thought fit to make a new treaty, I propose that men of war may have the same recompense as privateers for all foreign ships rescued by them, because it seems to me that we have not as great advantage by the article relating to them as their Majesties' allies, in regard that we always have several ships cruising, and make many such rescues, but other nations have very few, so that we cannot expect an equal benefit from their men of war. I further offer to your consideration whether, if other princes or states desire to be comprehended in such a treaty, their desire should not be notified within a set time, which was not provided for in the treaty now in force.

2pp. *Copy signed by J. Sotherne.*

55. NOTTINGHAM TO MATTHEW PRIOR

1692–3, Feb. 7. Whitehall. Some of the Dutch privateers having of late landed at Portsmouth several prisoners who were on board the prizes taken by them, which has proved both inconvenient and chargeable, his Majesty would have you desire the Pensioner to prevent the practice for the future; and if it cannot be avoided, to compel the privateer to bear the charge of the prisoners till they can be exchanged.

You must likewise represent to the Pensioner that the Dutch men of war frequently bring merchandise and even contraband goods into England and defraud their Majesties of their customs (as you will see by the enclosed papers); and you must desire that orders be given to the captains coming to England not to carry merchandise, and to permit the Customs officers to search their ships, as is done to English men of war to prevent this abuse.

I send you an account of stores furnished to the Dutch ships, that you may get the money for them paid according to the rates set down on it.

1p. Letter Book II, p.172. (For the matters of complaint with which this letter is concerned, and for references to Prior's letters relating to them, see L.G. Wickham Legg, *Matthew Prior: a study of his Public Career and Correspondence* (1921), p.19.)

56. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR WILLIAM DUTTON COLT

1692–3, Feb. 7. Whitehall. The King 'approves of your concurrence with Monsieur Heckeren for 150,000 dollars to the Elector of Saxe, and will pay his proportion, being well pleased with the success of this affair'. You must try to procure repayment from the Empire if it is not too late, but not so as to delay or hazard the conclusion.

His Majesty assured me he was in no way privy to the seizure of Monsieur Schoning, and you are to tell the Elector so; but in such a manner that

he may not take occasion to insist the more firmly upon his release, 'to the obstruction of his Highness's proceedings in concurrence with the allies.'

Your powers to treat are sealed and antedated, so that your signing the treaties you mention will be of no prejudice to you. Mr Blathwait will send your instructions.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book II, p.173.

57. NOTTINGHAM TO GEORGE STEPNEY

1692-3, Feb. 7. Whitehall. The King 'approves of your discouraging the ministers at Vienna from expecting supplys from hence, the necessity of his owne affairs requiring all that the Parliament has given' for his own troops and fleet; indeed the sums voted will rather fall short of the charge than exceed it. He may possibly be induced to contribute something more toward the support of the Duke of Savoy, but it will not be proper for you as yet to give any hopes of it.

The Mediterranean squadron will speedily sail, 'and when joined with that of Spaine will be sufficient to support any attempts that the Duke of Savoy shall think fit to make there.

'His Majesty is very well pleased that the Prince of Baden is to command on the Rhine, and is fully of that prince's opinion that he should not be limited in the exercise of that command; for the expecting of orders may frustrate many great designes and deprive him of such opportunities as may never be retrieved; besides that it will be impossible or useless for him to concert any measures with his Majesty or the other allys upon the occasion if he be not at full liberty to execute them.

'His Majesty does not think it possible for him to spare any of his foot to serve on the Rhine, but all matters of this kind will be better adjusted at the Hague, where the Prince of Bade will be very welcom to the King.'

1 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. Letter Book II, p.173-4. (The original is at SP 105/82, f.83.)

58. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR PAUL RYCAUT

1692-3, Feb. 7. Whitehall. The person appointed by the Admiralty to view the ships at Lubeck left here some time ago, and may be with you by now.

'The King would have granted the powder in the ship *Concord* to the informer, but it seems this ship was condemned without any assistance or proofs from him, or any notice of his property in the powder.'

The prohibition of the Senate of Hamburgh against insurances for France 'will be of great use, and prevent much of the abuses committed in trade by their neighbours; but you must endeavour to prevail with them to publish it by placard.

‘The King does not remember Monsieur Bernikou, and has no thoughts of raising a regiment at present.

‘The King does not think the certificates which you shall give upon affidavits before you to be sufficient passes, for the other ministers will expect the like authoritys, which they may not use with such caution as your self and consequently may be very inconvenient.’

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book II, p.175.

59. NOTTINGHAM TO JOHN ROBINSON

1692–3, Feb. 7. Whitehall. ‘It is some time since Count Oxinsterne here received an account of the ships in answer to his memoriall complaining of their capture, by which it will appear that the proceedings here have been very fair and just. There have some others been taken since, of which he has also complained here, and the cases are still depending. One materiall point which runs through all of them is that their passes are not agreeable to the treaty, which in great measure provides against frauds and colouring strangers’ goods, which at this time especially is requisite least our enemys be furnisht securely with navall stores, which are the proper commoditys of Sweden and the most prejudiciall to us. But as Count Oxinsterne assures that for the future that forme of passes shall be observed, so it will certainly prevent the seizure of their ships and the damages ensuing upon it, and take away all occasion of complaint.

‘He presses also that the ships which are abroad may goe freely home by vertue of the passes they now have, but this is lyable to so many objections that it cannot be entirely agreed to. However, some expedient will be found by which if they should be met they shall be as little obstructed as is possible where there is no just ground of suspecting that the property does belong to our enemys.

‘I have spoke to the King to change the regiment of Count Oxinsterne’s son and give him another, but his Majesty cannot do it at present.

‘I suppose Mr Blathwayt has acquainted you with what has been done lately for Count Oxenstiern. You may assure him of the continuance of his Majesty’s kindnesse to him and of the further effects of it speedily. The King is very sensible of the good services performed by him which you mention in your letters.’

$1\frac{1}{4}$ pp. Letter Book II, pp.176–7.

60. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

1692 [-3], Feb. 8. ‘I would gladly have the honour of waiting on your Lordship on Thursday night.’

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Holograph but unsigned.*

61. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Feb. 8. London. Vienna, Jan. 28. The Grand Signor by his new alliance with France is not only to reject any treaty with the Emperor but to conclude nothing without the consent of France.

Pignorall, Jan. 28. On the 17th 3,000 men under Tesse marched by Camiane and Marsio to Valano, where they were reinforced with 1,000 foot and 400 dragoons. They advanced into the plain, did military execution as far as Rocoly and returned with great booty, without opposition.

Coblentz, Feb. 1. The Hussares are deserting in great numbers to the French, who have posted bills promising advance money and clothes to the Germans that enter their service, whereupon many go to them.

Ratisbon, Jan. 18. The protesting princes are preparing a memorial to make the election of Hanover a nullity and an abuse. The Electoral college speaks of receiving the Duke of Hanover's envoy as an electoral minister, but it is said that those princes are assembling 40,000 troops, of which the Duke of Holstine Blane [Ploen] is made generalissimo, to maintain their rights by force.

Brussels, Feb. 5. Lodgings are preparing at Namur for the King and the Dauphin. The late Governor of Charleroy is sent prisoner to Vicfort for convoying horses and provisions to the French. The French make extraordinary preparations upon the Meuse and Sambre and have brought 30 cannon to Phillipville, and a great many wagons are laden at Dinant and Manbeug with bombs, cannon shot, etc. They have ravaged a great part of the country of Louse and carried off a great many hostages for contribution.

Hague, Feb. 10. The northern crowns continue their preparations with the utmost diligence. The King of Denmark is about to recall the Duke of Wirtenburg out of King William's service in Flanders. A design has been discovered to betray Ghent and the Duke of Halstine and others are taken into custody for planning similarly to betray Newport. The ministers of Denmark and Swedland have lately had several private conferences with King James at St. Germans.

In Ireland Lord Sydney has passed grants of the Estates of six considerable persons, among them Sir John Everot.

From Dover it is affirmed that 150 French ships laden with provisions are got into Callis, Bullion and Dunkirk.

Letters advise that the French have taken 20 English merchant ships out of Oporto. The King has named Captains Mitchell and Aylmor to fill the vacant flags, and not Danby.

P.S. The States of Holland find Count Horne guilty of treachery but defer further proceedings until the King's arrival. Yesterday Young was tried and

found guilty of forgery, perjury and subornation of perjury for counterfeiting the Bishop of Rochester's hand in connection with an association for restoring King James.

3pp.

62. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Feb. 8. London. 'The last forreign letters say the electorshipp of Hanover is like to be the cause of much disorder in the Empire. The ministers of the princes that have opposed it are preparing a memoriall of the abuses in the proceedings held on that respect and deliberations of the Dyett which have been intercepted since the first protestations.

'The directors of Mettz and the Electors who have a part in this novelty have resolved by the majority of voices to resume the deliberations very suddenly. The great difficulty will be the receiveing his minister into the Dyett, for the princes who were extreemly exasperated at the creation gather troops to maintain their rights by force since their reasons and remonstrances could effect nothing.

'The Duke of Holsteen is made generall of their troops which are judged will be made 40,000 men: they begin to rendezvous and meet on all sides. This is an important and dangerous affaire under our present circumstances. Wee are here alsoe entertained with another as dangerous, which is a rupture with the 2 northern crowns. The Dutch ambassador from Denmark is returning without audience which he cannot obtaine from that crown and tis said they have given orders to arrest all Dutch and English shippes for which the merchants both in England and Holland are much concerned, fearing it may cause a rupture.

'From Paris that the King is sett forward on his journey to Flanders and was to be at Mons on the 20th instant old stile, that great preparations were makeing at Namur for the reception of the King, the Dauphin and the whole court. That the French troops being 65,000 fighting men were ready to enter Piedmont and doubted not but soon to put a period to that Duke for that they intend first to make them masters of Coni and then of Turin. From Vienna that the treaty of peace with the Turks is now quite broke off and that they were very powerfull and tis said will have noe lesse in the field than 200,000 men, and intend to open the campaign with the seidge of Petter Warradin. On the other hand the Emperor's forces have suffered very much threw sickness and that General Heusler and several great officers are dead. Tis said 40 Swedes and Danish men of warr are come to Brest.'

3pp. *On the back, in a different hand:* 'The wise Salathiel [Lovell], our City Recorder, sayes killing of horses is downright murder and so it is for this reason hereafter—for sure killing of horses is no manslaughter'.

63. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Feb. 9. London. Brest, Feb. 3. 'Several captains and other officers come heere dayley; they are giveing stores out of the arsenalls for 15 men of warr which as tis said are to sayle and meete Dee Estre's fleete, and they worke incessantly upon the rest of the men of warr.

'Hague, Feb. 11. Our Flanders letters bring that the French have in Namure 500 brasse peeces of cannon already mounted upon carragies in the markt place ready for some expedition which by our best advices wilbe upon Mastrich. The States have advice that Esqr. Stepney is arrived at Vienna to negotiate the King of England's affairs in that court in the absence of the Lord Pagett. The Duke of Saxoney hath not yett consented to send any troopes to the assistance of the allys next campain and tis feared some others of the allys will withdraw their troopes. The States Generall are not a little concerned that their subjects under pretence of bringing heither corne from England carry the same to the French. It looks ill that the confederates' forces in Flanders are not recrutaed, since the French have theirs compleated ready to enter upon action.

'Letters from Parris of the 6 of February bring that the Tewesday before they concluded the Carnavall with a magnificent ball and sumptuous feast which the King gave to his grandees in his owne apartment, where weere [*sic*] above 50 tables covered which had 20 services each. King James, the Queene and Prince of Wales satt [at] the head of the first, next them the King of France, Dauphin, Orleance, Madam de Charters and others; at the 2nd the three Princis, the Infantas of France, etc.; at the 3rd the Prince of Denmarke, Prince of Conti and others of the Blood; and at the other tables satt the dukes, peeres, marshalls, etc. And the next day the King commanded all the officers to their respective commands in the army.

'The Straits fleete is still in the Downes with 16 men of warr.

'Yesterday the Lords of the Admiralty receaved advice that 40 sayle of large Deanish and Sweadish shipps got into Dunkirk on Satterday last from the eastward. The same day the Lords tooke off[f] the fine of the Earle of Ailesbury.

'The King sent the House of Commons a message by Sir Edward Seymor that hee will take care to punish the abuses of the presse masters; it is said it is purposely done to prevent the passing of a bill which was designed for that purpose.

'Captain Churchill out of a disgust that the King made him not a flagg officer hath layd downe his commission.

'Talmash to make him recompence for his disgust against the Dutch is made generall of all the English and Scotch forces in Flanders and will sett forward to his command within this 3 dayes.

'The King hath declared that the Parliament shall not sitt above 3 weekes longer. The King lately closeted severall Lords and Commons about the frequent Parliament bill which his Majestie would not [*recte* now?] have passe into an act, knowing hee can never have a better for his purpose.'

3pp.

64. NEWSLETTER

1692[-3], Feb. 11. London. From two foreign mails. The French under Monsieur Malax have pillaged and burned several villages about Heydelburg for not paying their contributions. De Avaux and Bonrepose are arrived in Denmark and Sweadland and the troops of the first fill apace and some great change is there at hand. The clergy of France are assembling to make the King a considerable supply of money for the war. King James has sent an English bishop to the Pope to press for more money. Cattanat is still in the mountains of Briancon at Pragellas making way for the troops to march for Piedmont. Rabanack has had two hours' private conference with the King, but is to return to Italy when Catinat opens the campaign.

The French are in motion everywhere on the frontier of Flanders and have demanded 200,000 crowns from the district of Furnes on pain of military execution, but the Elector of Bavaria is making a camp near Anderlack to observe their motion and the Earl of Athlone is assembling the forces out of their winter quarters and advancing towards Brabant. Monsieur Overkirk is ordered not to come to England until further orders. The princes protesting against the Elector of Hanover have appointed a meeting at Sweinfort.

The Hague, Feb. 17. The States General have instructed their minister in Denmark to continue there till further orders and make new instances in favour of the allies. The Duke of Gourdon will be sent hence next week to England or Scotland.

Paris, Feb. 13. Yesterday De Estre took post for Toulon, there to put to sea. Monsieur [Château]Renault is ordered from Brest with twelve or fifteen great men of war to meet him in the Straits. Monsieur Nesmond is ordered to sea with twelve sail more. The Dauphin is to command on the Rhine, and under him De Lorge; the Duke of Orleance and Luxemburg in Flanders, and De Charters with Catanat in Piedmont. The King sets forward on 3 March to Chantilli to review his household and order their march for Flanders. On their arrival the seige of Mastrich will begin, where the King will have 40,000 horse and 60,000 foot. In the interim Rabanack is returning to Italy to complete the treaty with the Duke of Savoy.

Yesterday the Lords agreed to the amendments of the Commons in the frequent Parliament bill, which the malcontents give out abridges the King's prerogative.

The King has ordered Schomberg to depart to his command in Piedmont. Colonel Godfrey has resigned his commission of a regiment of horse since the King would not allow him money to recruit it.

This day our merchants received the bad news that the French have carried into Brest, St. Mallo, etc. the *Unity*, *Scypio Afficanus* [sic], *Zant Frigat*, *Fredirick* and three more merchant ships from the Straits.

On Thursday last it was resolved in Council to disarm all Roman Catholics. It is said that the English and Dutch in Ghent quarrelled, that several were killed on both sides, and that the former beat the latter out of the town.

3¼ pp.

65. 'NAMES OF PERSONS FOR THE NAVY BOARD'

1692–3, Feb. 11. Admiralty Office. The names suggested are Samuel Pett, Phineas Bowles, Jonathan Gauden, Baldwin Duppa, Benjamin Timewell, Henry Johnson.*

1p. *With unrelated note at foot in Nottingham's hand: 'Scotch seamen'.*

66. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, cFeb. 12.] 'Colonel Parker (commonly called little Parker) is now in the Isle of Wight, and is expected within foure daies to be in London. If he could be taken before he comes hither, it would doe well, for it will be a difficult thing to finde him afterward.'

½ p. *Holograph but unsigned. Seal.*

67. NOTTINGHAM TO COLONEL JOHN GIBSON [LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF PORTSMOUTH]

1692–3, Feb. 13. Whitehall. I am informed that Captain Parker is on the Isle of Wight. I have directed the messenger who brings this to wait for him at Southampton, unless you can suggest a better method of seizing him. Take care to apprehend Parker at Portsmouth if he should come there; and act as secretly as possible, lest he should get notice and escape.

⅓ p. Letter Book IV, p.71.

*All were Navy Board or Admiralty officials except Gauden, the navy's agent at Cadiz. Pett joined the board on 14 March in succession to the late Sir Richard Beach. The death on 12 June of Sir John Ashby enabled Thomas Willshaw (who had petitioned unsuccessfully for Beach's place) to succeed Ashby, while Timewell took over from Willshaw as naval commissioner at Portsmouth, later also joining the Navy Board.

68. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR WILLIAM DUTTON COLT

1692–3, Feb. 14. Whitehall. The King has received letters from the Duke of Zell and the Elector of Brunswick on behalf of the Hamburg ships stopped in the Downs. He ordered the Judge of the Admiralty to examine the cases at once, and all but seven or eight (which appeared plainly guilty of undue trade with France) are released.

I enclose a bill from Sir William Gore for 5,000 dollars, that you may be ready to pay it 'if the reasons continue for which you desir'd it, for you will not throw it away without a prospect of some fruit from it'.

I am sorry to find that matters are not yet fully ended; 'you know the importance of this negotiation, and therefore I need not press you to promote the success of it.

'You did very well not to concur the motion made to you and others in relation to Schoning by Count Staremborg, and for the reasons you gave.'

1p. Letter Book II, p.178.

Enclosing:

68(1). Sir William Gore to Francis Stratford [merchant in Hamburg]. 1692–3, Feb. 4. London. Pay Sir William Colt in Dresden 5,000 dollars at fourteen days' sight.

$\frac{2}{4}$ p. Letter Book II, p.178.

69. NOTTINGHAM TO GEORGE STEPNEY

1692–3, Feb. 14. Whitehall. 'I am afraid my letter of the 10th Jan. to Monsieur Bruynieux was misunderstood, for tho' the King was and is very desirous that Prince Lewis should command on the Rhine, yet I do not see how his Majesty can contribute money to the carrying on of the operations there, of which I writ to you in mine of the 7th.' All but seven or eight of the Hamburg ships are released.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book II, p.179. (The original is at SP 105/82, f.89.)

70. NOTTINGHAM TO JOHN ROBINSON

1692–3, Feb. 14. Whitehall. The King 'is so fully satisfied with the proceedings of Count Oxenstiern, and so sensible of the good service he has done in this conjuncture, that you can't too often assure him of his Majesty's esteem and of further markes of his favour. And the account you give of his secretary has induced his Majesty to order you to make him a present of £200 or £300 sterling as you see proper', drawing your bill upon Sir Jospeh Herne, merchant in London.

The King is well pleased with what you write of the good disposition in Sweden to enter into a stricter friendship with him, and will give appropriate

orders to Lord George Douglas. He will also provide strict rules 'to prevent all interruption of their just commerce, which has been the only occasion of any misunderstanding'. As I told you before, if Sweden will comply with the form of passes agreed upon by the treaty, they should have no occasion of future complaints. 'And as to the ships now abroad that have not such passes, which Count Oxensterne here desired might for a limited time pass freely in their voyage home, tho' this be not granted in terms,' yet I believe the King will give directions that if any Swedish ship is brought in here, the local magistrates should take the oath of the master and supercargo to the effect of what would have been stated in a pass of correct form, and should then discharge the ship.

1½ pp. Letter Book II, p.80.

71. NOTTINGHAM TO HUGH GREG

1692-3, Feb. 14. Whitehall. 'You have done very well in your proceedings against the insolent comoedian whom you mention and should insist upon some exemplary punishment, for tho' his person may be contemptible, yet some severity in this case may deterr others of greater figure.

'You must be very cautious in examining the cases of those Danish ships according to the late convention for which your certificate shall be desired before you give it, that it may be the more authentick here, and so prevent the occasions of complaint from the Danish ministers upon seizure of their ships, which would not be molested in their voyage if the treaty were duly observed on their part and passes were not given to others that are not Danes, as has been evident vary lately among the Hamburgers who were stopt in the Downes.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book II, p.181.

72. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY

1692-3, Feb. 14. Whitehall. Enclosing the King's order and copy of the relevant treaty articles.

I am sending a messenger this evening to Admiral Rook; please send me your order to him, and I will enclose it in my letter.

1p. Letter Book IV, p.72.

Enclosing:

72(1). The King to the Commissioners of the Admiralty. 1692-3, Feb. 14. Kensington. 'A treaty having been lately concluded between us, the King of Spain and the States Generall of the United Provinces for settling a method to be observed in the junction of our squadron and that of the States General with the Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean, for the avoyding of all disputes and differences

in respect of salutes and command; wee send you herewith a copy of such articles of that treaty as relate to that matter, and our will and pleasure is that you send the same unto our trusty and welbeloved George Rooke Esqr., Vice-Admirall of the Red and Commander in Chief of our squadron to the Mediterranean, with directions to him to observe and follow the rules settled in it as to salutes and command, and in all other respects to governe himself by what is therein agreed.'

1p. Letter Book IV, pp.71–2.

73. VICE-ADMIRAL GEORGE ROOKE TO NOTTINGHAM

1692–3, Feb. 16. Portsmouth. I have received your packet with the King's instructions and his letter to the governments of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, and shall be very careful in what relates to them, as well as his Majesty's commands depending on the Duke of Savoye. We are expecting the King's coming.

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 17 Feb.*

74. ADMIRALS KILLIGREW, DELAVALL AND SHOVELL TO NOTTINGHAM

[169]2–3, Feb. 17. 'The encouragements which wee receiv'd from your Lordship was the occasion of our cheerfully entering into this commission, but to our no small dissatisfaction instead of the respect that is due to the commission wee meet with slights and oppositions. Wee cannot in the first place, my Lord, but take notice of the slight which was put upon us by the Admiralty in sending orders to turne over the men from the first and second rates into the third without giving us the least intimation thereof. Wee complain'd thereof to the Admiralty by letter, which they have not thought fitt to answer, nor indeed any of our former letters, so that wee must conclude they purpose to goe on with us in the same manner. A copy of the letters wee herewith send your Lordship.

'In the letter of proposalls for the better manning of the fleet, two things they absolutely refus'd us. The first is, wee desir'd a flag might accompany the comptroler of the pay, at the time of payment of the ships, that he with him may be a judge of the mulcts, and the other that he may have the power of the taking off such R.s as wee shall see reasonable, it being for their Majesties' service.

'Wee likewise press'd them for two fifth rates more for the fleet, being absolutely necessary, wee not having sufficient scouts and without them wee cannot secure our selves from being in danger of a surprize from the enemy.

'Wee do not think the line of battle sufficient, as your Lordship may perceive by our letters. The remaining proposalls, which wee thought they were satisfied with att the time wee were with them, wee feare are not put into that forwardness the necessity of the time requires.

‘Wee cannot choose but observe to your Lordship that the two last times wee were at the Board there were but three of that body that sate with us, and those the same three at both meetings, which makes us to doubt that eyther there is not such a concurrence for their Majesties’ service, or that some of the gentlemen of that board may bee of a contrary opinion, and declare it when too late. My Lord, certainly the King would not have appointed seaven commissioners had hee thought three to be sufficient to dispatch all the business there.

‘Your Lordship cannot but remember that the King was pleas’d to promise to doe something for us, to enable us to goe on with satisfaction and cheerfullness.

‘Wee are very sensible of the great expence wee are likely to bee at in this expedition and it hath beene usuall for those who have formerly commanded their Majesties’ fleet to have receiv’d very great encouragements by honorable and beneficiall employments and also to have considerable summes of money advanc’d them for the summer’s expedition; and wee as yet have neither, which gives us much trouble, considering some other flags are in a much better condition.

‘Wee hope your Lordship will excuse the tediousness of this letter. If wee had express’d all our sentiments, it would have exceeded it much more. Believing it for their Majesties’ service, wee do not doubt but your Lordship will give us such an answer as may bee for our encouragement, for wee are at present in suspence.’

3pp. *Signed.*

Enclosing:

74(1). Admirals Killigrew, Delavall and Shovell to the Commissioners of the Admiralty. 1692–3, Feb. ‘We have considered, as you desired, of the best method for manning the fleet.’

First we think that the R.s should be taken off such seamen as appear on board their ships, provided they have been put on since the King’s proclamation [‘already done’] and that all who have been absent without leave shall be mulcted, as shall seem fit to a flag officer and the Comptroller of the Pay; and that no man be made ‘Runn’ till the ship be paid, and the mulct to be stopped out of the same pay. [‘Admiralty to report’]. We likewise offer, for the further encouragement of the seamen’s coming in, that his Majesty should allow a month’s bounty money to each man entering himself before 20 March in order to his coming on board any 1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th rate and being actually on board, or on tenders bound to the fleet, by 2 April. [‘Proclamation already issued and too late to be altered by a new one.’]

Apprehending that there are many seamen protected by the Victualling Office and Office of Ordnance [‘Admiralty to inquire of number and quality’] and Custom House [‘none to be spared’], who will be of more use to the fleet than to those officers, and that more are protected than necessary, we desire your commands to such officers that neither men fit to serve in the fleet nor more than the necessity of their service require should be protected, and that all watermen whatsoever

should be liable to be pressed, because in the like emergency we have known the King's and Queen's watermen to be sent on board the fleet. ['Order of Councill to be communicated to the 3 admiralls with the Admiralty's directions pursuant and to be consider'd together what effect: and to prepare what additionall order of Councill necessary and to be offered on Thursday per Lord Falkland.']

We desire that care may be taken to send such seamen as can be procured in due time from Scotland to the fleet ['done'].

We further desire that the pay of all seamen that enter themselves volunteers may commence from the time they listed themselves, as was done last year ['done']; and we believe that we should have power, for this expedition, to take off such R.s as we shall see reason for.

1½ pp. *Copy. The passages in square brackets are marginal annotations in Nottingham's hand. There is a second copy of this letter without the annotations.*

74(2). Same to same. 1692-3, Feb. 8. Since we were last with you Captain Hopson has acquainted us that he has received, and executed, an order from you for supplying the *Boyne, Kent, and Hampton Court* with 570 men out of the first and second rates. 'Your Lordships cannot chuse but imagine that the manner of your sending this order hath been without any regard had to us that comand the fleete. We cannot chuse but beleive we ought to have been acquainted with it and all things relating to the fleet, and especially in soe nice a matter as your late orders were. We know not what opinion your Lordships may have of it but think ourselves obliged to let you know ours, and especially in a matter of soe great consequence, and at such a juncture.

'We think that the turning men over will be a generall dissatisfaction, and we feare of evill consequence, having observed by experience that nothing can be more greivous to seamen then turning them out of one shipp into another. And admitt you should think fitt to continue this way of procedure, we can have noe prospect that the great shippes should be man'd in time, and consequently the whole lyne of battle will become insufficient. That you may not imagine that this is a bare suggestion of our own, we have this morning received an account from severall officers of the dissatisfaction that already appears amongst the seamen.'

1p. *Copy.*

75. ADMIRALS KILLIGREW, DELAVALL AND SHOVELL TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY

1692-3, Feb. 18. We received today an account from some officers pressing in the West Country that they are extremely deceived in their expectations of getting seamen for the fleet, few or no volunteers coming in 'for want of usuall encouragement', and the seamen flying from them, being 'both countenanced and protected by such as should be assisting'. Mr Hugh Rayman [*sic*] and Justice Osborne, two gentlemen near Dartmouth who have been ready and serviceable in procuring seamen, have been arrested and sued by one Justice Lee for having pressed a seaman protected by him; 'which person seemes to be an able seaman, not above forty yeares of age, and of a strong body, which manner of proceeding hath given encouragement to the seamen in these parts to dispute the authority that any man may have to

press them, and declare they will sue them by the example of Justice Lee, who now prosecutes Mr Raymond and Justice Osborne, notwithstanding the aforesaid persons have your Lordships orders for impressing seamen, and if you should not thinke fitt speedily to signify your resolution that you will justifie your orders which you have given those gentlemen, they are like to suffer the next Assizes.

‘This action has already done great prejudice to the procureing seamen and we feare will be of the last ill consequence.’

1p. *Copy.*

76. NOTTINGHAM TO HUGH GREG

1692–3, Feb. 21. Whitehall. I have already told you that you might jointly with the Dutch ministers in the absence of Mr Molesworth give certificates to ships. ‘What you have done about the comoedian is sufficient. He is too inconsiderable to be further prosecuted.’

77. NOTTINGHAM TO JOHN ROBINSON

1692–3, Feb. 21. Whitehall. ‘In answer to the question you put in yours of the 1st instant about joining a squadron of ships in such a case as you there mention, the King bids me assure you of it.

‘Mine of the 14th instant will give you satisfaction in the matter of yours of the 4th, and I must hear from you before I need say any more of it in relation to Count Oxenstierne’s secretary. But the 1,000 crownes advanced by you to the Count will be allowed, and not being deducted out of the £2,000 lately sent will recompense the 380 crownes which I believe was occasioned by the exchange, especially since the King designs him another present very speedily.

‘When I see Mr Hume I will settle your matters with him, but I believe they cannot be done perfectly till I know what will be the full state of your case.’

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book II, p.182.

78. CAPTAIN THOMAS WILLSHAW TO NOTTINGHAM

1692–3, Feb. 22. Portsmouth dock. When his Majesty was here he gave me leave to represent to him my misfortunes ‘in respect to the severe and unmerrited proceedings which have long been incending [*sic*] and are now (out of mallice and prejudice) in motion against me.’ He was pleased to receive a petition and to permit me to make further application therein by way of your Lordship.

I therefore enclose a copy of my petition and beg you to remind his Majesty

of my request that the matter might be heard before him or whom else he shall think fit, 'and that I might not be delivered over to the fury and designe of my enemys and the scandall of a publique tryall by law, tho I dare and will venture my life on my justification in every particular, and according to the best collection I can make (being deny'd the knowledge of my accusation), it will be found matters forreigne and different from the examination of the law, being what I humbly conceive particularly relates to the practice and method of the navy.'

2pp. *Signed. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 25 Feb.*

Enclosing:

78(1). Willshaw's petition. Showing that the petitioner having, as Commissioner of his Majesty's yard at Portsmouth for the last three years, had occasion to punish several persons for crimes prejudicial to his Majesty's service, they '(being a pack of notorious scandalous fellows, some of them pardoned for felony and crimes actually committed to be evidence on this occasion) have joined in a confederacy' to accuse him of misdemeanours and frauds, but that he has been denied the knowledge of what his crimes are; and praying his Majesty to take the matter into his consideration and hear the charges together with his defence.

1p.

79. THE KING TO SIR WILLIAM PHIPPS, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

1692-3, Feb. 23. Whitehall. 'Whereas since our accession to the throne it has been our aime to provide for the defence and security of our American plantations, and in particular have taken such case in the settlement of our colony and dominion of New England that our good subjects there might be put into the best condition of annoying their neighbours the French; soe have we at present caused a considerable squadron of ships, consisting of ten fregats and two fireships, with about one thousand experienced soldiers on board, to be fitted out, and directed them to saile from the Charibbee Islands soe early as to be by the end of May or the middle of June at the farthest in New England, there to refit themselves and take with them such assistance and supplies of ships, men and provisions which shall be appointed by our General Assembly of New England as may be sufficient to attack the French with success in the river of Canada, and to destroy or take possession of the townes and habitations there belonging to the enemy. In order whereunto wee do charge and require you so to represent this our gracious resolution to our Council and Assembly of our province of the Massachusets Bay under your government that they may do all that in them lyes for the getting ready ships and men and all necessary provisions against the time of the arrivall of our said squadron, to be employed and made use of by them against the French in Canada or other neighbouring parts in such manner as shall be agreed upon and determined by a council of warr: the present occasion being

such for annoying the enemy that if it be now lost by any delays or want of concurrence on all sides, the like may not happen again for the future. And for the better explaining our royall intentions herein wee have besides these our letters, dispatched by another conveyance our trusty and welbeloved Thomas Cox, Esq., of whose prudent management of affairs committed to him we have had former proofs; willing and requiring nevertheless our good subjects under your government and their neighbours not to loose any time for the preparing themselves and putting every thing in due order for this expedition, wherein their safetys, welfare and prosperity are so much concern'd. And we do further think fit that you do consult and advise with our trusty and welbeloved Benjamin Fletcher, Esq., our Governor of New York, concerning the best means for the carrying on our service herein expressed, and the common good of our several colonies, by offending and annoying the enemy by land as well as by sea; for which, reposing our trust and confidence in your prudence, courage and conduct, wee bid you very heartily farewell.'

2pp. Letter Book IV, p.73-4. (Not sent until 6 April: see no.123 below. There is no copy of this letter among the State Papers Colonial.)

80. THE KING TO BENJAMIN FLETCHER, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

1692-3, Feb. 23. Whitehall. Concerning the sending out of the squadron and the directions sent to Sir William Phipps, with whom he is to consider how best to annoy the enemy.

1½ pp. Letter Book IV, p.75-6. (This letter, like that to Phipps, was not sent until 6 April. Calendared as of 2 Feb. in *Cal. S.P. America and W.I. 1693-96*, p.31.)

81. SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Feb. 24. London. 'This day I had the honour of your Lordship's, with one from the Admiralty inclosed for Mr Wair in relation to 800 men from Scotland. The last year, with truble abundant, ther wer 1,000 seamen gott together. The captan of the convoy pretended orders from the Admiralty to examen them upon the compase and other matters of navigation. They wer som of them ignorant, bein only coasters; other[s] willing to be rejected and pretended not to know; so the one half wer dismissed, tho I beleiv if they wer not sick at sea bot had sea feett, and could handle the tackle, bein young able fellows, it was enuch. Besides, the King's letter to the Counsell of Scotland did assur them of the justice that Scots men should not be prest out of our ships. Your Lordship did giv me the sam, yett we wer never so ill used, tho I dare affirm to your Lordship ther are not under 3,000 Scotts men in the fleet, which is above our proportion. Upon

thes accounts, and that the season is too farr advanced, I am doubtfull seamen can be had from Scotland this year, bot if the Admirality will make ane order discharging all presmasters to press seamen out of any ships belonging to Scotland, to be published in the *Gazett*, I hop som may be had, and I shall prepair a letter for his Majesty's hand to the Counsell in the tearms. I hop ther will be convoys ordered that will answer the turn to receav the seamen, which will be about the end of Aprill; if thay can be sooner had, I shall acquaint their Lordships of the Admirality as the seamen com in.'

1½ pp. *Holograph*.

Enclosing:

81(1). Same to same. A further undated short letter on the same subject. 'I told the King to day what I had written to your Lordship', and prepared a letter to the Council in Scotland for him to sign, 'bearing the order of the Admirality heir to be published in the *Gazett* that all presmaster[s] shall be discharged to pres seamen out of Scots ships ... For tho I do fear for all the order we shall not be saif, yett it will please us and give the King ground to ask seamen, having promised in his letter last year that we should not be subject to be pressed'. Please advise the King to give direction in these terms to the Admiralty.

1p. *Holograph*.

82. THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [Feb. 24/] March 6. Paris. 'Vous me permetres bien mylord de me persuader que malgré la distance des lieux et le longtems que je nay eu lhonneur de vous voir je retrouveray encore en vous un protecteur et que vous aures la bontés de me proceurer les moiens daller mestre ordre à mes affaires en me faisant donner un passeport pour passer en Engletaire avec cinq personne[s] seulement pour ma suite. Vous voules donc bien mylord qui jaye recours à vous dans ce rencontre, comme votre alliee que jay lhonneur d'estre, et comme à un des plus genereux et des plus galent hommes du monde.

'Celluy qui aura lhonneur de vous rendre ceste lestre aura celuy mylord de vous expliquer les presenté laffaire [*sic*] qui mapelle dans ce paie las. Jaurois encore bien plus demprement de my rendre sy jetois assés heureusse pour vous y etre bonne à quelque chose et vous faire conoistre par quelque endroit avec quelle passion et quel respect je suis mylord votre tres humble et tres obaissante servantte Henriette Pembroke de Thoïs.'

2pp. *Holograph*. (The Countess, a sister of Louise de Keroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, had been the wife of the seventh Earl of Pembroke and had married as her second husband Timoléon Gouffier, Marquis de Thoïs.)

83. VICE-ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE ROOKE TO NOTTINGHAM

1692–3, Feb. 26. Portsmouth. ‘Having received my sayling orders and instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiraltie, and not knowing how soon I may be commanded to put them in execution, I ... pray ... you to lett me know what the gentleman’s name is your Lordship was pleas’d to tell me was design’d and appoynted to be secretarie, and when and where I must expect him; for without such a person to accommodate matters betweene us and the Spaniards I doe apprehend the service may suffer extreamly. I have wrott to the Admiraltie to desire my orders may be possitive what I shall doe in case I gett certaine intellegence before I enter the Streights mouth that the enimie is very strong in that sea, and that they lay in a station likly to intercept us, whether I shall proceede pursuant to my instructions into the Mediteranean or send a frygatt with advice home and stay at Cadiz for further orders, which I apprehend may be done in little more tyme then the Dutch will require to dispatch theire bussinesse in that porte. I understand the Commissioners of the Admiraltie have ordered £2,000 creaditt for the service of the fleete in the Mediterranean ... Please to aske the Kinge if he thinks that reasonably sufficient to supply any misfortune or necessitie that the common accidents of warr may draw upon us.’

2pp. *Signed. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 Feb.*

84. REAR-ADMIRAL MATTHEW AYLMER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692–3, Feb. 26. Portsmouth. ‘Yesterday and today have blown soe hard that boats could not store.’

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 Feb.*

85. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR WILLIAM DUTTON COLT

1692–3, Feb. 28. Whitehall. Enclosing the King’s letter and a second bill of exchange in case the first should have miscarried.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.189.

Enclosing:

85(1). The King to Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. 1692–3, Feb. 28. Kensington. Congratulating him on being invested with the dignity of Elector.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Latin.* Letter Book II, p.187.

86. NOTTINGHAM TO MATTHEW PRIOR

1692–3, Feb. 28. Whitehall. ‘The Senate of Hamburg having made a decree against all insurances for France, ordering that they shall not be valid nor pleadable in any of their courts of justice, I have by the King’s command writ to Sir Paul Rycaut to endeavour to prevail with the magistrates of that

citty that the same be forthwith publisht by placart, and I have spoke Monsieur Van Bossell about it, who tells me that he believes the reason why this has not been done already is because it would be of little use unless the same thing were done in England and Holland. The Act of Parliament published long since in England for prohibiting all trade with France is as good and even more effectuell for invalidating all insurances for France then any declaration that the King can publish, since the trade it self being criminall none will dare to owne it by claiming an insurance which cannot be esteemed but as void, soe that nothing remains but the concurrence of Holland to the setting aside of all insurances for France, which would prevent the abuses in trading thither, to the loss of our enemys and our advantage. You must therefore speak to the Pensioner of it, and be very earnest in pressing that noe insurance for France may be pleadable in any of the seven provinces, and that this may be published by a placart, with such clauses as may prevent any indirect evasion. For so long as these insurances can be pleaded at Amsterdam, etc., it cannot be expected but that the merchants of Hambourg will insure their ships and goods in Holland, and so this prohibition at Hambourg will be of little or no use at all, at least till this is done it will serve for an excuse to the Hamburgers not to publish their decree.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book II, p.187. (See Legg, *Matthew Prior*, pp.19, 20 and no.1, referring to SP 84/222.)

87. NOTTINGHAM TO JOHN ROBINSON

1692-3, Feb. 28. Whitehall. The King is very well satisfied with the matter of your letter of the 8th, 'and the particular part of your friend in it', of which, in a post or two, I shall send you the proof you desired.

The King has come to a resolution about Swedish commerce with which Count Oxinsterne here seems fully satisfied and therefore no doubt the court of Sweden will be too. Tomorrow I am to give him a copy of it, that he may see whether he can fairly object to anything in it as unjust towards Sweden, 'whose friendship at this time deserves all respect.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book II, p.189.

88. LORD BERKELEY OF STRATTON TO NOTTINGHAM

1692-3, Feb. 28. Cockpitt. 'I have been unwell. I am informed by Sir Arthur Chichester, one of the Deputy Lieutenants of Somersetshire, that there near 100 good seamen lye lurking in the inland parishes between Bidiford and Barnstable which cannot be come at without a special warrant, which he dares not grant without an order from Council, which I beg your Lordship would speak for.'

1p. *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

89. REAR-ADMIRAL MATTHEW AYLMER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692-3, March 2. *Kent* S.S.E. 7 leagues from the Start. 'The 28th of February about three in the afternoon I weighed from St. Hellins. Since we have been plying with fresh gales from the W.S.W. to the N. and N. W. and cannot seize the land. I have ordered the *Hampton Court* to make the best of his way to Plymouth to gett the ships in a readiness.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Signed. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 March.

90. NOTTINGHAM TO JOHN ROBINSON

1692-3, March 3. Whitehall. The King has ordered £2,000 for Count Oxenstierne. Let me know the best way to remit the money without loss.

I send you a copy of the orders which the King has given in relation to the trade of neuters with France. Count Oxenstierne here seems fully satisfied as regards Sweden. 'Care must be taken on their part that no abuses be coloured by their passports', no ship allowed to go out without a pass in due form, and all preliminary conditions punctually observed; 'and the rather because there has bin great favour indulg'd in these rules to ships now abroad, which will not be extended to others that shall hereafter come from Sweden without due passes, who may nevertheless be clamorous if stopt, and tis better on all sides to prevent disputes.'

1p. Letter Book II, p.190.

91. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR PAUL RYCAUT

1692-3, March 3. Whitehall. I have spoken to Monsieur van Bossell, 'who has promised to take care at his returne that the ships for the future be obliged before they saile from Hambourgh to give bond that they will not goe to any of the enemy's ports; which in the mean time as there may be occasion you must endeavour to get dispatcht.'

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book II, p.191. (For the letter of 17 Feb. to which this is in reply see SP 82/16, f.122.)

92. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY

1692-3, March 4. Whitehall. 'There have bin so many complaints of the abuses committed in seizing the merchants ships belonging to the subjects both of his Majesty's allies and the neuter princes and states that his Majesty has thought fitt to declare his pleasure in the following particulars, and has commanded me to signify the same to your Lordships, that you may accordingly frame instructions and rules to men of warr and privateers,

whereby the like mischiefs may for the future be prevented.

'1. That the treaties between his Majesty and his allies or friends be punctually observ'd, that there may be noe undue interruption of their commerce.

'2. Nevertheless, the ships belonging to the subjects of any prince or state in warr with France or subject to the *avocatoires* of the Empire, which shall be bound to or coming from France, may be taken as prize.

'3. All ships of any other nation that are bound to France from any place in warr with France or subject to the *avocatoires* of the Empire, or shall come from France bound to any such place, shall be taken as prize unless they be only in ballast.

'4. All ships carrying any contraband goods to France may be seiz'd also.

'But because some other things are by a late convention with Denmark made contraband which were not usually so reckon'd in former and other treatys, his Majesty has commanded me to send a copy of the said convention, that with relation to the Danes your Lordships may give your orders accordingly with respect to the sorts of merchandizes in Danes ships and the passports requir'd, with the certificates of the ministers of England and Holland residing at Copenhagen: that such ships as comply with the tenour of this convention may pass freely.

'And whereas by the said convention the Danes are forbid to goe from one port of France to another but only in ballast, except that they have not dispos'd of their whole lading in the first port of France where they toucht, it is to be understood that together with the remainder of their lading they are not to take in any other goods in that first port of France, and proceed towards any other.

'In relation to the Swedes, I am to observe to you that there is a forme of pass (a copy whereof is annext) agreed in the treaty of 1661: this is to be sufficient to protect them from any molestation in their voyage. But because severall of their ships are now abroad, which have not passports in that forme, nor could get them since they had notice it was expected that that forme should be observed, and yet the property of the ship and goods may truly belong to the subjects of Sweden, in case any such ships should be brought into our ports his Majesty dos not think they should be deteyn'd till the property be made out by authentick proofs from Sweden, but would have them discharged upon the like oath of the master and sopracargo before the chief magistrate in our port as was required by the annext forme of a Swedish pass. [Form of pass not entered.]

'And as to ships belonging to the subjects of neuter townes, tho' upon just suspition they may be stopt, yet upon proof of the property of ship and lading they are to be dischargd, tho' bound to or from France, unless laden

with contraband goods or any navall stores, etc., mention'd in the convention with Denmark, or corne; in which cases they are to be prize.

'And since the French King has declared that all ships of any nation, wherever bound, shall be seiz'd by his ships, and the corn to be taken out and paid for, his Majesty thinks fit to observe the same measures.

'And lastly, his Majesty has declar'd his pleasure that all persons who shall violate these rules shall be severely punisht, and particularly all privateers shall be requir'd to make full reparation to persons injur'd contrary to these rules, for all the damages they shall susteyn by any capture, imbezilment, demurrage or otherwise.'

2½ pp. Letter Book IV, pp.76–8.

93. MEMORIAL TO THE KING ON VICTUALLING

1692–3, March 4. 'Reasons offered by the Admiral of the Fleet for putting their Majesties fleete to short allowance, and advantages arising to their Majesties service therefrom, to the satisfaction of the seamen.'

If the line of battle fleet consists of 24,000 men, with sea victuals for four months or 112 days from 1 May, it will last until 20 August at whole allowance, but if the fleet is put to two-thirds allowance it will last until 15 October, which will enable the fleet to keep the sea as long as needed. 'It will also save to their Majesties the charge of victualling shippes to attend the fleet except where the ships cannot take in their four months beere. It will also conduce much to the health and satisfaction of the seamen to be putt to short allowance in the summer months, in haveing their short allowance paid them monthly by their Majesties, which will inable them to buy fresh provisions and other refreshments, the doing of which will save to their Majesties three shillings a man per month, which for 24,000 men six months will amount to £21,600 pounds if the victualling shall cost their Majesties 23 shillings a man per month. The charge of their Majesties paying the short allowance will be as follows: short allowance of all provisions for 24,000 men six months at 4s. 8d. a man per month comes to £30,600; ditto allowance for 24,000 men one month comes to £5,600.'

1p. *Copy. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as ordered 15 March.*

94. THE KING TO EBERHARD LUDWIG, DUKE OF WÜRTEMBERG

1692–3, March 5. Kensington Palace. Acknowledging his letter of 24 Jan., congratulating him on having ended his minority and taken upon himself the rule of his government, and expressing goodwill.

¾ p. *Latin.* Letter Book II, p.191.

95. THE KING TO ERNEST AUGUSTUS, DUKE OF
BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG

1692–3, March 5. Kensington Palace. Recredentials for John, Baron de Reck, envoy extraordinary from the Duke.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Latin*. Letter Book II, p.193.

With:

95(1). 1692–3, Whitehall. Pass for de Reck, returning home through Holland and Hanover.

1p. *Latin*. Letter Book II, p.192.

96. NOTTINGHAM TO VICE-ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE ROOKE

1692–3, March 6. Whitehall. I have waited to answer yours of 26 Feb. until I could give you some account of the King's directions. As to your putting into Cadiz in case you should understand that the French are in those parts with a force superior to yours, you will receive the King's pleasure in it by the Commissioners of the Admiralty, who will take care to send you more credit, as you desire.

'You will receive from the Great Wardrobe a bale of cloth etc. directed to Consul Baker, which I desire you will take care of; it being a present from the King to the Government of Algiers. I recommend likewise to your care the enclosed letter for Consul Baker.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.80.

Enclosing:

96(1). Nottingham to Consul [Thomas] Baker. 1692–3, March 3. Whitehall. 'I send you this by the Admirall of the Mediterranean squadron, who also brings the cloth and brocade which you desired and which his Majesty would have you dispose as you propos'd according as there shall be occasion.

'The 10,000 dollars are remitted to Mr Ball as you proposed, but you must be carefull not to throw away such a sum, but if you can compass the end you design'd of prevailing with that government to break with France, his Majesty will think that money well employed.'

The King would have sent but cannot spare 500 barrels of powder at present. 'The great warr in which he is engaged against France will serve you for an excuse at this time, if it be askt for', and hereafter perhaps by the next opportunity this quantity may be furnished.

'The King has thought fitt not to reclaime any ships that shall be taken by the Algerines without passes; but, however, you will do them all the good offices you can, and particularly insist upon the release of the Englishmen on board any such ship as shall be made prize, which his Majesty would have earnestly prest upon all occasions.

'I have spoke to the King about your returne home, but his Majesty has not yet resolved upon the time, and when he comes back from Flanders, whither he is going in a few days, I will remind his Majesty of your request.'

Note of enclosure: Copy of the King's letter to the Dey of Algiers.

1p. Letter Book IV, pp.79–80.

97. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY

1692-3, March 6. Let me know whether you have a 4th or 5th rate ship available for service in the Irish Sea, and whether the vessel designed for Galway has sailed.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.79.

98. REAR-ADMIRAL MATTHEW AYLMER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692[-3], March 6. *Kent* in Torbay. 'I had given your Lorshipp account of my being before Plymouth on Fryday last, but it blew so hard I could not send my boat ashore without hazarding my stay there that night. Since the wind has blown verry hard from S.W. by S. to W.N.W. with thick weather, which made us loose companie. But most of us are mett heare at the same time. Being willing to give your Lordshipp account of my being heare as soone as I cou'd [I] have not time to examine what conditions the shippes are in, but see the *Hampsheir* has lost her main mast, the *Hope* has wrongd her foremast and a main topmast of one of the fiershipps gone, and there is a 3rd rate missing which I think we see to leeward.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 8 March.*

99. REAR-ADMIRAL MATTHEW AYLMER TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY

1692[-3], March 6. *Kent* in Torbay. [First sentence as in letter to Nottingham.] '... Saturday at noon we had a fine gale to the eastward of the north, then the Lizard bore N.N.E. distant 29 mile. In the evening the wind sprung up at S.W. by S. I stood to the westward while [*sic*] 10 oclock, then tackt, it promising ill weather. About 12 it began to blow very hard with thick rainy weather. In the morning we were not above sixteen ships together, then the wind came to the W.N.W. and N.W. by N., blowing very fresh. I laid by till 12 oclock in hopes the weather clearing something we might see more ships, but beginning to blow very hard and no expectation of it I tackt and stood with my head to the norward under my courses till six at night, then lay by under a mainsail till six this morning, then stood under my courses into the shore, by twelve saw about 40 sail. We have now seven weeks' provisions in the fleet at short allowance, for their honours' orders sent to Sir George Rook could not be put in execution by reason of the bad weather, and when I came on board the wind being fair I thought twas better to make a hard shift then loose such an opportunity. I have sent to the agent for victualling at Plymouth to see what he can supply me withall, however, if the wind in the mean time proves fair though there is little expectation of

it now, I will omitt no opportunity, being willing to give this account of our comeing assoon as I could. I do not yet know what condition the ships are in (only the *Hampshier* who has lost her mainmast and if the wind continues westerly I muste send her to Portsmouth with another ship to take care of her) but if they be as bad as the ship I am in they are fitter for the dock then to buske at sea, for in that little ill weather we have had the pump has never stood still, and about 40 barrells of powder are damaged.' [Concerning the *Hope*, the fireships and the 3rd rate, as to Nottingham.]

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Copy (probably sent to Nottingham from the Admiralty).*

100. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1692-3, March 7. Admiralty Office. In answer to yours of yesterday concerning a fourth or fifth rate to be sent into the Irish seas, the *Prince of Orange*, a hired ship sent 150 leagues west of Ireland as convoy to some merchant ships bound for the Plantations, is daily expected at Plymouth, as is the *Portsmouth* within five or six days.

A letter from the commander of the *Eaglett* ketch, dated at Plymouth on 3 March, reports that he intended to sail next morning for Gallaway [Galway] as ordered.

1p. *Signed (3 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 8 March.*

101. REAR-ADMIRAL MATTHEW AYLMER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692-3, March 8. Torbay. 'Yesterday it blew so hard I could have no account from the captaines of the condition of their shippes. The *Mary* is not heare but I hope your Lordshipp has heard of her at Spitthead. The *Assistance* sailes this day to accompany the *Hampshier* to Spitthead.' Five of the great ships are unfit for the sea, two of which cannot possibly go until their furnaces are rebuilt. The Dutch commander tells me all their men of war and merchantmen are here, but he does not yet know what condition they are in. 'The winds blow fresh from the W. to the N.W. and like to continew soe. Our provisions begin to be spent and I have sent to the victualler at Plymouth to see if I can be suplyd, but find he has but very little there.'

1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 10 March.*

102. REAR-ADMIRAL MATTHEW AYLMER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692[-3], March 9. Torbay. I hear from Dartmouth that the furnaces cannot be done in these parts. The Dutch have provisions, if equally shared, for five weeks. The merchant ships are all here.

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 11 March.*

103. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1692–3, March 9. Whitehall. Enclosing letters for Blathwayt to forward.

Note of enclosures: King of Spain's letters to Governor of Cuba, Governor of Espanola, and General of the Armada of Barlovento.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.81.

104. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY

1692–3, March 10. Whitehall. The King would have you send orders this night to Rear-Admiral Aylmer that if he can make up 17 English and Dutch ships or more, and has victuals sufficient for the voyage or can be supplied out of the ships that are not in a condition to proceed with him, or otherwise, he should with the first opportunity sail in execution of his former orders, and send you an account of what he does herein.

He would have the *Prince of Orange* and *Portsmouth* sent to cruise in the Irish seas, calling in sometimes at such port as you shall think fit, for further orders.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.81.

105. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1692–3, March 10. Admiralty Office. Requesting Nottingham to lay before the King the enclosed copy of a letter from Rear-Admiral Aylmer, and the account he gives of the damage received by the ships under his command.

1p. *Signed (3 signatures).*

Enclosing:

105(1). Rear-Admiral Matthew Aylmer to the Secretary of the Admiralty. 1692–3, March 8. Torbay. [Opening as in letter to Nottingham.] '... This morning I sent to Dartmouth to see if the furnaces of the *Cambridge* and *Hope* can be done by the workmen there in any reasonable time, the carpenters perswading me 'tis a thing they are strangers to, and wilbe very tedious in, besides the motion the ships have together with the greenness of the worke will make it of no security for the sea. I also sent to the commissioner at Plymouth about it', and to the victualling agent to get what little provisions he has. 'The weather looks as it was sett in for westerley winds.'

1p. *Copy.*

105(2). Defects of several ships, appearing by survey. *Cambridge*: brickwork of furnaces worked down, so that they cannot boil any provisions; also made five foot water every watch when at sea. *Hope*: furnaces unserviceable as brickwork in pieces. *Swiftsure*: so leaky at sea that one pump always going; at anchor makes between four and five foot water every watch, and has not been docked for 14 months.

Edgar: obliged to pump every glass when at sea, and every two hours when at anchor. *Kent:* pumps continually at sea, and at anchor makes above four foot water every watch.

1p. *Copy, on reverse of the preceding item.*

106. NOTTINGHAM TO REAR-ADMIRAL MATTHEW AYLMER

1692–3, March 10. Whitehall. I have acquainted the King with yours of the 6th and 8th. His directions thereupon you will receive from the Admiralty. 'I am very sorry for the misfortune that has hindred your proceeding. I wish you good success.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.82.

107. NOTTINGHAM TO LORD GODOLPHIN

1692–3, March 10. Whitehall. The King has ordered Sir John Parsons to attend the Lords of the Treasury tomorrow morning to settle with you how he shall be paid if he proceeds in the contract for the victuals for 34,000 men. He is then to make his proposals to the Council at 5 p.m., so that the whole matter may be laid before the King on Sunday. 'If your Lordship could be at the House of Lords tomorrow by 10 or a little after, wee might dispatch the bill of privateers, which his Majesty desires to have finisht as soon as possible.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.82.

108. THE KING TO ADMIRALS KILLIGREW, DELAVALL AND SHOVELL

1692–3, March 10. Kensington. Authorizing them to keep out of the money imprested to them for contingent services £1,000 to their own use in consideration of their extraordinary expenses in the present expedition.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.83.

109. THE EARL OF BREADALBANE TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, March 11. Edinbrugh. 'I am sorry that my letters from this place should prov lyk Job's messengengers [*sic*], worse and worse. The King has been prevail'd with of late to cast the ballance which he once design'd to mak in the government of this nation. It is now 3 to on and a litle time may mak it 4 to on, the prevalent pairtie having advantages to increase as the other appars to decrease. My Lord, these although so reas'd (and it's only the King's shyning upon them could rease them) wanted a head whom now they hav found of on who wanted a trainee, and that is the Duke of Hamilton, who although he has no kindnes for them, and they as litle for him, yet tools ar necessar to serv the

present turn, although they will fayll him and he them befor they half serv themselves or do any thing for the King, but every day to disoblidge mor of the nation, who at present ar in profound peace and generally speaking never wish a change that will draw on a warr, wherin a wise, soft and easie government ought to lull them asleep, and not by insolence and oppression to mak them mad. My Lord, when wee ar under these apprehensions of the Duke of Hamilton and his assum'd pairtie whil he is but a subject, I leav it to your Lordship as on of the first ministers to judge of our condition, if the King put him in his chair and in his absence, the most unacceptable man in the nation. It's my opinion ther be no parliaments in his Majesties absence; ther is no use for it but to giv mor money or renew the present assessment which may be done as well at the King's return, the last tax not expyring this year, which is the fond of the forces, and if ther be ane invasion on this nation (which I think impossible seing Irland which was the bridge is secur'd), it's not any force wee can rease, but the forces of England that most prevent it in order to preserv you and us with the assistance of all who will appear well affected and good men and such as not to see ther nativ countree destroyed and all that is dear to them to be in the mercie of strangers. And, my Lord, to prevent these inconveniences in the mean time, I beseech your Lordship continow your concern to advyse his Majestie to allow us to leiv easily with sutch as he settis over us, as the greatest motiv can contribut in church and state to this end, for at present wee serv very uneasily and wee ought to regrait it and the King should know of it when your leasur will permitt.'

1½ pp. *Holograph.*

110. VICE-ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE ROOKE TO NOTTINGHAM

1692–3, March 12. Portsmouth. 'Thank you for your letter of the 6th, with one to Consul Baker of Algiers. I shall take care of it and of the bale of cloth when that arrives. 'The Commissioners of the Admiraltie's order to me, as to my proceeding into the Streights, in the circumstance I propos'd, is not soe direct as I could wish. Your Lordship forgott to tell me when and where I must expect the secretarie, and the more I reflect on the inconveniencies that must dayly attend the want of such a person, the more absolutly necessarie I think it for the service that one be appoynted ... I doe humbly offer to your consideration Captain Martin, whoe was Sir Hary Goodricke's secretarie in his embasie to Spayne.'

2pp. *Signed. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 13 March.*

111. REAR-ADMIRAL MATTHEW AYLMER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692–3, March 12. Torbay. 'Since I writt my last ... the Commissioner has sent a mason from Plymouth who undertakes in three or four days to make

the hearths serviceable for a month. When that is finished, if the wind presents which has hitherto been contrary and I hear nothing from the Admiralty or your Lordship, I will make the best of my way; for provisions groweing short and no beer to be had at Plymouth, I think no time is to be lost.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Signed. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 15 March.*

112. 'PROPOSALL ABOUT BILBOA SQUADRON'

1692-3, March 13. 'Rear-Admiral Aylmer to saile away with 14 English and Dutch besides fireships as are in the best condition for the sea; or otherwise to go with 9 English and not lesse then 5 Dutch. *Berwick, Northumberland, Ham[pton] Court, Mary, Rupert, Assistance, Hampshire, Deptford, James gally*, 2 fireships, 5 Dutch and one fireship.'

1p. *Endorsed by Nottingham as here headed, and as received 14 March.*

113. REAR-ADMIRAL MATTHEW AYLMEER TO NOTTINGHAM

1692-3, March 13. Torbay. 'About nine this morning the messinger came aboard. The number pitcht upon by the Admiralty cannot possibly be made up, so many shippes after a second survey being found unfit for the sea.' The condition of the Dutch is as in the enclosed to Lord Portland. They only have provision for four and a half weeks, and if the wind continues contrary for six or seven days, they can none of them go to sea. 'It afflicts me extreemly things should happen so cross but it cannot be avoyded.'

$1\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 15 March.*

114. NOTTINGHAM TO ROBERT WOLSELEY

1692-3, March 14. Whitehall. 'I would have you encourage the correspondent you mention in yours of the 5th and if his intelligence prove materiall and true I will take care he shall have the reward you propose or a greater, if he deserve it, but let him be sure that he write nothing but what is certain.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book II, p.194.

115. NOTTINGHAM TO JOHN ROBINSON

1692-3, March 14. Whitehall. 'Whatever complaints are made in Sweden of cruelty us'd to seamen of the Swedes ships detained lately at Portsmouth, I have never heard them here. I do remember that a privateer, one Holman, did torture some Swedes, but he had his commission cancel'd and was severely prosecuted for it... But these ships at Portsmouth were not stopt by

any privateers but by the Admirall at Portsmouth, who cannot be suspected of such barbarity and most certainly, if true, would have bin complain'd of here... By my last you will see that all occasions of future complaint are taken away by the orders his Majesty has given relating to the Swedes trade with France, which resolution was taken or at least the orders given after the news came hither that Sweden has refused to joine with Denmark in opposition of the 9th Electorate, and is a demonstration that here, at least, the Minister of Sweden was not treated haughtily or with contempt; and I cannot but wonder that it should be so writt into Sweden without any shew of dissatisfaction here, but on the contrary he seemed fully satisfied with the assurances I gave him that Sweden should be pleased; and since the late step in favour of the allies, Count Oxinstjerne here has seen the full effects of what I gave him hopes and reason to expect.'

P.S. 'I have spoke to Monsieur Dankelman about the favours confer'd on Count Bialk's son by the Elector of Brand[enburg], and he protests to me he knows not of any such thing, nor believes it.'

1p. Letter Book II, p.195.

116. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

1692 [-3], March 14. 'Captain South is return'd from Harwich, and brings this account: that the man which for a yeare and half last past rid before the maile has been laid aside ever since Leason was discarded, that there hath been many abuses committed in transporting passengers, conveying letters, and a continuall smuggling of goods; but the present Mayor of Harwich who formerly commanded the packet boate, and without any reason given was put out by Wildman, refuseth to communicate his remarques to any but such as shall bring your Lordship's credentials, with a promise of paying him three hundred pounds due to him when he was put out by Wildman.

'Inclosed is also a list of such officers as are cheifly depended upon by the Jacobites, when any commotion shall arise; but at present they are all utterly at a stand, and their hopes and expectations at the lowest ebb that ever they were since the Revolution. The greate things they were in hopes of from the northern crownes begins to dwindle into smoke, and the Scotch conjunction with the northern Papists and forces from Dunkirke is lost in a fogge. What they wilbe at next I cannot foresee.

'All their discourses this last fortnight has been of the greate alterations that wilbe made at White Hall very suddenly viz: your Lordship is to be made Lord Chancellor of England, for which purpose they say there is a new broad seale cutting, the Lord Rochester Lord Treasurer, the Lord Lexington and Sir John Lowther Secretaries of State, Sir Edward Seymour Treasurer of the Navy etc. This newes whither true or false much disquiets them, for this reason:

that when such greate offices were in many hands, they could make a party with some of them or their dependants, which could not be expected from a single hand.

'I have also in obedience to your Lordship's commands been three times in company with Dr Graham, who sadly complaines of his brother's necessities, and that he is slighted or not trusted by King James's freinds; and therefore has taken up a resolution of going to France as soone as he can get passage. The way he intends to goe is by some French privateer, who (as he saith) doe often put into the northern creekes, and land men both for England and Scotland. Nay if your Lordship will beleive him, he saies French vessells doe often come in and lade corne from thence, which he recounts as a great advantage to those parts, but as to the main he talks with the common rout of assistance from Swedeland and Denmark, of a descent in May, and such like stuffe, with which your Lordship has been sufficiently nausiated.

'I had almost forgot to tell your Lordship that there is one Brocket a kinsman of Mr Francklin put into Leason's place in the Post Office, who (if it were possible) is ten times a greater knave than Leason. Fifteen yeares agoe he was put out of the Post Office for cheating the King; he is a notorious debauch and scandalous person, and an avowed enemy to the government.'

1½ pp. *Holograph but unsigned.*

Enclosing on a separate slip in Kingston's hand:

116(1). 'A list of the Jacobite officers': Earls of Feversham and Salisbury; Lords Griffin, Newbrough, Forbes; Colonel Bernard Howard; Major-General Dorrington; Sir John Fenwick; Sir Theophilus Oglethorp; Colonels Sackville, Orte, Norton, Parker, Ingram, Stawel, Fountaine, Olivant, Bray, Browne, Bludworth, Talbot, Duncomb, Abbercrony, Filpot, Matthewes, Butley, Mackcarty, Burke, Hacker, Murrey, Munroe, Brereton, Grimes; Majors Hastings, Foster, Stretton, Wilson, Monke, Walden, Sympson, Craddock, Hurst, Berkly; Captains St. George, Ely, Blare, Ogleby, Fitzgerrald, Fowlis, Munroe, Campbel, Montgomery, Thimbleby, Dale, Berresford, Segrave, Dorrington, Higgins.

117. THE KING TO THOMAS COX

1692-3, March 15. Kensington. Instructions for his proceedings on reaching Boston.

2½ pp. Letter Book IV, pp.86-8. *With memorandum in the margin that these instructions were not to be used, 'Mr Cox excusing himself from going'.*

118. THE KING TO THE KING OF SWEDEN

1692-3, March 16. Whitehall. Recredentials for Gabriel Oxenstierne, envoy extraordinary from the King of Sweden, now returning home.

1p. *Latin.* Letter Book II, p.196.

119. THE KING TO THE ELECTOR OF BAVARIA

1692–3, March 16. Whitehall. Recredentials for Andreas Benite, chamberlain to and envoy extraordinary from the Duke of Bavaria, now returning home.

1p. *Latin*. Letter Book II, p.197.

120. BY THE KING

1692–3, March 16. Whitehall. Ratification of the act executed at Dresden on 20 Feb./2 March by Sir William Dutton Colt, envoy extraordinary from the King to the Elector of Saxony, and Walravus, Baron Heckeren, Lord of Nettelhorst and Count Zutphen, envoy extraordinary from the States General, concurring in the treaty made between the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony at Dresden on 20 Feb./2 March concerning payment to the Elector of subsidies in exchange for troops for allied service.

2pp. *Latin*. Letter Book II, pp.198–9. (For other copies of these and related papers see George Stepney's entry book of treaties and treaty papers, SP 105/83, ff.19–32, and unpublished calendar.)

121. BY THE KING

1692–3, March 16. Whitehall. Ratification of the act executed at Hanover on 30 Dec. 1692 by Sir William Dutton Colt concurring in the inclusion of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, in the Grand Alliance concluded at Vienna on 12 May 1689 between the Emperor and the States General.

5½ pp. *Latin*. Letter Book II, pp.200–5. (See also SP 105/83, ff.8–16.)

With:

121(1). 1692–3, March 16. Whitehall. Similar ratification by the King of the act of 30 Dec. concurring in the inclusion of George William, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, in the Grand Alliance.

6 pp. *Latin*. Letter Book II, pp.206–11.

122. THE KING TO THE SENATE OF HAMBURG

1692–3, March 16. Whitehall. Your envoy, Lucas de Bostel, who must not return without our commendation, will tell you what favour we have shown you in the despatch of your ships, thereby giving no small proofs of our goodwill towards you. We hope that you will do nothing in this present war to lessen our friendly inclinations towards you.

1p. *Latin*. Letter Book II, p.212.

With:

122(1). 1692–3, March 20. Kensington. Pass for Bostel and his entourage going to Holland, signed by Nottingham for the King.

1p. *Latin*. Letter Book II, p.213.

123. THE KING TO SIR WILLIAM PHIPPS, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

1692–3, March 16. Whitehall. [This and no.123(1) are entered under date 23 Feb.; see above, nos.79–80. This second copy contains the additional memorandum:]

‘This letter and the following letter to the Governor of New York were transcribed and signed by the Queen (the clause concerning the sending Mr Coxe being left out in each of them). Dated Whitehall, the 6th day of Aprill, 1693.’ [The clause in question, which is different from that in nos. 79–80, states here that for the better explaining our royal intentions ‘wee have sent ... Thomas Coxe Esq. to informe you of all things relating to this expedition’, and in no.123(1) ‘to informe you and our Governor of the Massachusetts Bay’.]

2½ pp. Letter Book IV, pp.88–90.

Enclosing:

123(1). The King to Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York. 1692–3, March 16. Whitehall. [See nos. 80 and 123.]

2pp. Letter Book IV, pp.91–2. *With memorandum:* ‘This and my Lord’s letter to Colonel Fletcher were enclosed to Sir William Phipps’.

124. MONSIEUR DE LANGES-MONMIRAL TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693], March [17/]27. Amsterdam. I have just received a note on the business of which I last wrote to you. As it concerns the service of the King, my lord and master, I thought it my duty to send it you.

1p. *French.*

Enclosing:

124 (1). ‘Si Monsieur de Ruigny eut connu Laussau aussi particulierement que moy, il ne l’ût pas cautionné, mais il l’a fait à la persuasion de certaines gens dont le zelle pour la religion est un peu trop ardent. Laussau est un homme de qui on doit tout craindre ou tout esperer suivant l’intention qui la fait sortir. Il est hardy, intrepide, et resolu dans toutes ses enterprises jusques à la temerité, rien ne le surprend ny ne lestonne. Il semble estre né pour les actions les plus extraordinaires soient bonnes ou mauvaises. Il se porte avec une egale ardeur vers les unes et les autres. Ainsy je croy quil est de la prudence de ceux qui ont soin de la conservation de sa Majesté d’esloigner d’elle, sur tout en campagne, un homme aussi dangereux, toutefois avec quelque bienseance, car il se peut quil est venu icy à bonnes intentions. Mr de Ruigny pourroit lemmener en Irlande. Pour confirmer que ma crainte n’est pas sans fondement c’est que quand on afferit quil estoit en arrest tous ceux de Bergerac fremirent pour luy depeur quil eut entrepris quelque chose de mauvais.’

¾ p.

125. RICHARD BEAUVOIR TO NOTTINGHAM

[1692–3, March 20.] ‘By a letter of the 10th instent from Garneze [Guernsey] thay have advise that pilotes had past by St. Mallos to gooe to Rouen to fech the gallies that are thaire to convoye them to Brest ... He sais further that the Malouins say thay hav lost this winter 12 of thair capers. This advise cometh by one Le Pellé, master of a vessell imploy’d to cary over prisoners to St. Mallos.’

1p. *Holograph. Seal of arms. Endorsed by Nottingham with date.*

126. ARCHIBALD COCKBURN TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, March 20. Utrecht. I did not trouble you with acknowledging your reply to the letter I wrote you when I came to this country, ‘judgeing it impertinente to importune your Lordship who has the manadgement of soe many and weighty affaires, but ... I could not reeste satisfied with the assurances the Pensionaire of Holland was pleas’d to give me that he should acquainte your Lordship with the States’ being convinced of my innocence and ingenuity, and that they thereupon had been pleas’d to assure me of their protection, without assuring your Lordship from my-selfe ... that I never entertain’d the leaste thought of so meane a thing as that of giving intelligence, or doeing what in least might tend to the prejudice of those under who’s protection I live, of which the States suspected and therefor imprisson’d me for some dayes till I had the happinesse to make my-selfe known to them’.

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 26 March.*

127. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

1692 [-3], March 21. ‘Besides my owne suspition, I have collected some darke discoveries about the counterfeiting your Lordship’s seale; and if your Lordship will be pleas’d to give me any further light, I hope I shalbe able to give your honour satisfaction in that matter, for which end I beg your honour’s leave to wait on your Lordship on Thursday night or sooner if your honour pleaseth.’

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Holograph but unsigned.* (On this see further nos. 442 and 446 below.)

128. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY

1692–3, March 22. Whitehall. The King would have you speed the report about the ships at Dunkirk. Lord Falkland should bring to the Council tomorrow a list of the English privateers with the number of men allowed to each.

The admirals of the fleet having desired an addition of two fifth rate ships,

needed as scouts, you are if possible to give order that this be done. You are also to direct the victuallers of the navy to lay up in Guernsey dry provisions for 500 men for two months; and to order for that island a large boat or shallop with oars, an eight-oar boat and twelve able seamen.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, pp.83-4.

129. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1692-3, March 22. Admiralty Office. In answer to your letter of the 14th, touching the charges which Mr Parker, consul at Corunna, has been at in taking care of seamen put on shore there, it was some time since agreed at the cabinet at Kensington that moneys disbursed on such occasions by consuls should be repaid them by the Treasury, on their drawing bills for the same; 'and as to the said Mr Parker's disposing of the aforesaid men, 'tis our opinion that they ought to be sent hither in the packet boate, or by any other convenience that shall offer, and be deliver'd onboard any of their Majesties' ships, or else into the custody of some person on shoare, till such time as they can be disposed of.'

1p. *Signed (3 signatures).*

130. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1692-3, March 22. Admiralty Office. The principal officers of the Ordnance having proposed putting on board five of the second rate ships cannon of seven for their lower tier in lieu of demi-cannon, we communicated the proposal to the Commissioners of the Navy for their opinion; a copy of which we enclose.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Signed (3 signatures)*

Enclosing:

130(1). Extract from a letter from the Navy Board. 1692 [-3], March 20. We can by no means concur with the proposal to put cannon of seven into the lower tier of five second rates instead of demi-cannon, and apply the demi-cannon to five of the new ships of 80 guns, 'their Majesties' ships being in our opinion generally over gunn'd already as to the quality thereof, and so weakned and worn by the weight of their ordnance that to us it seems more reasonable considering their crazy circumstances to lessen than augment the same, if the service would permit it.'

1p. *Copy.*

131. ISRAEL FIELDING TO THE QUEEN

[1693, on or before March 25.] Petition stating that he served as Comptroller of the Provisions from the Queen's accession until the reduction of Ireland made the employment no longer necessary. The King then sent for

him to take in charge the stores of provisions for the forces put on shipboard under the Duke of Leinster, making him commissary general of provisions for the purpose. Since then, on his petition for some consideration for his four years' service upon temporary establishments, his Majesty proposed to add him to the number of the Commissioners for Victualling the Navy with a view to serving them abroad, either by issuing provisions as directed by them while acting as commissary general of provisions for the land forces, or as Commissioner at Sea; and praying her Majesty's directions herein, particularly because Mr How (a commissioner of that board) lies at the point of death, 'which happening, will reduce the charge into itts fomer channell'. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph*. (James Howe died on 25 March and on 25 April the King commanded the Admiralty to make Fielding a victualler in his place, as recommended in no.167 below.)

132. NOTTINGHAM TO THE KING

1693, March 25. 'The Earl of Bathe and the Lord Lansdowne are joynt Lords Lieutenant of Devon and Cornwall and city of Exeter and also Governours of Plimouth, and both these commissions are onely during your Majesty's pleasure. 'The onely peers that I know of that county are the Earl of Radnor, the Lord Arundell of Trerize and the Lord Godolphin. I believe the last will not care to be a Lord Lieutenant; and the first * both for his quality and upon other accounts will be the fittest for such a station.

'But I think no man will be more proper for the Government of Plimouth then Major Generall Trelawney who is of that countrey, and I am confident very faithfull to your Majesty. The last year upon the apprehension of an invasion, which was a time of tryall, he offer'd his service with great zeal to be employ'd in any manner as your Majesty should judge him usefull; I might add that the bestowing so considerable a post upon a man of his principles would at this time be very expedient in my humble opinion which I submitt always to your Majesty's.

'I do not remember that your Majesty did fully resolve that Sir C. Shovell should be a Commissioner of the Navy; but I must beg your Majesty's favour to him in this matter, for as he does deserve it so I am sure 'twill be much for your Majesty's service as well as his satisfaction.'

1p. *Holograph draft, much corrected. Endorsed by Nottingham*: 'my letter to the King'. (In the event the Earl of Bath stayed on as lieutenant of both counties, his son being dropped from the commissions on 25 May. In 1696 Radnor did succeed him in Cornwall and Trelawny in Plymouth. Shovell joined the Navy Board on 27 April.)

* *Deleted at this point*: 'will be more agreable to one party then the second who is very zealously of the episcopall party'.

133. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, March 25. Harwich. 'His Majesty arrived well here last night about seven of the clock but found the wind contrary as it now continues very strong, which makes his Majesty seem to resolve, if there be no alteration of weather, to return to London on Monday and from thence, when the wind shall prove fair, take shipping in the river.'

The commissions I received from you yesterday to be signed by his Majesty are so returned to you, except that he has respited the signing of the blank commission for the Isle of Wight and the English commission for Sir Thomas Livingston, 'which with the Scotch one his Majesty order'd me to keeep in my hands'. The vacancies of lieutenant and cornet in Lord Berkeley's regiment have been filled up, according to the rule, by reformed officers of Langston's late regiment in Flanders, who are a charge to the King. However, to gratify Lord Berkeley, whose note I read out, he signed one of the commissions, and left the other to be filled up in Flanders.

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 26 March.*

134. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, March 26. Harwich. The enclosed is for the Queen [not enclosed]. 'The wind continues in the same corner, and if it do not change to morrow I believe his Majesty will go as farr as Colchester in the afternoon. If I do not see you again, I beg that Mr Cox may be dispatcht or some body else in his room, for the service presses very much. And that the Baron Fedel de la Tour may be remembred for £100 due to him for the last year.'

P.S. 'Just now I understand his Majesty resolves to sett out to morrow at 8 in the morning so as to reach Chelmsford if the wind do not come fair.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 27 March.*

135. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, March 27] at 11 Monday morning. Harwich. 'The wind continues contrary and his Majesty is just now gone in his coach to Colchester so as to be there this evening and in case the wind do not change to be at London to morrow or if it do to return hither. I am returning with the yachts to the river so that I may in all probability wait on your Lordship within a day or two.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received on 28 March at 8.30 a.m.*

136. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, March 28. Admiralty Office. We are replying to your letter of 23 March [not entered] signifying the King's pleasure that we should consider what needs to be done at Falmouth. As soon as the persons appointed by the Navy Board to survey Falmouth can be spared from the services they are now employed on, they will be sent there, and as soon as we have their report a copy will be sent to you.

1p. *Signed (3 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 30 March.*

137. NOTTINGHAM TO MATTHEW PRIOR

1693, March 28. Whitehall. 'In answer to your letter about the French seamen that are put on shore here by the Dutch capers I must tell you it is far from an advantage to us by the exchange, for by our capitulation with the French all taken at sea are mutually to be sent back without regard to the disproportion of numbers, so that the French landed here by the Dutch are purely a burden and charge, which ought to be prevented.'

½p. Letter Book II, p.214.

138. CAPTAIN EDWARD POULSON TO JAMES SOTHERNE

1693, March 30. *St. Albans* prize, Downs. The *St. Domingo*, Emanuel Duart master, taken by the French about eleven months ago, left Brest a week last Sunday and came into the Downs at 1 a.m. today. In her was an Englishman named John Moody, formerly chief mate of the *Brittania*, Captain Warren commander, which was taken by the French on 19 July 1692 and carried into Lisbon. Moody lost his left hand in defence of the ship before she was taken. 'He lives at the Hermitage at the signe of the three cables and is this day going as a passenger to London, so that if their Lordships want any more particulars ... he will attend their pleasure.' The ship in which he came into the Downs came from Brest on the 19th, and he says that about ten days before he came away ten ships came in from cruising about the North Cape, three carrying 90 guns, the rest about 60. A squadron of 18 sail lay in the bay ready to sail and more were expected. Four of the squadron carried 100 guns, the rest between 60 and 70. Their design is kept private.

1p. *Copy. Endorsed as received from Sotherne 31 March.*

139. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY

1693, March 31. Whitehall. The King would have you furnish Thomas Fotherby, commissary general of provisions for the land forces lately sent to

the West Indies, with credit for £5,000 in New England for the use of the said forces, to be made payable to the commander in chief in case of Fotherby's death.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.85.

140. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, March 31. Admiralty Office. Desiring him to signify, with reference to the enclosed letter, what species of provisions are to be sent to Guernsey.

1p. *Signed (3 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham as proposed to the Council 6 April.*

Enclosing:

140(1). The Victuallers of the Navy to the Navy Board. 1693, March 29. Victualling Office. By yours of the 23rd you direct us to send dry provisions for 500 men for two months to Guernsey without saying what kind of provisions. The last time we sent to Jerzey, on 21 Jan. 1689–90, we sent only bread, Cheshire cheese and salt. If the provisions are to be according to the proportion allowed the seamen, please state this.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

141. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, ? March.] 'I forgot my self in Captain Southes accompt, this weeke makes it a month, and fee and entring his appearance the first day of the terme £1, counsel's fee and fees for his discharge £1, and if when your Lordship's hand is in your honour is pleased to allow Mr Keate £2 10s. I will give it him.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph but unsigned.*

142. THE KING TO THE ELECTOR PALATINE

[1693, March or April.] Condolences on the death of the Elector's sister Leopolde Eleonore Josephe, Countess Palatine of the Rhine [d. 26 Feb./8 March 1693].

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.215 (entered between 28 March and 11 April).

143. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, March or April.] 'The letter in cypher relating only to the affaires of Scotland renders it more difficult than any thing of England could doe, because it puts me upon inquiries by peicemeales, that I may not overburden my memory, nor give them cause of suspition: hoever this weeke will see it finished. I finde Dr Wallis complaining of something too hard for him. Pray,

my Lord, if he hath returned it, give me the honour of viewing it, for a tryall of skill. The two persons that I told your Lordship came lately on shore have been ever since October coming from St. Jermans and know nothing. One of them was a servant to the Duke of Gourdon. If your Lordship would examine him, he is alwaies to be found. Of Delany in custody your Lordships [*sic*] shall have a good account next weeke, and of other things that I have now no time to write, being wholly taken up with attending the generall account that is to be sent to France. I have not time to write to Sir John Trenchard this morning. I beg your Lordship to communicate this to him. The horses I spake of in my last are in the custody of Captain Ryder, Leivetenant of Whittlewood Forrest. He was formerly a captain in the Lord of Oxford's regiment and is the greate confident of Feversham, Fenwick, Oglethorp, etc.'

1p. *Holograph but unsigned.*

144. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, ? March or April.] 'The promise made me of seeing Mr Lesly on Monday (like many other things I meete with) is hitherto come to nothing. I am in hopes of better success, but dare not warrant it. The letter for France wilbe written on Thursday; it staies only for an account what cash is in the Treasury, and what debts are upon the land tax and publick revenue.

'Captain South gives his duty and service to your Lordship, and desired me to acquaint your honour that he beleives himself not able to doe their Majesties farther service in this kind; and therefore begs your honour that he may doe it with his sword, or what else your Lordship is pleas'd to command him.

'Good my Lord, consider consider [*sic*] my great expences, and numerous family who are all out of sorts; and make me easy at home, which I cannot be whilst I spend a wife's estate in the service of the publick.'

1p. *Holograph but unsigned.*

145. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, ? March or April.] 'As soone as the particulars of the letter was agreed on I left the company; as wel to avoide suspition as to attend other buisnes. It is directed to Leiuetennant Rainsford, the wax black, the seale a head. Good my Lord, if it be possible assist me in the Scotch affaires, for there is some damnable designe enterprising against that country, which lies so darke I cannot yet discover it, because Sir James Montgomery is hid.

'The accompt from the Exchequer was given by Mr Gritton clerke to Mr Warder.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph but unsigned.*

146. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR THOMAS COOKE

1693, April 1. Whitehall. The King, having considered the petition of the East India Company against the proceeding of the ship *Edward* upon the intended voyage, thinks that the best expedient will be for the Company to treat with the owners of that ship and its lading and agree with them for the sale thereof to the Company. You must let me know what is done with all speed, that I may lay it before the Queen on Tuesday, and give the King an account of it by that night's post.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.84.

147. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO
NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 3. Admiralty Office. When a tartan was sent out from Plymouth some time since to investigate the enemy's preparations at Brest, two French Protestants with great willingness went in her. But the vessel being taken by the French, we understand from Captain Greenhill that they are in great danger of being sent to the galleys. We earnestly recommend you to use such means as you shall judge most proper to prevent this punishment, and have them exchanged instead for some French prisoners here, which will be a great encouragement to others to hazard themselves on similar occasions.

1p. *Signed (5 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 April.*

148. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO
NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 3. Admiralty Office. With reference to the enclosed letter, we are of opinion that some speedy directions from her Majesty are needed concerning the men of war and merchantmen at Spithead.

1p. *Signed (5 signatures).*

Enclosing:

148 (1). Sir George Rooke to the Admiralty. 1693, March 31. Spithead. 'I understand by Rear-Admiral Aylmer that the admirals of the fleet have sent the *Plymouth*, *York*, *Mary* and *Rupert* to cruise in proper stations for the discovery of the enemy, and that they have ordered the third rates of the line of battle here and in Portsmouth harbour away to the Downs, so that I would be glad of your Lordships' directions what measures I shall take for the security of the fleet, in case the enemy appear on this coast, for I cannot but think it infinitely exposed and am very apprehensive of the consequence should they make any attempt upon us.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Extract.*

149. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 3/13. Hague. 'The enclosed from the King goes by a packet boat sent away express ... His Majesty never had a better passage.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 6 April.*

Enclosing:

149(1). 1693, April 3/13. Hague. 'On Fryday last in the afternoon his Majesty went onboard the Mary yacht at Gravesend, being attended by the Duke of Ormond, the Earle of Essex and other persons of quality, and fell down to the Buoy of the Nore, where he came to an anchor at night, and the next morning early, after having been onboard the *Brittania* and some other men of warr that lye there, his Majesty sett saile again and landed yesterday about four in the afternoon near the Hook of Holland, and having dined at the Heer Van Reinenberg's at Naldwike, his Majesty came hither about tenn at night and was received by the burgers in arms with the discharge of several vollys of small shott, the whole town showing the greatest satisfaction in his Majesty's safe arrivall.

'The Prince of Denmark is here and will have audience incognito of his Majesty this afternoon.'

1p. (The first paragraph was published substantially unchanged in the *London Gazette*, 6–10 April 1693, under the dateline Hague, [4/14 April].)

150. INFORMATION FROM DR RICHARD KINGSTON

[1693, cApril 4.] 'John Clerke lodgeth at the Earle of Peterborough's. I can pump nothing out of him; but he being one of the greatest cowards in nature, I know not what his feares may produce.

'I have at length discovered some of Mr Lesly's accomplices, several of his papers are seised, and some of the sheetes of his booke against Dr King corrected, in the hands of Milburne the printer, and the rest in the custody of one Wallis, and Captain Hambledon; but your Lordship being out of towne and the matter requiring hast, the three last were examined by the new Secretary [Trenchard] and committed to Newgate.

'Mr Smith [presumably Aaron Smith, Treasury solicitor and public prosecutor], knowing they cannot proceed without my farther directions, asked me if I would see the new Secretary, but I have hitherto refused it, and told him I would acquaint my Lord Cheife Justice with what I knew. If your Lordship think it fitt for me to see him I will doe it, otherwise I shall persevere in refusing. [Kingston did see Trenchard on Wednesday 12 April: see no.173 below.]

'Hambledon being seised, Mr Lesly remooved his quarters, but I am sure to finde him ere long, and set that whole matter in its true light.

'Little Parker staid but two nights in London, and went into Lancashire, from whence he is expected in a fortnight, and then he shall have much adoe to escape the hands of justice.

'The carrying away silver cisterns from White hall, and much of the best

furniture from Hampton Court and Windsor Castle, makes a horrible noyse. 'A person of quality came lately from Denmark, spent only twelve houres with Prince George, and rode immediatly for Scotland; this, my Lord, fills us with variety of conjectures but the man, nor his message, is not yet knowne.

'Mr Dallyon (the French man, but English minister) that I have formerly represented to your Lordship as a very busy and intelligent person, I finde is inclinable to come in, if he may not be made an evidence, and I want your Lordship's directions how to manage my selfe and him in this matter.'

1p. *Holograph but unsigned. Endorsed:* 'Clark known by Morris'. (Warrants for the apprehension of Charles Leslie, James Hamilton and Hugh Hamilton were issued on 1 April. Hugh Hamilton was committed to Newgate the same day, and Richard Wallace on 3 April. James Hamilton and Alexander Milbourn were taken a few days later. Milbourn was bound over at the Old Bailey for printing a libel. James Daillon was committed to Newgate for preaching treason in August, but acquitted the following February.)

151. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, April 4. Whitehall. 'The morning on which the King went away I acquainted the merchants concern'd in the ships design'd for the East Indies that his Majesty would not permit them to proceed on their voyage but they might treat with the Company for those ships and their lading, his Majesty having commanded me to signify his pleasure to the Company to agree with them upon just and reasonable terms, and accordingly I wrote to Sir Thomas Cooke who sent to treat with them, but they have absolutely refused to dispose of their ships to the Company as you will see by a copy of their answer to Sir Thomas Cooke; and both they and the Company having presented the enclosed petitions to the Queen this day her Majesty has commanded me to give you this account that you may lay it before the King for his Majesty's final determination whether the ships shall go or not, and I am to desire you to procure it and sent it to me by the first opportunity, for a delay will frustrate their voyage and be as effectuell a denyall as a direct negative.

'I must upon this occasion tell you that the merchants interested in these ships do not only think they had the King's permission but do insist upon it as law by the opinion of the present judges that they have a liberty of trading to the East Indies notwithstanding the Company's charter which without Act of Parliament cannot exclude any others from that trade. And this case being considered with all its circumstances and particularly that they are obliged to bring home a considerable quantity of salt petre which will be extreemly

wanted, almost every one of the cabinet council is of opinion that his Majesty should be pleased not to stop them any longer. And I must add one reason more which is that though the King may lay an embargo in time of warr upon any trade, yet I believe he cannot give leave to some and deny it to others who have otherwise a right to that trade; and this being a case that will raise much clamour I should be sorry it should give an occasion of complaining of the King's power of laying an imbargo and of lessening so necessary a prerogative.

'I have prepared a draught of the regulations of the East India Company's charter and read it at the cabinet council and sent it to the Company.

'I have spoke to Mr Coxe and prest him to be gone, but he told me on Saturday that he could not be ready in ten days and I found plainly he had no mind to go at all, and would delay it till t'was too late, and he has since writ me a letter wherein he sais his health will not permit him nor is he proper for that employment, and I now think what I told him, that he never intended it, but his Majesty would conclude that he took this pretext to get an extravagant bill of extraordinaries allowed, that being obtain'd he gives no other reasons for his refusing to obey the King's orders but such as he might and should have given at first. I will endeavour to get some other person to go upon this errand, tho' I fear it will be impossible to find one that can be ready to go so soon as is requesite, for a few days will make it too late.

'Just before the King went away he askt me for the warrant for the Governor of the Isle of Wight which I told him was in your hands, but least you should have mislaid it in the hurry you were in at Harwich I have sent you another that you may get his Majesty's hand to it, filling up the blank as his Majesty shall direct, for I think he was resolved upon the person.

'I suppose you know that the battalion of Colonel Erle is quarter'd at Plymouth and commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Freke, which I mention that you may know his Majesty's pleasure whether it shall still remaine there, or that it shall be exchanged for any other.

'I have sent you the letters of revocation of Mr Poley and the credentials of Mr Aglionby whom his Majesty design'd to succeed Mr Poley' at the court of Savoy. Please forward to Mr Poley his revocation and the letters to the Duke and Duchess of Savoy if the King wishes him to leave before Mr Aglionby's arrival. Otherwise return everything to me to forward to Mr Aglionby in Spain, whence he is to go to Turin.

'I did upon this occasion and upon the sickness of my Lord George Douglas propose Mr Poley to the King for his envoye to Sweden and the rather because he speaks Dutch which is a very necessary qualification for that court.

'At the desire of Mr Booth I must pray you to know his Majesty's pleasure touching his petition [see *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, p. 74], which was laid before his Majesty at the Treasury.'

Note of enclosures: Merchants' answer to Sir Thomas Cooke; petition of merchants; petition of East India Company; warrant for Governor of Isle of Wight; revocation of Poley; credentials of Aglionby; Queen's letter to Duchess of Savoy.

3pp. Letter Book III, pp.165-7.

152. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 4/14. Hague. The King commands me to send you the enclosed letter from the States General for appropriate action [see no.167].

May I remind you that the Baron de la Tour is pressing hard for £200, being one half year's pension due to him last Christmas, which I promise to send him by every post.

'The Prince of Denmark had yesterday audience of the King in his closett incognito, came this morning to court and had his audience of congé this afternoon in the same manner, being gone this evening to Amsterdam on his way to Denmark.'

1½ pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 8 April. Enclosing in Blathwayt's hand on a separate slip:* 'Enclosed your Lordship receives the warrant filled up for my Lord Cutz to be Governor of the Isle of Wight which should have been sent from Harwich.'

153. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR WILLIAM PHIPPS

1693, April 6. Whitehall. 'You will see by the enclosed from her Majesty [see no.123] her great care of the welfare of her subjects in America, and how good an opportunity you will have of preventing all future dangers from the French to the Massachusets and neighbouring colonies. You, that so generously undertooke a late expedition against the enemy, will not fail in promoting to the utmost their Majestys' designs, and by a vigorous concurrence at this time endeavour to repair the ill success of the last attempt. This notice is sent to you by express, that all possible diligence may be used in making the necessary preparations on your part to be ready to joine with their Majestys' forces and men of warr upon their arrivall in New England, that this enterprise may not be frustrated by any unhappy delay.'

Please forward the enclosed [see no.123(1)] to the Governor of New York, and as soon as possible order the vessel which brought this to return to England.

'I hope you will not fail to make all the people under your government

sensible of their Majestys' great favour and goodness to them, not only by establishing their just rights and libertys, and by many gracious concessions in the charter lately given you, but by sparing so considerable a strength for their support at this time, while the great power of the enemy presses so very hard upon their Majestys nearer home, so that in gratitude as well as for your owne preservation you are obliged to do all that lies in your power that their Majestys' expectations may not be defeated, and so lucky a conjuncture lost of freeing yourselves from so dangerous a neighbour as the French.'

1½ pp. Letter Book IV, pp.93–4.

With: Queen's letters to Phipps [see no.123] and to Fletcher [see no.123(1)]; Nottingham's letters to Fletcher [no.157] and to Mather [no.154]. (This packet was itself enclosed in Nottingham's letter to Greenhill [no.156].)

154. NOTTINGHAM TO INCREASE MATHER

1693, April 6. Whitehall. Thanking him for his letters and repeating 'the assurances which I often gave you, when you were here, that I would take all opportunities of promoting the welfare of your colony as well as of doing any particular service to your self', and informing him of the orders sent to Sir William Phipps: 'and tho' I cannot doubt but the people of your province will heartily concurr with all their force upon this occasion, which is so much for their owne advantage, yet I must earnestly recommend it to you to make them sensible of it, and I am sure your assistance will justly entitle you to their Majestys' favour and the esteem of all who wish well to their country and the parts adjacent, whose future peace and security will greatly depend upon the success of this enterprize; and no considerable success can be expected without a vigorous concurrence of their Majestys' subjects in America, and especially of the Massachusets province.

'But I need not use arguments to perswade you to advance so good a work. Your owne zeal and affection to their Majestys' service and the publick interest will sufficiently prompt you to it; and I heartily wish you may succeed in your endeavours, to your owne honour and the prosperity of that countrey.'

1p. Letter Book IV, p.94.

155. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, April 7. Whitehall. 'The news of his Majesty's safe arrivall in Holland was very welcome.

'I told you in my last that Mr Coxe would not go to New England; that I would endeavour to get some other fit person. I spoke to Mr Secretary Trenchard of it and he has recommended Major Manley, who is willing to undertake a voyage to the West Indies though he is not yet acquainted with

the place nor the errand, but considering that the letters which the King sign'd are still here with the Virginia fleet, and that the Governors in America have no notice of the purport of them, and that all possible expedition should be us'd in giving them account of his Majesty's intentions that they may make preparations accordingly, the Queen has sign'd letters to the effect of the former, and order'd them to be sent to Galway and from thence caried to New England by the ketch. And if his Majesty would have Major Manley (who having pretended to the government of New York is not perhaps so fitt) or any other person sent, he may go with the Virginia fleet which is still detained here. 'The enclosed is the substance of what the late Lords Justices desire for a pardon, upon which you will send me his Majesty's pleasure.'

Note of enclosures: Queen, the Earl of Portland and Treasury to the King; copy of late Lord Justices' request.

1p. Letter Book III, p.168.

156. NOTTINGHAM TO CAPTAIN DAVID GREENHILL

1693, April 7. Whitehall. Sending him the Queen's orders for his sailing to New England with all speed, and a packet for Sir William Phipps, Governor of the Massachusetts Bay [no.153]; with directions to throw the packet overboard rather than let it come into the enemy's hands.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.95.

With:

156(1). Greenhill's sailing orders from the Queen. 1693, April 7. Whitehall. Signed by Nottingham.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.96.

157. NOTTINGHAM TO COLONEL BENJAMIN FLETCHER

1693, April 7. Whitehall. Enclosing his instructions [see no.123(1)], 'which will show you sufficiently what their Majestys expect from you, and I need no arguments to perswade you to your duty in any case but much less in this which suits you well with your owne wishes and has so fair a prospect of success, to the great advantage of the province under your command and of your neighbours.'

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.97.

158. NOTTINGHAM TO VISCOUNT SYDNEY

1693, April 7. Whitehall. The bearer, one of their Majesties' messengers, being despatched with a letter to Captain Greenhill of the *Eaglett* ketch [no.156], with orders to sail to New England with a packet for Sir William Phipps [no.153] concerning operations against the French in conjunction

with Sir Francis Wheeler's squadron, the Queen would have you assist the messenger to 'receive all dispatch in his journey from Dublin to Galway, whither the said ketch is ordered', and also to direct the Governor or Mayor of Galway to hire a suitable vessel to carry the packet, in case the messenger arrives before the *Eaglett*; authorizing the master of such vessel to open the letter directed to Captain Greenhill and pursue the directions contained in it. 'I need not recommend it to your Excellency to order that the master of it be a man of knowne honesty and diligence, and that this matter be managed with as much secrecy as the nature of it will bear.'

1p. Letter Book IV, pp.97-8.

159. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 7/17. Hague. 'We have had no letter from Whitehall since those of Fryday being the day we left England and nothing has hapned here more then that His Majesty having been present in the States Generall and Councill of State as usuall and dispatch't severall things necessary for the campagne does intend to go to Loo to morrow from whence it is uncertain whether his Majesty will return to this place or go directly into the field.

'The French are moving towards their frontier towns but no discovery can yet be made what their first design may be.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 April.*

160. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 7/17. Whitehall [*recte* Hague]. 'The post was just going away and the King preparing for his journey to Loo to morrow early in the morning when the English letters arrive[d] of the 4th instant.' The King answered the Queen's letter and read yours but deferred discussing it 'till the next post, so that all I have in command at present is to send your Lordship the enclosed informations concerning the French fleet (which I beg pardon that I have no time to translate) and to lett your lordship know his Majesties pleasure that the Mediterranean squadron be now hastned out, the disappointments lately hapned to the French in those seas making it the more necessary and practicable.'

P.S. 'I thought the enclosed letter from Sir P[aul] Rycaut proper to be sent to England.'

2pp. *Holograph. Not endorsed, so presumably sent with no.159.*

Enclosing:

160(1). *In Blathwayt's hand on a separate slip.* 'I wonder at the behavior of Mr Cox nor can I think of anyone but Mr Bowles to supply his place if it not be too late.'

160(2). Sir Paul Rycaut to Blathwayt. 1693, April 4. Hambourg. 'We are at this present without 4 mailles from England, which is the more grievous unto us, because we are hourly impatient to heare of his Majesties safe arrivall in Holland.

'I have little to adde unto my last of the 31st of March, only that I have used all endeavours possible to seize H[asfelt], and such measures are taken as may probably succeed ... Mr Batt, who hath beene employed by orders from the Commissioners of the Navy to survey the ships at Lubeck which are there building, and which I intimated to the Earl of Nottingham to be such as might be fit for his Majesties navy as 2nd or 3rd rate ships, and which might be built for half the mony that they can be in England ... hath according to his orders taken an exact survey of them, which he sent into England about 6 weekes or 2 months agoe; but having received no answer thereunto, he remains in this place without businesse, not knowing what to act; and the proprietors and carpenters of the ships, not knowing what to doe, live in a kind of suspense, not being able to proceed in the finishing of the great ship nor willing to dispose of her otherwise untill they have the intimation that His Majestie hath refused her, which you may be pleased to signify unto the King, unlesse you thinke it better to addresse yourself in this matter to the Lords of the Admiraltie.'

2pp. *Holograph*. (For the ships in question see *Finch IV*, nos. 904, 906, 927, 937, 979, 1011, 1022. 'Hasfelt' is supplied in the letter-book copy of the letter of 31 March at BL Add. MS. 37663, ff. 133–4, where Rycaut notes that he 'wrote the very same to the Earl of Nottingham'.)

160(3). Joseph de la Pena to [?Blathwayt]. [1693, April [7/]]17. Rotterdam. *Endorsement*. 'Upon receipt of your agreeable letter I have ... examined in my house the Portuguez shipper who came from Brest on Sunday was fortnight, and is arrived here. He relates that there lay without in the road at anchor 19 men of warre, viz. 9 of three decks and 10 likewise stout ships, mounted with above 70 guns. These, as he heard them say there, were designed to go and reinforce the French squadron in the Mediterranean. Sir, I will add to this that in my opinion this would have already happened, in case our squadron lying in Engand had been gone thither, that so they might have attack'd them with the greater force, but that I am now of opinion that this designe is wholly laid aside by reason of the dammage which they have suffered there, as you may see by the enclosed letter which I received this day from my correspondent.

'That shipper relates further, that there lay also within 13 ships more, lately fitted out there (being those that cruised in the Bay of Biscay to look for our fleet designed for Bilboa), most of which lye ready to go to sea againe, and are ships from between 60 and 80 tuns apiece. There lay also within, 3 other new ships with 3 decks, 2 whereof rigged, and one with the bare masts, very busy to make ready, as also ten ships more, amongst which 3 with 3½ decks, which were all already careened, being in all, as well within as without, 45 men of warre.'

P.S. The letter from Leghorne I desire to have returned me most speedily.

2½ pp. *Translation, with the Dutch original* (1p.).

160(4). Information from the captain of a Portuguese ship which left Brest on [18/]28 March and arrived at Rotterdam on [3/]13 April. In the road of Brest lay ready to sail 20 great men of war, several of 3 decks. Nine new ships with 3 decks lay within, 3 already rigged, the others without their masts but being made ready in all haste, ships' materials being there in abundance.

Monsieur de Nesmont [Némont in the Dutch original] had already arrived with 10 or 12 men of war from the Spanish coast, which they were busy repairing.

There were no other men of war at Brest but it was full of prizes, taken chiefly from the English. There were no fireships.

The fortifications were altogether finished, and within Brest in the space of eight months a whole new street had been made, with stately new houses.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Translation (in the same hand as the previous one), with the Dutch original (2 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp.).*

161. WILLIAM COTTON TO SHADRACH VINCENT

[1693,] April 8. 'Att sea ... on board the *Fidellity*. These are to give your honour an account of my observations while the other side the water, the best I could possible make to avoid suspicion.

'1. There is att Brest 40 men of warr from 50 to 100 gunns, which will be ready by the end of Aprill.

'2. There are but 8 men of warr gone to the West Indies, from 45 to 70 gunns, but 'tis given out now that they will send a strong squadron there.

'3. There have been 15 or 16 men of warr built (since the last fight) at Brest, Rochford, Thouloun and Port Luis, great ships from 60 to 100 gunns, and are all nigh finisht.

'4. Their navall stores they doe not abound with at Brest, they missing many store ships from the North, tho' 'tis said that they doe not want.

'5. The French fleet this yeare will be composed of 78 capitall ships, beside the frigatts and fireships, the Count D'strees' squadron included, which have lately suffer'd much in the Straights by bad weather, in soe much that 'tis said now their grand fleet will hardly goe to sea this summer, only stand on their guards.

'6. There bee now beetween 50 and 60 ships in Haverdegrace loaden and bound for Dunkirk with all sortes of provisions; this beeing timely knowne, 'tis easy to prevent their getting there. This I thought fitt to tell you, likewise that their seamen are scarce and slow in coming in.

'If our grand fleet doe saile betimes, they may prevent the French fleet from ever joyning this summer, their navy beeing disperst to severall places remote from Brest.

'Sir, let not this come to publike veiw, but be pleased to transcribe it before 'tis communicated to any on, without makeing use of my name at all.'

1p. *Unsigned copy in Shadrach Vincent's hand. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Vincent 13 April 1693. (For the intelligence-gathering activities of William Cotton, master of the *Fidelity* alias *Joanna*, see *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1693, p.119, and *Finch IV*, pp.498–9, as well as nos.163, 163(1) and 169 below.)*

162. JAMES SOTHERNE TO RICHARD WARRE

1693, April 8. Admiralty Office. The Commissioners of the Admiralty command me to send you the enclosed copy of a letter from Captain John Roland, commander of a privateer, concerning an Irish ship which he has brought into Rye harbour, for you to lay before the Earl of Nottingham.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph.*

Enclosing:

162(1). Captain John Roland to the Commissioners of the Admiralty. 1693, April 6. Rye. On my way back to the coast of England after cruising off the coast of France I met an Irish ship called the *Palm Tree* of Waterford, Caleb Wade master and merchant, formerly lieutenant of their Majesties' ship *Advice*. The master tells me, and his papers confirm, that he comes from Callice, so I brought her into Rye harbour upon suspicion. He claims that he was laden with butter from Ireland and taken into Callice after capture by a French privateer, but 'neither the master nor his men agree at all in their relations, some saying they were taken near Dungeness, some near Dover, some between Calais and Dunkirke.' Moreover 'they have aboard all their cloaths, very good apparell and good store, and all their bedding and provision as they brought out of Ireland, and the ship well found of all materials and rigging, the master saying that he rebought the ship and all the said premises at Callice, but can't tell the name of the commander of the French privateer nor her strength.'

1p. *Copy.*

163. SAMUEL STEELE TO ROBERT HENLEY, COMMISSIONER OF TRANSPORT

1693, April 9. Plymouth. The enclosed is a copy of a letter sent from Looe to Mr John Warren, merchant of this town. Some time ago the former letter referred to in it was put into Commissioner Greenhill's hands and by him sent to the Earl of Nottingham, who never acknowledged it, and about a fortnight later it was returned by Mr Shadrack Vincent (burgess for Fowy) to another gentleman of this town, with directions to enquire how it came to Mr Warren; who when questioned answered 'that it came to him by the post and that he deliver'd it to the Commissioner that hee might take such methods therewith as were most likely to putt a stop to such unlawfull practices. Now it is supposed that the vessell mentioned in the letter is employ'd as a spye boat to gaine intelligence, which under coulor of trade is but dissembled, but the persons concern'd therein being (as the informer sayes) generally reputed the late King's friends, cannot be soe proper for such a project. The matter of fact related in the letter is undoubtedly true, I meane as to the transporting tin and bringing home linnen, for the collector of Fowy (upon information given him) seiz'd some uncoyn'd tin on board the vessell and in the master's house, just before shee sail'd last, and was like to loose his place for soe doing, as was discours'd here, and that French linnen is sold in those

parts in considerable quantitys is confirm'd by every one that comes from thence.

'This day the *Yorke* brought in here a French privateer taken yesterday between Ushant and Scilly, call'd the *Prince of Wales*, with 12 guns, and commanded by one Tilly, an Irishman, but his commission is from the French King. She is companion of that which the *James* gally sent in lately to Scilly, and having taken 4 prizes (whereof we hear two are retaken) was returning home.'

1p. *Seal of arms (two bars in chief a lion passant guardant, the arms of Commissioner Henry Greenhill).*

Enclosing:

163(1). – to John Warren, merchant, Plymouth. [1693,] April 1. Looe. I write because the trade to France from Fowy is of such dangerous and ill consequence both to their Majesties and their subjects, 'not doubting in the least but you will doe your endeavours to put a stop to these wicked actions'.

'The ship *Joanna*, 2 decks, about 30 tuns, sailed from Fowy the second ultimo att night, William Cotton master, carry'd as supposed with him a great quantity of tin ... and it is now owned that shee is gone for France by some of the great ones concern'd, and she is dayly expected home. You will doe well to acquaint both Dutch and Englishmen, if they meet with such a vessell, rummidge him well, and they will find part of the goods afore the hatchway, and the rest between the hatchway and the cabbin, soe they will either have h[ogs]h[ea]dd staves in the hatchway and soe in the sterne sheets, or salt to hide their goods; if salt, then they pretend they come from Portugall, if h[ogs]h[ea]dd staves then from the Isle of Wight, as they did the last voyage. If they have an order to goe over as a spy, there is neither order nor law for them to bring home as much French goods as to ruine their neighbours that dos trade in Hamburgh or English linnens; soe French goods is a good purchase to any person. Shadrack Vincent is the promoter, and countenanc'd by Jonathan Raschely, esqr., for att his mill house is the place of refuge, noe officer daring to goe search there, for the officers were never soe put to it, if they doe not their duty, then they are perjured, if they doe their duty, then they are threatned to be turn'd out of their places. This cove Pridmo. [Polridmouth], a mile to the westward of Fowy, is the place, Mr Raschely having there a mill and house adjoining, and in the said house between two walls a private place hath been for many yeares, where they have used to secure the debenture tobacco they have formerly shipp'd off from Plymouth and elsewhere. Many vessells of tobacco hath there been landed and secured since King William came to England. A tree is knowne by his fruit, considering whom this Vincent is concern'd with in partnership: William Cotton of Plymouth, him you very well know; of the town of Fowy Jonathan Toller, Peter Major, John Somery and the master of the vessell William Cotton, these four I have had a full account of. I beleive if there was an occasion to make up a jury of such men as these 4 are in the whole county, it were very hard to find them, for they are certain rank, atheisticall Jacobites. Thing that gives mee the greater light that they are Jacobites is this. The vessell sailed the 2nd ultimo; as the winds were with us he gott [to] France the 4th of March in the morning. Suddenly after his arrival a French squadron of men of warre was out to sea to look for our Bilbao fleet, which lay att Plymouth when the said Cotton sayled for France, but, as God would have it, they escaped them. In my former letter you had an account this S. Vincent would joine in this trade with William

Williams and Jonathan Tingcombe, and put in with them two hundred pounds sterling; now here you shall plainly see whether it is for the good of the nation or their own interest. The two hundred pounds sent in tin shall produce home in linnens to the vallue of six hundred clear of all charges, soe adventuring £200 two voyages brings home £1,200. Taking out the £400 remains £800, soe there is five hundred pounds for the free schoole (which indeed is a charitable act rightly given) and three hundred pounds cleare againe to his part, and the rest of the company does brag hoping to gett six thousand pounds by this cursed trade; tho' the thing is plainly discover'd to the whole country, yet the wise men of Fowy are blinded with a free schole, maintain'd out of their owne and neighbours' ruines'. Many that are true Protestants and well wishers to their Majesties agree with me 'that it is onely a pretence to goe as a spye ... it cannott be rationally supposed that any man can gett intelligence from Morlaix, it lyes 5 miles to the head of a river and no magazine kept there, and besides the French are too unanimous to discover newes to strangers'. Take a copy of this, show it to your friends, and then forward it to the Hamburg Company. 'I hope they will improve it well.'

2pp. *Copy in Steele's hand.*

164. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, April 9.] 'I am very well assured if Clerke be taken up, he will not only discover what he knowes himself but will also bring in another to doe the like.

'I can learne no other name the Deane [Dane] hath, than that he is called Governour of Niemunster in Holsatia.

'The Laird of Meldrum is now in towne, keepes very private, and associates with none but the Scotch, principally with the Lord Dunmore, Sir Andrew Forrester, and Ferguson; on Sunday next I am promised to know what affaire he.solicits, and will acquaint your honour with it.

'Monsieur Dallyon gives the sacrament this day at Fryday Street church and on Easter day [16 April] at Dr Johnston's; I finde he is unwilling to come in before he hath received his Easter offerings, and made the last penny of his old freinds.'

1p. *Holograph but unsigned.*

165. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 10/20. Loo. I last wrote on the 7/17th acknowledging yours of the 4th. With reference to the two ships bound to the East Indies, the King has let the Queen know his determination concerning them. He 'does not see any reason for the removall of Colonel Erle's battalion from Plimouth and the neighbouring garrisons where the like number of companies will always be wanting.'

As to Mr Poley's letter of revocation and Mr Aglionby's credentials to succeed him, his Majesty will order me to send away the former immediately,

believing Poley no longer serviceable in that court. You will receive Mr Aglionby's despatches by the next post, although his Majesty concluded that he cannot arrive in Piemont soon enough to be of any use there this campaign. He likewise thinks Mr Poley too much out of the way to go in time to Sweden, and would have somebody appointed to go from England. He will consider Mr Booth's petition on his return to England.

P.S. 'I have received the enclosed papers from Monsieur Jurieu.'

2pp. *Holograph. Enclosing nos. G19-21 and 23. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 16 April.*

166. NOTTINGHAM TO JOHN ROBINSON

1693, April 11. Whitehall. I have sent your letter of March 22 to be laid before the King. 'All I can say to you is that what you write concerning the *Earle of Portland* [underlined in original] is impossible to be true, because the King has all the good opinion of Count Oxenstierne which he himselfe could wish.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book II, p.215.

167. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, April 11. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of the 4th and have given the States' letter concerning the ship *Salomon* to Mr Secretary Trenchard ... 'If you will remit the £100 to Monsieur Fedel de la Tour and draw your bill upon me I will take care it shall be immediately paid without staying for the Treasury's orders for the money.

'The King did designe Mr Fielding to be a supernumerary Commissioner of the Victualling, but Mr Papillon making an objection to such an addition nothing has bin done in it, but there is now a vacancy in that commission by the death of Mr Howe and the whole committee thinks Mr Fielding the fittest man for that place ...

'Mr Duncomb has received from Mr Robinson a note of severall things desired by *Countess of Oxenstierne* but believes that most of them are for *Queen of Sweden* and must be presented; they will cost between £400 and £500, for which I desire his Majesty's orders.

'I have received letters from Mr Stanhope of March 1/11, 8/18, 15/25. He sais the Algerines which were on board of an English ship call'd the *Orange-tree* and driven into the Spanish port and made slaves are releast at the instance he made by the King's order, which will be very acceptable to the government of Algier. But there is another like case happen'd of eight more Algerines which were in an English ship driven into Spaine and made slaves;

they had taken this ship for want of a pass and removed four English men into their owne ship, which is gone to Algiers. Mr Stanhope is soliciting for their liberty, without which the English are likely to be made slaves.

'The King had ordered Mr Stanhope to presse for the sending home Oliver Hill from the Corunna for having talkt treasonably and seditiously against their Majestys; by the enclosed answer you will see he is not likely to succeed and the rather as he sais because Hill is turned Papist.

'Mr Stanhope can get noe reparation for the affront offerd to him by the searching his coach by colour of an order for taking away the priviledge of publick ministers of not paying the imposts at Madrid, to which his Majesty would not have this minister to be the first in submitting, or, if it had been submitted to by all the forreigne ministers there, yet that matter of searching his coach was very rude and indecent.

'He writes also that since the French bombd Allicant that city and the whole kingdome of Valentia have a free trade with France by allowance of the Vice Roy, and that by this means advice is sent to France of the proceedings of our ships, whereby severall of them have been taken. He has complained of it and the Queen has order'd me to write to him to make fresh instances in this and the other above mentioned particulars.

'Mr Methwen has complaind of the French privateers who have liberty to bring into the Portuguese ports their prizes whereas by the express letter of the treaty such prizes are to be restored to the English proprietors or their factors; the enclosed is all the answer he can get and is to the same effect as the Portugall envoye here has often told me, and tho' this may seem fair and equall to both nations English and French yet 'tis farr otherwise by reason of the many more prizes which the French take then we can, and the nearness of their own coast to Portugall makes it more easy for them then for us; therefore since the treaty is for us I have always by the King's directions insisted upon the execution of it in terms and have writ to Mr Methwen to do so.

'He says the Portuguese are much offended with France for confiscating their ships and are dispos'd to a rupture unless they have satisfaction, but I believe the French have seiz'd their ships only to oblige them to press England and Holland to allow a free trade with France and to release or make reparation for the ships taken by us, and that then France would do the like. For the late Portugall envoye here has often told me so.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's letter; copy of Robinson's letter of 22 March; Secretary of Spain's answer to Stanhope; King of Portugal's answer to Methven's memorial. 2½ pp. Letter Book III, pp.169–71. (The italicized names, still in cipher, have been deciphered from the key at Add. MS. 35105, f. 11. For Stanhope's letters see SP 94/73, ff.133, 137, 150.)

168. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 12. Admiralty Office. 'We have upon adviseing with the Judge of the Admiralty prepared a draught of instructions and notes for the commanders of their Majesties' ships and privateers for preventing abuses in seizing merchant ships belonging to the subjects of their Majesties' allys and of the neuter princes and estates', according to the King's directions signified in your letter of 4 March.

'And whereas in the first article of the said instructions, the commanders are directed punctually to observe the treaties betweene their Majesties and their allys, we think it necessary that all the said treaties be printed in English and copies of them sent hither to be given to the severall commanders; as also that they should be informed what those places are that are subject to the avocatories of the Empire, whose ships are to be taken as prize, as is expressed in the 2nd article of these instructions.'

1p. *Signed (5 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 13 April.*

Enclosing:

168(1). 'A Draught of Regulations and Instructions to be observed by all Commanders of their Majesties' Men of War and Privateers'.

(1) The treaties between their Majesties and their allies are to be punctually observed.

(2) Ships belonging to any prince or state at war with France, or subject to the avocatories of the Empire, bound to or coming from France or the dominions of the French King, may be taken in prize.

(3) All ships of any other nation bound to France or French dominions from any place at war with France, or subject to the avocatories, or coming from France to such place, shall be taken as prize, unless only in ballast.

(4) All ships carrying contraband goods to France may be seized.

(5) All fireworks, cannon, muskets, mortars, petards, bombs, grenadoes, saucisses, peckkrausen, carriages, rests, bandoliers, powder, match, saltpetre, bullets, pikes, swords, headpieces, cuirasses, halberds, horses, saddles, holsters, belts, sailwork, cordage, rigging, cables, masts, lead, pitch, tar, hemp and other equipage for sea or land laden in Danish ships and bound for the enemy's country are accounted contraband goods.

(6) The same goods, and corn of all sorts, laden in ships belonging to neutral towns bound to the enemy's country are to be reputed contraband.

(7) Corn laden in ships of any allies or neutrals may be seized whithersoever bound.

(8) Danish ships furnished with the passports required by the convention in Denmark, together with authentic certificates relating to the oaths, and the certificates of the minister[s] of England and Holland at Copenhagen, may pass freely, except such as have not disposed of their whole lading in the first port of France where they touched but have taken in other goods there and are proceeding towards another place within the French King's territories; and except in the cases before mentioned.

(9) Ships belonging to subjects of Sweden, provided with passports and certificates according to the 12th article of the treaty between England and Sweden hereto annexed, shall not be molested, otherwise than as therein mentioned, or in the cases before expressed; and those which appear to have sailed out of any Swedish port before 1 May 1693 shall not be detained if the master or supercargo takes the oath as required by the form of a Swedish pass included in the 12th article of the treaty.

(10) All persons violating these instructions shall be severely punished and required to make full reparation to persons injured contrary thereto.

2pp. *With corrections and additions in the hand of Sir Charles Hedges. Note of proposed annexes:* form of the oaths, passports and certificates mentioned in the 8th article; form of the 11th and 12th articles of the treaty with Sweden. 'There wants a settled form for passports to Portuguese ships. The treaties of commerce with Holland and Spain are in print, and publick.'

169. — TO [? JOHN WARREN, PLYMOUTH]

1693, April 13. Looe. A long letter giving further details of the smuggling operations described in no. 163, followed by this statement: 'William Williams, of Brodinick by Foye, can make oath that on or about the month Aprill 1692 one Jonathan Tincomb of Foy came to the said Williams and told him that he was solicited by Shadrick Vincent their burghess to send a ship to France and that the said Vincent had desir'd him to speak to the said Williams about it and that the said Vincent would put in £200 in trade with them, but Williams not giving a satisfactory answer to Tincomb the said Vincent some time after came to the said Williams and press'd him very earnestly to send a ship to France saying that he would put in £200 in trade with him and Tincomb declaring that they should goe to bring intelligence but any story would bee good enough, but the ship should goe as fast as she could throwing out the goods at any place convenient and away to France for more; to which Williams replied that the officers would seize it, wherat Vincent answeard, doe not trouble yourself, I will take care for them. Then Williams answer'd that ther was a late Act of Parliament which made it death, wherunto Mr Vincent said that is noe matter but if any prosicution I will forthwith goe or write to my Lord Nottingham who will clear it, or I will goe to the King myself and get a *Noli prosequi*. Then Williams desired time for consideration, and after some time told Jonathan Tincomb that he would not adventure on so dangerous a designe as a French trade and desired Tincomb to acquaint Mr Vincent of it.'

1½ pp. *Endorsed (not by Nottingham) as received on 24 April.*

170. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, April 14. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of the 7th and have acquainted the Committee with his Majesty's orders for the proceeding of

the Mediterranean squadron, but the three admiralls not being come as was expected from Chatham this matter as also that of the Virginia fleet could not be well settled without them, so you may expect an account of all by the next post.

'The case of the Brandenburg ships at Plymouth was referred by Mr Secretary Trenchard to Sir Charles Hedges before I had your letter, whose report I have not yet seen, but by their representation and the commissions from the Elector as to men of warr there seems no difficulty in releasing them.

'In the paper which I gave you concerning the trade of neuters to France there is an article relating to corne: that it should be seiz'd and paid for if on board of Danes, etc., where it will not be contraband, and I must desire you to lett me know whether the States will pursue the same measures and give the like orders, without which the Committee is now of opinion that it were better omitted in the instructions to our commanders.

'When the King gave the Earl of Meath's regiment to Collonel Hamilton the pay of Collonel was reserv'd to the Earl of Meath by a note from Collonel Hamilton that it should be so and that he would not claim any pay back but that of Lieutenant Collonel: this was done for the support of my Lord of Meath till his Majesty should otherwise provide for him, and his Lordship being now made Governor of Dublin Hospitall, Collonel Hamilton thinks that his Lordship should no longer have the pay of Collonel and prays that the note which he gave to me may be delivered to him and cancell'd: upon which I pray his Majesty's pleasure.

'The Major of Collonel Hastings' regiment is dead and Monsieur Davessens Moncalis recommended by him to succeed in that post ... I shall present no commission to the Queen till I hear from you.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's letter; letter from Treasury.

1½ pp. Letter Book III, pp.171–2.

171. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 14/24. Loo. 'Monsieur de Wildt is here and bids me assure your Lordship that all the ships for the main fleet from Amsterdam and Northolland are ready to sail out of the Texel with the least point of an easterly wind; that those from the Mase are in the same readiness and four from Zealand. He presses very much that the Mediterranean squadron may sail, alleading that the merchants here have already lost seventy per cent of their capitall by the long demurrage and impairing of their commodities. And his Majesty does thereupon order me to reiterate his directions that the first opportunity be taken for their departure.

'His Majesty agrees to the passing of the pardon to my Lord Chancellor Porter and Lord Coningsby according to the papers I received from your Lordship. I return here enclosed the dispatches for Mr Aglionby.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 18 April.*

172. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 14/24. 'The King is very much surprized that Mr Cox can find excuses to decline the New England voyage at the moment he is to go upon it, but does nevertheless think it may suffice that the dispatches be sent by the Galway boat so that care be taken that she do not loyter in that port as she has done at Plimouth, his Majesty not conceiving it necessary nor proper to send Major Manly on this expedition.'

P.S. 'The King just now bids me acquaint your Lordship that it is said my Lord Middleton is lately gone into France', which his Majesty would have you inquire into.

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 18 April.*

173. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, April 15.] Easter Eve. 'Tis possible I might be mistaken in Clerke's Christian name which I had given me by another. We generally call him Count Clerke, he having the vanity to pass for an English count at the seige of Buda; but by the discription your Lordship gives I am sure 'tis the man, and that he came out of France I can proove by a good evidence from his owne mouth.

'On Wednesday last I waited on Sir John Trenchard who among other things enquired of me if I knew this Clerke and whither he was trusted, because Clerke had sent one to tell him that if he pleas'd he would come in and give his honour an account what persons were in France in order to the confiscation of their estates. I told Sir John I had given your Lordship an account of him alredy and that your Lordship's warrant was out to seise him, upon which his honour said no more about him.

'Your Lordship may please to send the inclosed by the same hand or burne it.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph but unsigned.* (The subject of this and previous letters was probably the Robert Clarke a warrant for whose apprehension, for coming out of France without a pass, was issued on 12 April. See *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1693, p.97.)

174. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 17. Admiralty Office. It being found necessary upon occasion of the last Act of Parliament for encouragement of privateers to make some alterations in the commissions and instructions to their commanders, we send you a draft of articles and instructions judged proper to be annexed thereto, to be laid before the Queen for her confirmation.

1p. *Signed (4 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham.*

Enclosing:

174(1). Articles and instructions for merchants and others having commissions or letters of marque for private men of war against the French king and his subjects, or inhabitants of his dominions, by virtue of commissions granted under the Great Seal, 26 June 1689.

7 pp. *Copy signed by James Sotherne. With corrections and additions in the hand of Sir Charles Hedges. Endorsed: 'The first draught of instructions for privateers.'*

175. CAPTAIN DAVID GREENHILL TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 17. 'On bord their Majesties' ketch *Eaglitt*, Gallaway.' I have just received yours of 7 April with her Majesty's orders to carry a packet to Sir William Phips in New England, and shall obey as soon as I get some provisions, having now but six weeks' in.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. Seal of arms. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 April and postmarked with the same date.*

176. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 17/27. Loo. With respect to your letter of the 11th I am to signify his Majesty's pleasure that Mr Fielding supply the vacancy in the commission of victualling. He likewise agrees to what you propose in relation to *Countess of Oxenstierne* [still enciphered in original] as far as the sum of £500.

What you mention of a free trade between the kingdom of Valentia and France will be represented to the Spanish minister at the Hague, 'that the mischief of that correspondency maybe prevented if possible', and to the Portugal envoy for what relates to that kingdom.

'On Satterday Monsieur Scheels was here in his way to Denmark. He was very full of complaints and in the usuall terms', giving me the enclosed [missing] list of ships of which he demands restitution, especially that bound to the island of St. Thomas. I told him that it should be sent to England and an answer remitted to him in Denmark. I know this business is no longer in your province, 'but it is his Majesties pleasure that I address myself to your Lordship by whom everything may be putt into its proper channell.'

I will take care to do what you direct for the Baron de la Tour.

P.S. 'It is assured by severall hands from Paris that the French will have a hundred and forty thousand men this summer in Flanders.'

2½ pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 22 April.*

177. EDWARD FINCH TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 17. Winwick. 'Dear Brother, I understand from Mr Isham that you have met with a report as if I had left your service in anger. I think I need not say any thing to you in vindication of my selfe from this slander after the discourse I had with you in the office 2 or 3 days before I took my leave. I wish I had had a little longer time to have talked to you for my own satisfaction as well as yours because I am satisfied that not onely you but all my old acquaintance were as much strangers to what I am and what I think as if I had never been. But 'tis no wonder to me that men should give reasons for my actions, suitable to their own opinions, unless they could know mine, which yet if I should tell them perhaps they would not beleive, because they are so very different from those they have themselves or have conceived of me. They can't pretend to ground this dissatisfaction they charge me with upon any thing but my not being preferred, which I am so farr from being uneasie at that I am heartily glad of it; and if I was ever so foolish to wish for an employment which might be inconsistent with the life I have begun and intend to live here, yet I now thank God (who has all along provided better for me then I would have done for my selfe) that I was disappointed. And in this I assure you I am very sincere. For if your kindness should yet urge you to procure me any place, which is not to be executed by deputy or else a perfect sine cure, so that I may end my days here, tho' I should always gratefully acknowledge your freindship, yet I would not accept of it.

'But I have taken too much notice of the idle discourse of the town, if this be really so, tho' I rather fancy it the malicious suggestion of some rascall who envys me the happiness he can't find in his heart to give himselfe by refusing gain for ease and seeking content and quiet within his own mind. My quarrell was to the office onely, where at the price of my lungs and right arm I have purchased the reputation of negligence, and you by working like a post horse have gained the censure of infidelity. To you I owe all the obligations imaginable, but the manner in which you contrived to lay your last, as it did extreemly surprize me, so it makes it greater then all that went before. I thank you heartily for accepting Mr Isham upon my recommendation, I do not in the least doubt but he will answer my caracter both in respect to your service and help to Mr Warr if he will be but so kind as to put him into the way of bringing himselfe acquainted with the bussness of the office; which a word

from you would easily perswade him to do. I can give him but imperfect directions at this distance.

'I will trouble you no further now who have already made you so farr my confessor as to have given you a key to all that I do or can think concerning any of the affairs of this world. May riches and honours procure you but the same happiness which I am sure to find in ease and quiet with a bare maintainance, and may we neither change minds nor fortunes. I hate professions, but more where I can't but think them needless, but be assured as I never was nor will be unfaithfull so I never can be ungratefull who am your Lordship's most affectionate brother and humble servant.'

2pp. *Holograph.*

178. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 18. Admiralty Office. It being fitting that a supply of victuals and stores should be sent to the squadron gone to the West Indies under the command of Sir Francis Wheeler, in case they are to be continued abroad longer than the provisions which they carried with them will last (an estimated twelve months from their departure, on short allowance), we desire you to obtain her Majesty's commands as to what supply of victuals should be ordered to the squadron, and where it should be sent.

1p. *Signed (5 signatures).*

179. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, April 18. Whitehall. 'I have received your letters of the 10/20 and 14/24 instant. What you writt in these and your last letter touching the Mediterranean squadron has bin consider'd at the committee with the Admiralty and the commanders of the fleet, and they are all of opinion that 'tis most expedient to delay the sayling of this squadron till the main fleet be more together, which by the forwardness of the Dutch as well as our own ships will be very speedily, some of ours being already gone to the Downes, and all the great ships are order'd to doe so too in order to their proceeding to Spithead; and this little delay is thought most likely to prevent their meeting the Tholon squadron, which has not suffer'd so much as was apprehended upon the first news of their being driven from Naples.

'The Virginia fleet is order'd to proceed and some men of warr appointed to secure them out of the Soundings.

'The last account the Admiralty had of the ship sent to Galway was from Bantree Bay on the 31 of March, so that probably she is before this at Galway, and a messenger being gone (as I wrote to you) with the dispatches and the Queen's order to the captaine to proceed immediately, 'tis not likely that he will loyter there.

‘But the Virginia fleet being now to goe, the duplicates will probably be deliver’d in a short time after the ship from Galway may be there, so that by one of these two ways they will have notice. I wish it could have been sooner.

‘I have acquainted the merchants concern’d in the two ships design’d for the East Indies with his Majesty’s pleasure, which the Queen told me, that they should not be permitted to proceed on their voyage, and endeavour’d all I could to perswade them to dispose of them to the East India Company, which was agreeable to his Majesty’s intentions, as you may remember, and I thought it the best for his Majesty’s service to extinguish the clamours which indeed are very loud upon this occasion, by preventing the damage which the owners must otherwise suffer. But I found them so obstinate in refusing to deal with the Company that they resolv’d rather to loose all. And this morning they sent a petition to the cabinett councill praying her Majesty’s leave and insisting upon the law as well as the assurance they had given to them of the King’s permission, that they ought not to be deprived of the liberty of proceeding. The Queen has referr’d this to the Attorney and Sollicitor to consider of the points of law which they can alleadge and report their opinion, of which I will give you an account by the next, and whatever it is and how partiall soever I am thought to be against the Company, I am bound in duty to say once more that I fear this will be of very ill consequence to his Majesty’s affairs, and taking this case with all its circumstances I wish his Majesty would for his own service permit them to goe.

‘The Spanish Ambassador has represented to the Queen that there is some prospect of prevayling with the King of Portugall to break with France and joyne with the Allies, and pray’d her Majesty to order Mr Methwyn to concert with the Spanish minister at Lisbone the proper measures to produce this rupture: her Majesty has directd me to write to him accordingly, tho’ I believe there will not be much effect of it, nor doe I know of any other ground of the King of Portugall’s dissatisfaction but as I wrote to you in mine of the 11th instant.

‘The enclosed is from my Cosin Yelverton, whose case, as he states it, seems very hard.

‘You have not sent back the letter to the Duchesse Dowager of Savoy; I have enclosed another for the King to sign and to be return’d to me.

‘I believe my Lord Middleton is actually in France, and had his intentions been known there are so many ways of getting over that ’twould have bin impossible to have prevented his going unless he could have bin seized in the attempt. I am unwilling to guesse at the reasons that induced him to it; I fear they are very ill ones and may be dangerous to his Majesty and his affairs.’

Note of enclosures: Queen’s letter; letter for the Dowager Duchess of Savoy to be signed by the King; Yelverton’s case.

2pp. Letter Book III, pp.173–4.

180. NOTTINGHAM TO JOHN ROBINSON

1693, April 18. Acknowledging letter of 25 March and enclosing bill of exchange for £2,000 as requested.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book II, p.216.

Enclosing:

180(1). William Cowper to Henry Moxon and Robert Jackson, merchants in Stockholm. 1693, April 18. London. Pay John Robinson £2,000 at 24 copper dollars per pound sterling at ten days' sight.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book II, p.216.

181. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY

1693, April 19. Whitehall. The Queen would have four months' provision for Sir Francis Wheeler's squadron sent to the Barbados, to be despatched by the end of August.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.98.

182. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR GABRIEL ROBERTS, SIR JOHN HOUBLON AND WILLIAM FAWKENER [LEVANT MERCHANTS]

1693, April 19. Whitehall. In reply to your memorial I cannot tell you that her Majesty has yet resolved on any certain time for the proceeding of the Mediterranean squadron, but I am sure there is no intention of any long delay and dare affirm that orders will be given for its sailing in so reasonable a time as will be to your satisfaction.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.99.

183. NOTTINGHAM TO ISRAEL FIELDING

1693, April 19. Whitehall. The Queen would have you calculate the charge of encamping so many regiments as will make up above 9,000 foot, and present it to the Lords of the Treasury tomorrow morning.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.99.

184. NOTTINGHAM TO JOHN ROBINSON

1693, April 21. Enclosing a copy of his letter of 18 April, a second bill of exchange for £2,000 in case the first should miscarry, and a letter to Robinson from Lord Portland 'to satisfy you further of what I writ to you [about Count Oxenstierna] in mine of the 11th instant'.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book II, p.216.

185. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 20/30. Dieren. 'The *Stagg* brought the King yesterday to this place where his Majesty has entertained himself to day with hawking and will return to Loo to morrow and to the Hague not sooner than the middle of next week in his way to the army.'

This day brought me your letter of the 14th. His Majesty has commanded me to send an extract to the Pensioner of that part of it which relates to the trade of neutrals, that you may know the resolutions of the States therein as soon as possible.

'His Majesty does not think there is reason to take the colonel's pay from my Lord of Meath upon his being made Governor of the Hospitall of Dublin because that is not of his Majesty's gift and therefore no proper recompence.' He readily agrees to supplying the vacancy of the major's place in Colonel Hastings's regiment by Monsieur Moncal as you proposed.

'I beg your lordship's pardon for this hand as being not well enough to use my own at present.'

2pp. *Signed. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 25 April.*

186. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, April 21. Whitehall. 'I need not tell you any matters relating to the fleet because you will receive them from Mr Secretary Trenchard.

'The foot, according to the list you gave me, will be incamped on Hounslow Heath where they are to be after the 10th of May, the season having been so very wett that 'tis not thought convenient they should be there sooner. The horse will be kept in quarters, which are not yet settled but are intended to be as near the camp and towards Portsmouth as conveniently may be. The place near Portsmouth which was design'd the last year for a camp is not judg'd proper now because the provisions thereabouts are very scarce and will be more so by the constant supplies from thence to the fleet.

'The Queen has given leave to the two shippes design'd for the East Indies to proceed on their voiage, which gives very great satisfaction and has prevented Mr Attorney's report, which I find would have been pretty favourable to the merchants in point of law; but it is better that 'twas an act of grace and so taken by the merchants who came today to return their humble thanks to her Majesty for it.

'The late Act of Parliament which taxed joint stocks required the payment of each company's proportion on or before the 25th of March last, and in default adjudg'd the charters of such companies void. The East India Company omitted to pay their tax by the time appointed, which being

represented to the Queen in Council by petition of the merchants who oppose this company, her Majesty order'd Mr Attorney and Mr Solicitor to examine the fact and report their opinion in law upon it, which is in effect that their charter is void. But this I tell you only as news, for this matter is to be further consider'd at the Committee to which Mr Attorney and [Mr] Solicitor will be summoned, and then the whole will be transmitted to you to be laid before his Majesty with their opinion what is fitt to be done upon this occasion.'

1p. Letter Book III, p.175.

187. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY

1693, April 21. Whitehall. The Queen has directed a camp to be forthwith made ready at Hounslo Heath, and would have you order Mr Fielding as much money as may be necessary according to the calculation enclosed.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.99.

Enclosing: (per day)

Wheat at £3 per quarter for 9,000 men	£ 75
For baking at 6s per quarter	£ 7 10s
For fuelling for the regiments	£ 10
For straw	<u>£ 3</u>
	£ 95 10s

'Charge of carriage can't be computed untill the ground for encampment be knowne. Isr[ael] Feilding.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.99.

188. NOTTINGHAM TO GEORGE CLARKE

1693, April 21. Whitehall. The Queen thinks fit the following regiments should be encamped at Hounslo Heath, viz. one battalion of 1st regiment of Guards; Hastings; Collyer; Ingoldsby; Hesse; Lloyd; Venner; Tiffin; Hamilton; Melonier; Cambon; Belcastel, and would have you issue the necessary orders for them to be there as soon as may be after 10 May.

She would likewise have you consider the most proper quarters for Portland's, Villiers' and Coy's regiments of horse and Colonel Matthews' regiment of dragoons, to be as near as possible to Hounslow and towards Portsmouth, and make your report of it to the committee before you proceed any further in this last.

P.S. [probably added on 22 April]. You are to attend the Duke of Leinster with the enclosed, acquaint him with the above particulars and receive his directions.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.100.

Enclosing:

188(1). Nottingham to the Duke of Leinster. 1693, April 22. Whitehall. 'The King having appointed before his departure that a considerable number of his troops should be encamp'd about the beginning of May, I am commanded by her Majesty to acquaint your Grace with it; and I have also directed Mr Clarke to inform you more particularly of this matter, that the necessary orders herein may be dispatch'd ... and that whatsoever else your Grace shall think requisite ... be laid before her Majesty.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.103.

189. NOTTINGHAM TO ISRAEL FIELDING

1693, April 21. Whitehall. The Queen having ordered the camp to be at Hounslo Heath would have you get all things ready for that purpose and attend the Lords of the Treasury for money which they have orders to pay you.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.100.

190. THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND
TO NOTTINGHAM

1693 [1692 *in error*], April 21. Council Chamber, Dublin. 'The terme now coming on, the Court of King's Bench will be very full of motions and applications of those persons who are under protection and being indicted of treason have appeared upon the *capias* and *exigent* and so prevented their being outlawed.

'Before the reduction of Lymerick it was thought fitt to use those people with great tenderness, and since that time ... noe directions have been given from England, and the King's Council for want of them have not prosecuted, and the people are growne pressing to be tryed, the rather because most of their estates were seized by the commissioners of seizures and are now in their Majestys' hands; they have been put off from terme to terme soe long that the clamours are noe longer to be borne, but they must either be tryed next terme or their Majestys part with the possessions of their estates ... and in this case it will be necessary to have some directions what shall be done with those who having pressed for their tryalls shall happen to be found guilty. ['The Lord Lieutenant is to order that such as presse for a tryall be prosecuted and that their Majesties' councill at law be directed to take care of such prosecution, and that such as are most likely to be convicted be tryed first; that no execution be ordered of any such person so convicted and attainted without her Majesties order'.]

'Besides these persons there are severall others who have been concerned in the rebellion and are not comprized in any articles, and living remote in Conaught where the enemy's quarters were, have not yet been prosecuted;

these persons cannot be dispossessed of their estates till they are attainted, and some direction is wanting what prosecution ought to be in this case. [‘The King’s instructions to my Lord Lieutenant relating to this matter are to be pursued’.]

‘... Many persons who affirme themselves to be within the articles of Limerick and Gallway are very pressing to have their claimes heard, for which purpose wee desire ... that a letter may be sent to pass letters patent under the Great Seal to impower the Lord Lieutenant and Council to hear these matters’. [‘The Lord Lieutenant and Council to hear and determine these claimes in like manner as his Majesty formerly order’d the Lords Justices and Council to doe.’]

We pray her Majesty’s directions in these things as speedily as may be. [‘I do not know why the Lord Lieutenant and Council have not continued to do as the Lords Justices and Council did in these cases, unless it be that the Lord Lieutenant did not think it proper for him to act by vertue of an order to the Lords Justices, or that the discourse of this matter in the last sessions of Parliament here has interrupted their proceedings. But it was not thought proper that there should be a commission under the Great Seal (as is desir’d) which would be constituting a kind of court of claimes; and yet if nothing be done, the clamours of those people, as for a breach of articles, would have bin very great and too well founded, and therefore the same method, which the King formerly directed, was thought the more proper now’.

2pp. *Copy (8 signatures). Endorsed (not by Nottingham) as 21 April 1693.* (The passages in the square brackets are marginal annotations by Nottingham. See postscript to no. 213).

191. NOTTINGHAM TO COLONEL JAMES KENDALL

1693, April 21. Whitehall. ‘I have received yours of the 10th of February by Captain Phillips and doe hope Sir Francis Wheeler, who sayld from the Isle of Wight on the 9th of January, arrived at Barbadoes soon after the date of your letter, and that he has mett with so good success by the way as to make amends for the delay in his voyage.

‘I hope also that the late mortality in that island, and by that the loss of so considerable a man as Sir Timothy Thornhill, will not disappoint Sir Francis of that assistance from thence which the former letters encouraged us to expect, and is but necessary to a good issue of this expedition.

‘The King had granted the £1,000 to Sir Timothy before the news of his death, and therefore without doubt [it] will be made effectuell to his lady.

‘If there be any difficulty made in the payment of the bills you have drawn upon the navy, I will not fail to assist you in it.’

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.101. (For Kendall's letter of 10 January see *Cal. S.P. America and W.I. 1693–96*, p.18, where it is incorrectly said to have been addressed to the Lord President.)

Enclosing:

191(1). Nottingham to Sir William Beeston [Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica]. 1693, April 22. Whitehall. I send enclosed copies of the orders sent by the King of Spain to his officers 'to concurre with their Majestys' forces in the designe against the French upon Hispaniola, that you may know the better how to govern your self in all matters relating to that service, wherein it may be necessary to desire the concurrence of the King of Spaine's officers in those parts, having a due regard to the instructions which you have received from the King.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.102.

191(2). Nottingham to Sir Francis Wheeler. 1693, April 22. Whitehall. To the same effect as the preceding letter.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.102.

192. EDWARD HARRIS TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 23. Jersey. 'I thinke it my duty to acquaint your Lordship that by the master of the boate I lately sent to St. Mallos with prisoners I have the following account (videlicet) that they are with great dilligence fortifying of that place, and alsoe making little fortes att all the most advantagious posts about it for the better securing both the towne and harbour. 'Tis alsoe saide that they are drawing together on the coasts of Normandy and Brittanny twenty or thirty thousand men both horse and foote, and that provitions are accordingly making for their reception and subsistence. Alsoe that some galleys are already arrived at St. Mallos, and more dayly expected. All the Irish are ordered out of the towne, and not to com within three leagues of it on very severe penaltyes ... Our garrisons here are still in a very bad condityon, espetially for want of carriges and platformes for our gunns, those shipe carriges sent (in haste) the last yeare being not fitt for the place.'

P.S. 'I am forced to send this by our common barquers.' [The cover is marked: 'For their Majesties espetiall service.']

1p. *Holograph. Signed: E. Harrys. Seal of arms. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 31 July and postmarked with the same date.*

193. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [April 24/] May 4, N.S. Loo. 'The King has seen your Lordship's letter of the 18th past and is nevertheless of opinion that the Mediterranean squadron ought to sail without delay.'

He has not given me any orders concerning the two ships designed for the East Indies, expecting to hear further about them from you.

'The King does not give much credit to the representation of the Spanish ambassador concerning Portugall and France, both those crowns intending nothing but their own advantage in relation to their trade.

'The news we receive from the Hague is very surprizing. Two brothers by name Alewyn, one of them a deputy in the States Generall from the province of Holland, the other Burghermaster of Dort, men of considerable fortunes and preferments in the state and formerly very well affected to his Majesties interest, have been seized here for corresponding with the enemy and the Court of Justice is proceeding to their tryall'. I enclose the news from France.

P.S. Lord Portland arrived yesterday in the Hague. The Duke of Schonberg is gone to Piemont.

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 April.*

Enclosing:

193(1). List of French ships at Toulon.

1p. *Copy. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as enclosed in Blathwayt's letter of 24 April/4 May and as received 28 April.*

194. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [April 24/] May 4, N.S. Loo. By the last post I received from Mr Hughs, lately agent at Ratisbonne, a letter with two papers of which his Majesty orders me to send you copies, with directions to send for Hughs and examine him further. Mr Warre has already had the letter for the Dowager Duchess of Savoy.

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 April.*

Enclosing:

194(1). Hugh Hughes to Blathwayt. 1693, April 14. I send you a letter I received yesterday and, to let you see what passed through my hands upon this subject, 'an abstract wherein you'll find (what was surprizing to me) that the person who was writ about from France and Germany (as design'd for that infernal attempt) should find out my lodging here in London. I concluded it boaded no good to me when I heard of his name, and it succeeded no better; for I have been since twice set upon in the night near my own lodging in the street by severall persons unknown and have been above a fortnight confin'd to my bedd by a wound I received from them, yet I bear it the more easily in that I am satisfied I did but my duty to the King, for whose service I shall be always ready to hazard my life, tho' I have a wife and four young children concern'd in it.

P.S. If I may have a line, it may be covered to Mr Agar at Lord Nottingham's office.

1p. *Copy.*

194(2). Mademoiselle D'Alençon to Hughes. 1693, March 25. Berlin. 'Jay bien receu la votre du 17me fevrier. Je suis bien aise que mes lettres soient parvenues jusqu' à vous. Je vous avoue que j'estois en peine de la premiere où il y avoit des choses assez importantes. Vous me demandés le nom de la personne. Je ne puis pas vous dire celui qu'il a pris en vos quartiers, mais l'un des deux, a ce que l'on me

marque, est un grand homme noirreau, d'une phisionomie douce et insinuant. C'est luy qui a envoyé la Dauphine en l'autre monde. Ils sont deux freres. Monsieur Dankelman a retenu ma lettre. Je ne doute pas qu'il ne l'ait envoyé. La dernière que je luy ay donné marque que cet homme cultive l'amitié d'un autre de vos quartiers qui est dans les affaires les plus importantes. Elle n'en dit pas le nom mais seulement d'un M. Jugez du nom par la première lettre. Elle me mande qu'il marque avoir bien jecté ses mesures et que la chose est immanquable, et qu'en cas que ces deux là manquent il y en a deux autres qui se rendront à l'armée sy tost qu'elle marchera. Dieu vuille bien garder la sacré personne du Roy. Tant que Monsieur Stepney a esté icy je luy ay tousjours donné copie des lettres que j'ay receu, et presentement je les donne à Monsieur Dankelman en originales. C'est par son ordre que je continue à écrire à Paris et c'est ce qui est cause que je reste si long tems en ce pais icy. Pour vous faire voir que cela est vrai je vous prie de me chercher un endroit en vos quartiers. Je vous assure que je me ferois un plaisir d'y aller vous saluer, qu'il y a long tems que j'en ay envis, sans que je puis encore avoir l'honneur de vous voir. Vous m'offres trop genereusement vos services pour ne vous pas prendre au mot. Je vous demande le secret. Je serois au desespoir de perdre mon ami, car elle seroit perdu sans ressource avec toute sa famille. Je me fie en votre prudence.'

2pp. *Copy. French. Signed: S. Dalençon.*

194(3). Memorandum by Hugh Hughes. 1692–3, Feb. 16. Charles Street, Westminster.

1692, Sept. 4. I sent Mr Blathwayt two letters from Mademoiselle D'Alençon at Berlin, one to Lord Sidney and another to myself, informing of a dangerous design against his Majesty by two persons that were to be sent from Paris on that account.

Sept. 18. Grammen. Mr Blathwayt owned that he had laid those letters before the King, ordering me to learn more particulars from my correspondent and to communicate the same to him; and that Mr Stepney was directed to discourse with the party at Berlin and inform himself of all matters relating to a further discovery. [See above, Vol. IV, no. 873.]

Sept. 26. Having obeyed those orders I received an answer from the party which I sent to Mr Blathwayt; in it was said that a third person was to be sent to Savoy upon the like devilish design against the Duke, and I proposed that notice might be given of it to the President de la Tour.

About Sept. 20. I writ to the party at Berlin to use all care and diligence in discovering the persons, 'their names, their habits, phisiognimies, friends, ha[u]nts etc.'

Oct. 17. Hague. Mr Blathwayt acknowledged my letter of 2 October, enclosing a letter from the same party '(a copy whereof he said was sent to Mr Stepney at Berlin) and ordered me to acquaint the Earle of Nottingham with what should further come to my knowledge of this important business while I stayed in Germany'.

Dec. 6. After my arrival in England Mr Prior wrote me from the Hague that he had by mistake sent a letter to Monsieur Huguens, his Majesty's secretary, which came from Berlin directed to me by the name of Hugius.

At Kensington. Monsieur Huguens told me he had received such a letter and laid it before the King, that one *Pere Esat* was mentioned in it, but that letter was at Whitehall.

At Whitehall. I desired the letter that I might answer it. Huguens told me the King had called for it a second time and kept it.

Jan. 28. I received a letter from the party saying that things of great importance relating to this affair had been communicated by her to Monsieur D'Ankelman as being ordered by the King to deal with her, which I acquainted Lord Nottingham with.

Feb. 16. 'One came to my lodging to enquire if one *Mr Esat* lodged there, and being answered by the landlady that she had some strangers in the house he desired her to ask me if I knew one *Mr Esat*, an outlandish man, and where he lodged, for that he had some business with him. I calling the name *Esat* to mind, supposed it might be the same with *Pere Esat* abovementioned. I declined to see him before I had received my Lord Nottingham's directions and desired he would call to morrow morning which he promised to do but never did, and I informed my Lord Nottingham of it but had no directions from him upon this matter.'

2pp. *Copy, in the same hand as the previous enclosures.*

195. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, April 25. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of the 17/27th and 20/30th instants.

'The Parliament which is to meet on Tuesday next will be prorogued to the 19th of September, by which there will be some little intervall of priviledge, which has been very uneasy to many people.

'I now send you the report of Mr Attorney and [Mr] Sollicitor in the case of the East India Company's charter, and am further to acquaint you that the Committee (my Lord Keeper being present) has been attended by Mr Attorney and [Mr] Sollicitor, and upon consideration of the whole matter they were of the opinion that 'twas absolutely necessary to have this point speedily determined in the method proposed in the report; for if the money was not paid or legally tender'd, as the Act requires, the charter is void, the Company dissolved, and all the intended regulations can have no effect because they are founded upon a void charter, which is become so from the 25th of March last, altho' the judgment upon the information should not be given till any time hereafter: if then there can be no regulations of this company because it may and probably will prove to be none, and the King shall not think fitt to constitute a new one to the prejudice of this if it should still subsist and there be danger of loosing the trade by an intervall of a company, it necessarily follows that there must be a speedy decision of this question which depends purely upon fact which cannot be determined but by a triall by a jury. Some of my Lords think it hard that the King should by his prosecution take advantage of this forfeiture, and 'tis true if it be meant of all the consequences of this forfeiture which vests in the King all the Company's stock, but I presume his Majesty would think it just to grant to the particular men their respective proportions, and then it cannot be properly said that the King takes advantage of this forfeiture, for besides the necessity of it which I mention'd before, 'tis in the power of any man to bring

this into judgment who owes them any mony; nay 'tis not in their power to doe any corporate act nor in the King's power to restore the Company, that is, to make the same company as was on the 24th of March, no not by a new incorporation of the same individuall persons. But ... [*break in MS.*]

'It has been proposed by some Lords that the King by a new charter should reincorporate these men, granting them their stock and adding the intended regulations. But this cannot be done if att all yet att least not till the point of forfeiture be determined; nor is it fitt then neither.

'For either this new charter must work by way of confirmation of the old, which it cannot doe if the old one be void, or it must be absolutely a new grant which supposes the forfeiture of the old, and then, besides some legall objections which I cannot well explain, it is not fitt; for then the King by his own act brings upon himself all the difficultys which arose from the old charter, and were represented by his Majesty to the Parliament as the reasons why he could not gratify them in their request for constituting a new company, which he now is at liberty to doe upon plain, fair and equall termes without imposing upon others the imaginary stock of the old company, which nothing could make tolerable but the impossibility of erecting a new company with liberty to trade concurrently with the old during three years.

'And if the Parliament was so desirous of a new company as to pray the King to give warning to the old, though with hazard that the trade might be destroy'd in three years, what shall be said to the Parliament that the same company shall be re-establis[h]'d as the foundation of a new one, if by any trick in law this could be made, as it seems it cannot, practicable.

'If you did not know my opinion you might perhaps guesse at it by this state I have given you; but I have truely and faithfully represented it that you may lay it before the King and send his pleasure upon it whether he will approve of the Committee's opinion to pursue the methods proposed in the enclosed report, or what else his Majesty shall direct.

'I am sorry to hear of your indisposition.'

Notes of enclosures: Queen's letter; report of Attorney General and Solicitor General.

2pp. Letter Book III, p.176.

196. NOTTINGHAM TO GEORGE CLARKE

1693, April 25. Whitehall. The Queen approves of Brigadier Villiers' regiment marching to Northampton, and would have you give orders for it. Her Majesty has some thoughts of embarking five regiments of foot on board the fleet, and would have you order so many to march as near Portsmouth

and Southampton as may be, to be ready to go on board if required. For the other regiments of foot you are to pursue the directions formerly sent for encamping them, changing St. George's regiment as you proposed.

Your proposal about the quartering of the horse will be considered at the next cabinet council.

½ p. Letter Book IV, p.109.

197. NOTE CONCERNING SHIPS

[1693, April 27.] '2[nd rate] *Windsor Castle* aground at the South Sandhead. 3 *Eagle*, refitting at Chatham. *Dreadnought*, not return'd from the Canaries. 4 *Oxford* ditto. *Winchester* lately lanch'd.

'The rest in the Downs, at Spithead, and cruising.

'Note that four are to be sent out with the Virginia fleet.

'No perfect account of the Dutch since the 7th of April nor any certainty of more then two arriv'd since at Spithead.

'Ships at Spithead the 7th April – 17.'

1p. *In Sir John Lowther's hand. Endorsed by Nottingham with Lowther's name, and date as above.*

198. SIR CHARLES HEDGES TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 27. On perusing the instructions for the commanders of men of war and privateers, I thought it convenient to make alterations and additions as in the two enclosed drafts [only that for privateers enclosed]. 'As to the specification of all towns and places under the avocatories of the empire, I must confess I am not able to do it, and therefore I propose that it may go as it is, or els that they may be expressed thus ... Concerning the memorial of the envoy of Portugall, I find that the goods laden in the ship *Patience* were condemned, one half to their Majesties, the other to a privateer', so if the Queen orders the restoration of her own moiety, it will have to be kept in specie, or else the whole proceeds preserved entire. 'The cases of the other two ships are depending, that of the *Peace* in the Admiralty, and the other called the *Stockholm* before the Court of Appeals, in which places it will be necessary that some proofs should be made concerning the King of Portugall's interest'.*

2pp. *Signed.*

Enclosing:

198(1). 'Instructions for such merchants and others who shall have commissions or letters of marque, or commissions for private men of war against the French King.'

* For the cases of the *Patience*, the *Peace* and the *Stockholm* see further *Cal. S. P. Dom. 1693*, Hedges' own case notes in BL Add. MS. 24103, ff. 126–8, 158, 164–5, 184, 191 and in PRO SP 42/2, and Nottingham's letters to Methuen in SP 104/196, ff. 47, 78–9.

9½ pp. 22 articles, with condition of obligation. *Endorsed by Nottingham*: 'The new draught of instructions for privateers. Sir Charles Hedges'. (For the first draft see no. 174(1) above.)

198(2). 'Memoire des materiaux chargés dans les vessaux d'Hamburgo pur le Roy mon mestre.

(1) Harmen Wreede, capitaine du vaisseau *La Patience* avecq pas port d'Altena ayant chargé: [36 masts, etc.].

(2) Pieter Harmensen Backer, capitaine du vaisseau *La Paix* avecq pas port de Hamburg ... [49 masts, etc.].

(3) Jean Boose, capitaine du vaisseau *La Ville de Stockholm* avecq pasport de Stockholm ... [38 masts, etc.].

1p. *Signed by the Portuguese envoy, the Visconde de Fontearcada.*

199. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, April 27/ May 7. Loo. 'I have by this post signified to Mr Secretary Trenchard his Majesties pleasure concerning the descent and the fleet.

'His Majesty does by no means think fitt that the foot be encamped on Hounslow Heath as being much too farr distant from the coast, and because your Lordship mentions the provisions to be very scarce nearer the sea his Majesty would have them encamp in two or three places as in some part of Sussex, in Hantshire near Winchester or in some place near Salisbury from whence supplies may be had with convenience and in plenty as they shall be separated in so many bodies and the enemy kept in greater alarm than if they were encamped four or five days march from the place of embarcation. For the horse his Majesty does not think it necessary that they be quarter'd nearer than one day's march to the camp or Portsmouth which will be the more easy to the country and not raise the price of the provisions in those parts.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 3 May.* (See also N.M. 56(4) below.)

Enclosing:

199(1). 1693, [April 27/] May 7, N.S. Loo. The Earl of Portland arrived here on Tuesday evening. Letters from Flanders of the 5th say that the army was to be encamped in five or six days in three bodies, near Ghent, Brussels and Liege; that the enemy were quiet on the frontiers but still increasing their magazines at Mons and Namur, and that on the 28th past they quitted Chastelet and Thuin as they intended to do Walcour, Beaumont and other small places between the Sambre and the Meuse and in Flanders.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p.

200. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, April 28. Whitehall. Announcing the receipt of letters from Sir Francis Wheler dated Barbados, 6 March, and summarising their contents [for which see *Cal. S.P. America and W.I. 1693-96*, p.41].

'I have a letter from the captain of a ketch at Galway of the 17th that he has received the pacquett I sent him when Mr Cox refused to goe, but he says he has but six weeks provisions and so soon as he can be supplied will proceed with all expedition; my Lord Lieutenant has order'd Mr Vanhomrigh to furnish him with what is necessary, without which the voyage would be lost through this neglect in the Admiralty.'

I enclose a memorial from Lord Galway, who leaves this afternoon and can explain it in person if necessary. The King's orders are sought on the case of Sir Matthew Bridges.

'Five regiments are order'd to be quarter'd near Portsmouth and Southampton in order to be imbarct on the fleet if upon its arrivall there the men should be wanted to make up the complement of the ships, or should be otherwise usefull; the rest of the troops will be incampt and distributed as you proposed, with some little variation not worth the mentioning.

'I spoke to the King on behalf of Monsieur Bruynincx at Vienna, that his Majesty would please to recommend him to the States for some allowance, and his Majesty order'd me to speak to you to remind him of it at the Hague.

'P.S. 12 at night. Just now yours of May 4th N.S. is come to my hands ... I will summon the Committee to meet tomorrow morning upon the King's orders for the proceeding of the Mediterranean squadron.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's letter; copy of memorial from Lord Galway; report of Sir Matthew Bridges' case.

1½ pp. Letter Book III, pp.178–9.

201. THE EARL OF DANBY

[1693, ? April.] 'Some particulars granted by his Majestye to the Earle of Danby.' As colonel of the first marine regiment, the Earl is to have the privilege of putting in all officers when any vacancy occurs during the summer expedition. He 'shall weare a swallow taylor pendant att his main topmast-head', such as Captain Aylmer had when he commanded a squadron into the Straits, 'untill there be a vacanye of a flagg to distinguish him as commander in chief next to the flaggs'. On the first vacancy, or on Admiral Rooke's departure for the Straits, the flag to be given to him.*

$\frac{3}{4}$ p.

*Rooke's squadron sailed for the Straits on 30 May, and Danby was appointed Rear Admiral of the Red on 7 July as part of the general post following Ashby's death on 12 June. For related orders see *House of Lords MSS. N.S. I* (1900), pp. 170–2.

202. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, ? April.] 'Dr Greenvil, brother to the Earle of Bath and late Dean of Durham, is very lately come out of France into England. He landed farre north, where he intends to skulk a while and then come to London.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph but unsigned.*

203. VISCOUNT GALWAY TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693,] May 1. Deale. 'Je suis assés malheureus pour avoir trouvé icy le vent contraire qui m'empêche de me rendre auprès du Roy et me retient inutile dans un lieu fort ennuyeus. La flote est encore icy. Je tacheray à voir aujourd'hui les amiraux pour voir s'ils me diront quelque chose qui puisse éclaircir les matieres dont j'ay à parler au Roy.'

1 p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 2 May.*

204. NOTTINGHAM TO THE PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE
ORDNANCE

1693, May 2. Whitehall. The Queen would have you furnish the five regiments of foot about to be embarked on the fleet with firearms instead of pikes, being informed that they will be of more use to them on board. She would also have them furnished with hammocks.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.104.

205. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE
TREASURY

1693, May 2. Whitehall. The Queen would have you forthwith order that the five regiments of foot about to be embarked on the fleet 'be cleared to the first of April 1692, pursuant to his Majesty's directions before he left England'; and would likewise have you 'settle the subsistance money to the souldiers while they are on board with respect to the victualls to be allowed them during that time, and direct the same to be paid accordingly.'

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.104.

206. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE
ADMIRALTY

1693, May 2. Whitehall. The Queen would have you order that the five regiments of foot about to be embarked on the fleet be allowed the same kind and proportion of provisions as those allotted to seamen, while they are on board.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.104.

207. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, May 2 (*received*).] ‘The two men that were lately taken in Kent as coming out of France, were both going into France; their names are Lesly and Noseworthy. Lesly made his escape at Queen Hyth, by depositing a purse of gold into the hands of one of the messengers containing 38 guineys. Lesly now sculkes somewhere in So ho. A diligent search can not miss him.

‘There are two Scotch parsons lately come out of France, who at their arrival in London rendred themselves to Secretary Dalrimple; he only took caution of them, and since has discharg’d them, telling them they had greate luck in coming to him, for Secretary Johnston would not have been so kind to them. One of their names is Bell, the other’s name I cannot yet learne. ’Tis also discours’d that Sir James Montgomery has an ascendent over Dalrimple.

‘The newes these two persons bring is that Justin Mackarty is taken from his command on the Rhyne and sent into Denmark, where he is to receive 16000 men, and to transport them for Scotland. This is reported by such men, and avouched with so much confidence, that it would tempt any man to beleive there is some thing in it; esepially because it was this morning confirm’d to me againe by Ferguson.

‘They also confidently report that the Lord Middleton was entrusted to make overtures to the late King James by several persons of quality both in England and Scotland, as wel those in this government as out of it; and that his arrival at St. Jermans has put things into such a posture that we shall soon find the good effects of it in England.

‘A copy of a letter from St. Jermans dated April the 10th. “Deare daughter, I have been very much indisposed since my late fall, and tho’ I have had the advice of the best physitians both French and English yet my recovery remained doubtfull, but now there is a chymist come out of England that adviseth me to take the waters and I doubt not but I shall quickly be upon my legges againe.”

‘Lord Melford is made Duke of Newcastle.

‘Ferguson told me he hath provided Whig baile for Captain Hambledon.’

1p. *Holograph but unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 2 May 1693.* (Justin Maccarty was the titular Viscount Mountcashell. The letter from St. Germain was presumably from James II to Princess Anne, and the ‘chymist’ the second Earl of Middleton.)

208. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, cMay 3.] ‘Mr Noseworthy (now in custody) has not been a month out of France and was returning againe when he was taken in Kent. Great matters will depend upon a further discovery of his practices, which time and

good management may bring to light, but if he is bailed he will begone. The gold deposited in the messenger's hands was 37 guinies and two broad peices.

'Before Lesly tooke his journey for Dover I told Mr Smith the very house where Lesly lodged, viz. Lyndsey's next dore to the blew coate in Newstreet in Shooe Lane. He sent the messengers but so ill they managed it that they suffered the woman of the house to goe to a coffee house (without watching whither she went) and give him notice of it. If no greater care be taken I may beate the streetes while my heart akes, and all to no purpose. I beg a diligent and faithfull messenger may be ready by Monday noone to receive farther directions concerning Lesly.

'Mr Ludlowe alias Ludman a Leicestershire minister that I caused to be apprehended in the streetes with dangerous papers about him I hear will be bayled, but I hope your honour will prevent it till you heare farther from mee. He is a bold and dangerous man notwithstanding he hath taken the oathes.

'Yesterday a meeting of six persons was appointed at Sir John Fenwick's where it was agreed that several persons should be sent into the country to dispose the mob to mutiny upon pretence that so much corne was bought up to be sent beyond sea that there would be a famine in England; their names your honour shall have in my next.

'There was also read a letter from the late Lord Cheif Justice Herbert directed to one Smith in Fleetestreete and dated at St. Jermans, April the 26, wherein he saith that since the arrivall of the King's physitian many English, Scotch and Irish are dismis'd the court as spies; that there is a peace concluded with the Duke of Savoy and the French King and a truce during this campaine with the princes of Italy, from whence he predicts the strangest catastrophe that ever happened in the world in one summer; and concludes that in August next we may expect the same number in Normanday, and for the same purpose they came last year. I beleive it to be Herbert's owne hand.

'Next weeke wilbe an answer to it and sent away, which I hope to direct the finding of at the Post Office.'

1p. *Holograph but unsigned.*

209. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, May 3. Whitehall. 'I have spoke with Mr Hughes and desired him to putt in writing what he had to say that I might send it to you in his own words, as I now doe; for I know not what to make of this affair either in relation to the person at Berlin or to the assault made upon himselfe. I doe remember he told me of Pere Esat and that one came to his lodgings to enquire after him, and I bid him endeavour to find him out and to stop any

person that should come again to ask for him, but till now I have heard no more of this businesse.

'The King order'd the Parliament of Ireland to be prorogued to June the 6th, and that my Lord Lieutenant should know that his Majesty had no intentions that there should be a meeting of Parliament till towards September. This I acquaint you with that you may receive the King's pleasure about the future prorogation, whether it shall be a short one or to the time that probably they may sitt, which seems to be the best in all respects both to this Parliament or a new one, which last perhaps his Majesty may think most for his service.

'You know all matters relating to the fleet and the descent passe through Mr Secretary Trenchard's hands, and therefore his Majesty's orders relating thereunto should most properly be sent from you to him.'

Note of enclosures: Another letter of same date enclosing the Queen's letter; Hughes's representation.

1p. Letter Book III, p.180.

210. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 3/13. Hague. Your letter of the 25th past brings a report from the Attorney and Solicitor General concerning the East India Company and forfeiture of their charter. 'The King ... having consider'd all that is therein alleadged ... does not desire to take advantage of their not paying their money on the day appointed, so as to lay hold on such a forfeiture as might be the effect of a rigorous prosecution, but would nevertheless have the charter go on as was intended ... His Majesty does withall take notice that such an implication would involve the Royall African Company and others which would very much affect the trade of England and of the plantations.

'The King is very glad to understand from your Lordship's letter of the 28th that the squadron was well arrived with the land forces at Barbados.

'My Lord Galway is not yet arrived so as to explain his own paper relating to the £6,000 appointed for the fortifications of Ireland.

'There is nothing more known of the case of the two brothers the Alewiins, but the meeting of the States of Holland will bring much more to light. The eldest brother has had to the very time of this discovery a great share of his Majestie's favor as well as in the business of the state.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 6 May.*

Enclosing:

210(1). 1693, May 3, O.S. Hague. 'His Majesty came hither late last night from Loo, and will be going in few days to Breda.

'Tomorrow the States of Holland are to meet and will then examine the business of

the two Alewyns and give an answer to the city of Dort, who has reclamationed one of them their burgemaster as not having been seized by their particular authority.

'The weather has been for two or three days as cold as at Christmass, which may retard the army's going into the field.

'The French are forming a camp at Harlebeck.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p.

211. VISCOUNT GALWAY TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693,] May 4. Deale. 'Je suis bien fâché que la tempeste et à present le vent contraire m'empêchent d'exécuter les ordres de la Reine. Outre ce desplaisir l'ennuy d'estre à Deale est aisé à comprendre. Je presse le capitaine et pilote du *Greenwich* de partir et vous croyés bien, Mylord, que je ne demeureray pas icy un moment desque le vent me permettra de metre à la voile. Les amiraux avec tous les vaisseaux qui estoient icy sont partis ce matin pour aller à Portsmouth. Je vous envoie un avis que le maistre de la poste de Canterbury m'a envoyé; je ne le crois pas à néglier.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 5 May.*

212. NOTTINGHAM TO JOHN ROBINSON

1693, May 5. Whitehall. I am glad to hear that the Swedes have begun to give passes according to the treaty of '61, in response to the Queen's warning that ships arriving from Sweden after 1 May will no longer be admitted by the oath of the master, etc., in default of a pass.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book II, p.217.

213. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, May 5. Whitehall. 'His Majesty's pleasure touching the incampment signify'd in yours of the 27 of Aprill will be obeyd, and made as near to Portsmouth as may be, but since five regiments are order'd to be imbarck, there will not be so much need of distributing the rest into severall camps: the horse also will be quartered near Portsmouth so soon as the foot remove to the camp.

'My Lord Lieutenant writes that the troops in Ireland committ great disorders in their quarters, that he has suspended some of the officers, and tho' he has also order'd them to be tried at a court martiall, yet 'tis likely to have no effect because they are all guilty and will acquitt one another, and therefore proposes that those regiments may be exchanged for others that are here, or that he may have power to casheer the chief offending officers. The first is not practicable, and as to the last the Queen will not give that authority to my Lord Lieutenant till the King declares his pleasure in it, but

in the mean time I am to write to my Lord Lieutenant to inform himself of the names of those officers that are most faulty and to send the account hither that her Majesty may determine in each of their cases... Some examples must be made, for otherwise the complaints in the winter will be intolerable.

'I must desire your answer also touching the meeting of the Parliament of Ireland.' The Lord Lieutenant desires to have a more positive order for proroguing it further from June to September.

'The fleet will in all probability be say'd before I can have any return to this, which is the time the King fixed for the sending away of Major Generall Maxwell; pray lett me know whether the King will have it so done ...

'The King had some thoughts of letting Mr Dorrington goe at the same time, and I am order'd to write to you to know the King's pleasure; he is very poor and cannot subsist in the Tower without some allowance. And some of my Lords have interceded for my Lord Clancarty to be baid, which will not be done without the King's order.

'The enclosed is a copy of a letter from my Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland with the orders given thereupon sett down in the margin, that if his Majesty does not approve them they may be altered as his Majesty shall judge proper; but it was necessary for the present to send some directions for the reasons in the letter'.

P.S. 'The orders given upon the letter sett down in the margin [then repeats Nottingham's annotations of the letter from the Lord Lieutenant and Council of 21 April, for which see no.190].

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King; copy of letter from Ireland, with the orders upon it in the margin.

2½ p. Letter Book III, p.181. (For the letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland referred to in the second paragraph see *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, p.109.)

214. THE QUEEN TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR DAVID COLYEAR, BART*

1693, May 5. Whitehall. While on board our fleet with the forces under your command you are to obey such orders and directions as you shall receive from our admirals or the commander in chief of the fleet for the time being.

½ p. Letter Book IV, p.105.

*'Or in his absence to the officer in chief commanding our land forces on board our fleet'.

215. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 5/15, Friday morning. Hague. I have nothing in command from the King but to send you the enclosed information [nos. F3 and H11 below] concerning one Seuer (whom I take to be Sewell the messenger) whom his Majesty would have strictly examin'd and watcht so that he may not have for the future the same opportunity of correspondence mention'd in the same paper.'

I add [missing] a memorandum from Mr Prior, who, with Lord Dursley, presses for payment of 1,183 guilders disbursed on the expresses sent to Sir William Colt. They say their bill of extraordinaries for that time is already given in and that Trenchard cannot allow of this particular as not happening within his time.

'His Majesty is just now going to Breda, having yesterday been present both morning and afternoon at two meetings of the States of Holland where the case of the two brothers the Alewijns has been under examination, whereof though I cannot yet give your Lordship any particular account, the States being under a speciall oath of secrecy for this business, yet am I well assured that they appeared very criminall to the Assembly and will be further severely proceeded against as such ...'

P.S. 'The letter from MacElligot [missing] concerns the release of my clerke Dayrolle ... I have no answer as yet from the Pentitioner concerning the stopping of corn that shall be found in neutrall ships.'

2½ pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 8 May.*

216. L[AWRENCE] RAWSTORNE TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 5. Preston. 'Some intimation by letters from my Lord Sydney hath acquainted us that one Colonel Parker, one ou[t]lawed for high treason, hydes himself in Lancashire in some of the Papists' houses, which may verie well be true. Search was made at the Lord Molliuex his house, but proved ineffectuall, and 'tis supposed that wou'd allarum the rest, so that a search (unless wee can discover him first) will be unsucessfull, they haveing soe many hydeing places in their houses made on purpose for such ends. Therefore 'tis hitherto omitted but private wait laid to discover him, if possible, and if so our utmost diligence shall be exerted for his apprehension ...'

P.S. 'There was one Captain Dore raising souldiers with us, of whom account was geven before, but since hee has declared that they were for King James, as a Quaker informes.' (See *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1693, pp. 104–5.)

1p. *Holograph. Seal of arms (attested as 'safe sealed' by the Post Office clerk Edmund Sawtell). Postmarked 8 May.*

217. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, May 9. Whitehall. 'I have received your letters of the 3/13 and 5/15. The King's commands in relation to the East India Company must be obey'd in the best manner that is practicable, and the Committee is to meet on Thursday to consider with Mr Attorney and [Mr] Sollicitor of the method.

'Sewell is not now a messenger but was turn'd out long agoe: I will enquire after him.

'I ... will endeavour to get Mr Prior's bill paid though it should have been signed by my Lord Durseley and then I could have allowed it in the usuall forme'.

Note of enclosure: Queen's letter.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book III, p.184.

218. NOTTINGHAM TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ORDNANCE

1693, May 9. Whitehall. I have laid before the Queen the memorial received in your letter of today about sending to Portsmouth firearms instead of pikes for the five regiments that are to go on board the fleet, but she still thinks pikes necessary and desires them to be sent without delay. I have likewise told her what you wrote on the 8th about arms for the recruits of Sir James Leslie's regiment, which she would have you order; 'these being for recruits in lieu of the men detach't to Flanders.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.105.

219. QUARTERS PROPOSED FOR HORSE AND DRAGOONS
NEAR PORTSMOUTH

[1693, May 9.] Four regiments are provided for, the Royal Regiment of Dragoons (quartered in Sussex and Surrey) and three regiments of horse (quartered in Hampshire). Listed in six columns: regiments; quarters; number of beds; number of stables; number of troops; miles distant from Portsmouth.

1p. *Endorsed as read 9 May 1693.*

220. SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 9. *Brittania* at Spitthead. You promised me a list of the French fleet. I should esteem it as a great favour if you would order it to be sent.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 11 May and postmarked with the same date.*

221. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 9/19. Breda. The King, having taken particular notice of what is said in your letter of the 3rd relating to the Mediterranean squadron, 'differs very much in opinion, believing the squadron strong enough to engage the Toulon fleet in case they mett'. He bids me acquaint you 'that the Dutch merchants have sent for all their ships away which they will order round about Scotland and that they will be very much discouraged in Holland from such a conjuncture hereafter. His Majesty has besides received letters from Naples that complain very much of the disappointment we have given them and of the breach of the treaty made with the court of Spain for this expedition.'

The future prorogation of the Parliament of Ireland he would have left entirely to the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant.

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 May.*

Enclosing:

221(1). 1693, May 9/19. Breda. 'The King came to this place on Fryday about ten a clock at night, and on Sunday morning his Majesty was lett blood by way of prevention, as he usually is before his going into the field. How long our stay will be here is uncertain.

'This day the first and third troops of guards commanded by the Earl of Scarborough and my Lord Colchester, who have had their quarters here all the winter, are to appear before his Majesty.

'There are about twenty battalions of our foot encampt without the gates of Ghent under the command of Lieutenant-General Talmash, but the horse remain yet in their quarters for want of forage abroad.

'The Earl of Athlone is here returning to his command.

'The King has now declared his resolution of going from hence on Fryday towards Brussels, and will probably have his first camp at Dighem.'

2pp.

222. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693,] May [9/19, N.S. Breda. 'I have read to the King what your Lordship writes of Mr Hughs, which may serve for a justification against his impertinency.

'I had the first directions, if I am not mistaken, concerning the Mediterranean squadron from your Lordship, which occasions writing to your Lordship on that subject; but I always answer Mr Secretary Trenchard's letters as they come to me and will send him all the new orders I shall have relating to the fleet or the intended descent ...'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 May.*

223. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 10. Admiralty Office. Enclosing a copy of a letter from the Marshal of the Admiralty giving an account of his proceedings towards finding Caleb Wade.

1p. *Signed (4 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 11 May.*

Enclosing:

223(1). The Marshal of the Admiralty to [James Sotherne]. 1693, May 9. In obedience to the warrant from the Commissioners of the Admiralty I sent my deputy to Rye to apprehend Caleb Wade. He was informed, both aboard Caleb Wade's ship the *Palm Tree*, now lying at Rye, and at a public house where Wade and his company used to go, that he went to London three or four days after his ship was brought in, and that they have heard from London that he has gone to Ireland.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Copy.*

224. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR EDWARD WARD

1693, May 11. Whitehall. I send you copies of the East India Company's regulations and of Mr Blathwayt's letter (by which you will see his Majesty's intentions, both before he went away and lately, upon consideration of your report touching the forfeiture of their charter), so that you and Mr Solicitor may consider the most proper methods of executing his Majesty's commands, and prepare a draft of the requisite warrant.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.106.

225. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 11/21. Breda. Your packet of the 5th arrived very late and the King leaves early tomorrow morning for the camp at Dighem, so has only time to say that he desires the Queen to direct the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to cashier the chief offending officers. 'And that since more positive orders are expected relating to the Prorogation of the Parliament there, the Committee should consider what may be fittest to be signified to my Lord Sydney from her Majesty.

'The King will by the next post give some directions concerning Major Generall Maxwell but is not disposed to lett Mr Dorrington go with him or that my Lord Clancarty be bail'd.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 15 May.*

Enclosing:

225(1). 1693, May 11/21. Breda. The King still plans to leave tomorrow morning, and will be at night at Dighem within five English miles of Brussels. All the baggage is already marched towards that place. His Majesty had an express today from the Elector of Bavaria to inform him that the French King would be the 25th instant N.S. at Mons. The Earle of Athlone is gone to Mastricht to forme a camp between that place and Liege.

'My Lord Galway came hither yesterday from England. The weather is very tempestuous and rainy.'

1p. *Copy.*

226. ABRAHAM STOCK TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 11. Deale. On coming ashore this morning from the Goodwin Sands (after trying in vain to salvage stores from the wreck of the *Windsor Castle*) I received your letter of yesterday. I saw one Dutch vice-admiral and one rear-admiral, with four or five more great ships and several small vessels, go past on the further side of the Goodwin Sands.

I enclose a copy of a paper lately come to my hands, which you may have already.

1p. *Holograph.*

Enclosing:

226(1). List of ships commanded by the Marquis de Nesmond.

1p. *French. Copy in Stock's hand.*

227. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, May 12. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of the 9/19. The Mediterranean fleet will be order'd forthwith to proceed, the clamours of the merchants here as well as in Holland being very great.

'The Queen has order'd my Lords President, Privy Seal, Steward, Chamberlain, Rochester and Mr Secretary Trenchard to go tomorrow to Portsmouth to consider att a Councill of War all matters relating to the operations of the fleet, and to order the immediate sayling of it in execution of what they judge proper, and also to direct the proceeding of the ships to the Mediterranean in the safest and best manner; some of the reasons for the detaining it being now ceas'd by the coming of 26 of the 30 Dutch men of war. I doe not write the particulars that have been under consideration relating to this and the main fleet because Mr Secretary Trenchard, I presume, informs you of all these things, and indeed it is not proper to anticipate the resolutions which will be taken upon the advice of the Councill of War; but I do not foresee any delay to the Mediterranean ships, and do hope his Majesty will approve of the methods that shall be taken in obeying his commands.

'I shall acquaint my Lord Lieutenant with what you write touching the Parliament of Ireland, but I beleive it will be best to be prorogued till towards September which will be the most proper time for the meeting of a Parliament there, and the rather because my Lord Lieutenant writes to me that he believes there must be a new one, not only because this is not likely

to be in humour to doe his Majesty any service, but also because by his coming away the lawyers are of opinion that the Parliament called by him cannot meet under the Lords Justices, and therefore 'tis needless to prorogue to a short time. But as to a new Parliament my Lord Lieutenant says he has writt his opinion to the King, and 'tis fitt his Majesty's pleasure should be known whether he would have this to meet again if by law it be practicable. 'My Lord Lieutenant has a letter from the States Generall owning Mr Hill to be their consul in Ireland and recommending him as such. His Excellency says that this letter was procured by Hill to protect him from a debt to which he is lyable in Ireland, and from which this character will not protect him. I formerly writt so to his Excellency by his Majesty's command, who knew of no such officers the States had there, and I mention this to you that you may informe your selfe of him and signify his Majesty's pleasure how far this man is to be regarded, for against his creditors he cannot be protected'.

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King.

1¼ pp. Letter Book III, pp.185-6. (For Sydney's letter relating to Robert Hill see *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1693, p.121.)

228. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

1693, May 12. 'The enclosed is a list of the French fleet which I received this year, to which I have added the guns as stated in some former accounts. If any credit can be given to men upon the place, this list is true; tho' I find by comparing it with former lists, the names of several ships are omitted in this, which may be occasioned perhaps by the change of their names, or that they are cast and not fit for further service, or may be left in the Mediterranean or in the West Indies.

'And I observe that in this list, *Le Monarque* is twice mentioned, and some names are set downe besides those which are specified to be new, which were said to be burnt the last year, vizt *Le Conquerant*, *L'Aimable*, *Le Glorieux*, *Le Bourbon*, *Le Serieux*, but perhaps these also may be new.

'I wish this imperfect account may be of any use to you, and that you may have all imaginable success in all your undertakings.'

¾ p. Copy. Endorsed by Nottingham.

Enclosing:

228(1). List of 76 ships (Brest 29, Rochefort 21, Toulon 20, Port Louis 4, Havre de Grace 2). For each ship there are three estimates for guns, added by Nottingham and explained in a footnote in his hand: 'The 1st column of guns shews the number as sent this year, the 2nd the number in the listing of Monsieur Tourville taken in the year 90, the 3rd the number from accounts of the fleet last year.'

1 double page. Copy. French. Endorsed by Nottingham: 'List of the French fleet 1693'. (See also no. B78 below.)

228(2). Separate slip in Nottingham's hand headed: 'Names of ships in the lists of former years omitted in this'. Lists 17 French ships between 48 and 66 guns.

229. PRESIDENT DE LA TOUR TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May [12/] 22. La Haye. 'Je ne veux pas manquer de vous faire part des nouvelles seures que j'ay receues par un courier depeché de Turin le 11e. de ce mois, et qui arriva icy hier. La santé de S[on] A[ltesse] R[oyale] estoit si bien restablie qu'il n'avoit eu aucun ressentiment de fièvre depuis quinze jours, et qu'il estoit allé prendre le bon air de la ville de Quiers, pour recouvrer plustot ses forces.

'Vous verrez, Mylord, dans le memoire cy joint, que j'ay envoyé ce matin au Roy, le sujet pour lequel on m'a depeché ce courier. Il est seur que le retardement de l'escadre qu'on attend depuis si longtems dans la Mediterranée nuit beaucoup à nos desseins, et que si elle y estoit arrivé au commencement d'avril on auroit pris sans resistance avec peu de troupes Villefranche et Nice, pour agir ensuite en Provence avec toute l'armée. J'espere que cette escadre partira enfin, et que nous reparerons le tems perdu par la vigueur de nos operations.'

3pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 15 May.*

Enclosing:

229(1). Memorial from Turin. The Marquis de Leganez and Count Caprara having come to Turin at the beginning of this month, the Duke of Savoy strongly urged them to make preparations without delay to aid him by some enterprise worthy of the military reputation of their masters and of benefit to the common cause.

Both replied that they were ready to march with the forces under their command, although Caprara needed some time to induce the Duke of Modena to pay his contributions, which had always been deferred. Nevertheless it was agreed that the Imperial and Spanish troops should march on the 20th of this month and endeavour to reach the rendezvous in Piedmont by the beginning of June, in order to join forces with the troops of Savoy which have already set off towards Pignerol.

It was further decided that the best plan to adopt would be to enter Provence through the county of Nice, to which end magazines have already been prepared at Coni and Final; but since this cannot be accomplished successfully without mastery of the sea, the Duke has sent a courier to his envoy to represent to the King the necessity of despatching the squadron which is to join the Spaniards, who are not strong enough by themselves to keep the sea against the Comte d'Estrées. The purpose of his presence in the Mediterranean is believed to be to protect the coast of Provence; to support the French party in Italy; and to interrupt the allied trade with the Levant, in order to impress the Turks and deter them from making peace with the Emperor and the Venetians.

The King is therefore begged to consider the importance of this affair, and to explain his last decision relating to the despatch of that squadron, to the end that, if it is to sail, preparations may be made for action in Provence on its arrival, or if it is to be kept in the Ocean, that measures may be taken for action elsewhere.

2½ pp. *French.*

230. NOTTINGHAM TO DR JOHN WALLIS

1693, May 13. Whitehall. Please decipher the enclosed letter if you can, and return it to me as soon as possible.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.106. (The original of this letter, without enclosure, is at BL Add. MS. 32499, f. 332.)

231. CAPTAIN DAVID GREENHILL TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693,] May 15. Ketch *Eaglatt*, Galaway. I have got the ketch victualled, with much difficulty, and this day am under sail for New England.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 May.*

232. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 15/25. Dighem. I have acquainted the King with your letters of the 9th and 'have now in commands to repeat to your Lordship and the Lords of the Committee his Majesties express pleasure that the Mediterranean squadron be forthwith order'd to sail. His Majesty is induced to this resolution by so many urgent reasons that he conceives a speedy compliance of the greatest weight and necessity to his own service and the interests of his allies that are concerned in the Mediterranean. It is now believed from the most credible intelligence that the Comte d'Estrée with his squadron is to remain in those seas as well to protect the southern coast and commerce of France as to annoy their enemies on either side both in their trade and otherwise, and thereby keep up and strengthen the French party in Italy and hinder the Turks by the appearance of this superiority from making a peace with the Emperor and Venetians.

'These considerations as well as the insecurity of the Spanish squadron without a speedy conjunction pursuant to the treaty with that crown oblige the allies to press his Majesty to give directions for the English and Dutch squadron immediately to sail, whereof his Majesty has given them positive assurances ... which nevertheless his Majesty does not conceive nor intend to be of any hindrance to the design upon Brest.

'In the examination of the eldest Alewyn it appears that he has this winter taken a journey privately into Swisserland where he has had communication with Monsieur Amelot and made a project of a separate peace.

'What wee are doing here your Lordship will see by the enclosed paper.'

P.S. 'I send your Lordship enclosed the answer I have received from the Pentioner relating to corn in neutrall ships.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 19 May.*

Enclosing:

232(1). 1693, May 15/25. Camp at Diegem. 'His Majesty came on Fryday last from Breda to this place, and has his quarters in the Prince of Taxis's house, being

about five English miles distant from Brussels and one from Vilvoord. He found encamp'd here about twenty batallions of foot, whereof ten batallions are in English pay vizt. two battalions of Dutch guards, Colonel Churchill's regiment, Colonel Trelawny's, Colonel Fitzpatrick's, Colonel Erle's, Colonel Collingwood's, the Prince of Brandenburg's, Comte Nassau's and Colonel Groben's regiments. The Royall Reigment of Foot, with Collonel Selwin's and Colonel Stanley's regiments came on Saturday into the neighbouring villages where they are directed to remain til further order, by reason of the extraordinary rains and ill weather we have had these three or four days.

'Most of the cavalry and dragoons are canton'd in the villages round Brussels, and the horses are at grass waiting better weather to encamp.

'The French have a camp at Givry between Mons and Maubeuge, and another at Mont de la Trinité near Tournay. And they give out that they will soon have a third camp upon the Meuse.'

1p.

232(2). Heinsius to Blathwayt. 1693, May [8/]18. Hague. 'Les nouvelles de France, et principalement du pais conquis, portent qu'il y a une extreme misere et disette de pain ou des grains, et ainsi il seroit bon qu'on trouvât quelque remede pour empêcher le transport dans les pais ennemi[s]. On en a parlé avec Monsieur le Comte de Bergerijck, mais on a dû differer l'ulterieure deliberation de cette affaire jusques à ce que le dit comte soit à Bruxelles pour y en parler avec son Altesse Electorale. Vous savez, Monsieur, qu'ils ne sont pas tant attachez à des traitezs comme nous autres. Je vous dois donner à penser si l'on ne devroit pas tarder encore à prendre une resolution decisive jusques à ce qu'on vit à quoy les mesures des couronnes du Nord tendront, et que nous aurons veu leur traité que l'on attend à tout moment.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Copy. *At the head, in Blathwayt's hand:* 'in relation to the stopping of corn that is found on board neutrall ships.'

233. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May [15/]25, N.S. Digheim. 'Besides my other letter which is to be laid before the committee, the King has order'd me to communicate to your Lordship the letter and memoriall of the President de la Tour relating to the Mediterranean squadron with the answer that has been made him. These papers his Majesty would have your Lordship shew only to my Lord President and such as your Lordship shall think fitt to trust with the secret, I mean the design of the Duke of Savoy to enter into France by Provence as soon as he shall have the countenance of our squadron. And that your Lordship may be further persuaded how necessary it is to comply with him at this time, I enclose a copy of his late letter to the King and of his Majestie's answer (which need not the same secrecy) from whence your Lordship will see that the tempter is at hand and that more than the strongest assurances are requisite to keep that duke steady to the alliance.'

P.S. 'The commission your Lordship sent me to Harwich for Sir T. Livingston is signed but just now, and so I return it to your Lordship with the Scotch one.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 19 May.*

Enclosing:

233(1). President de la Tour to Blathwayt. 1693, May [12/]22. La Haye. Last night a courier, despatched from Turin on the 11th, brought me the orders of the Duke of Savoy to inform the King of the contents of the enclosed memorial. 'Je me serois rendu moy même aupres de S.M. pour le faire de vive voix si j'avois eu une voiture preste pour y aller avec toute la diligence que l'affaire requiert.' I thought it would save time to send the courier on to you and to beg you to present the memorial to the King and to let me know his sentiments as quickly as possible. 'La saison est desia si avancée qu'il n'y a pas un moment à perdre pour agir utilement cette campagne. La santé de S.A.R. est parfaitement restablie, et la lettre qu'il m'escrit est datée de Chiers, petite ville à quatre lieux de Turin où il est allé changer d'air.'

1½ pp. *Copy.*

233(2). Undated duplicate in Blathwayt's hand of the memorial from Turin, no. 229(1) above.

2½ pp. *Endorsed by Blathwayt: 'Monsieur La Tour's Memorial.'*

233(3). Blathwayt to President de la Tour. 1693, May [15/] 25. Dighem. Thank you for your letter of the 22nd and the memorial enclosed, which I have presented to the King. 'Sa Majesté approuve et loue fort les diligences que l'on fait en Piemont et l'empressement que témoigne S.A.R. pour faire agir ses troupes. Elle m'a aussi ordonné de vous faire scavoir que l'escadre pour la mer Mediterranée seroit desia au Levant sans les vents contraires et autres incidents inevitables et que sa Majesté n'a rien plus a coeur que d'appuyer les armes de ses alliez de ce costé là par ses forces navales. Et c'est pour cela que sa Majesté a donné et donnera incessamment des ordres positifs et reiterés que cette escadre, qui est d'ailleurs preste a partir de la rade de llsle de Wight, se mette à la voile avec le premier bon vent et fasse route le plutost qu'il sera possible pour la Mediterranée où elle se joindra a celle d'Espagne et favorisera les entreprises de S.A.R. En quoi il faut aussi avoir esgard au temps requis pour le voyage et a l'incertitude des vents. Cependant sa Majesté souhaite fort que S.A.R. fasse entrer son armée et celle des confederés au plutost en campagne, ce qui se pourra faire presentement avec d'autant plus de succès que les forces des ennemis se trouveront distraites par les diverses oppositions des alliez qu'ils auront à ménager.' The King is greatly rejoiced by the news of the Duke's recovery.

2pp. *Holograph copy. French.*

233(4). Victor Amadeus to William III. 1693, April [2/]12. Turin. 'Je m'acquitte d'un devoir indispensable qui s'accorde parfaitement avec mon inclination, rendant compte à V. Majesté par ces lignes, comme le Nonce qui reside aupres de moy m'a fait par ordre du Pape une ample representation de l'extreme peine avec laquelle il envisage les maux que souffrent mes etats et les troubles de l'Italie, et que devant souhaiter par tant de justes raisons de les faire cesser par une paix ou treve, il m'exhortoit d'y vouloir bien donner les mains, m'offrant en même temps la restitution entiere de ce que les ennemis m'occupent et qu'on vuidera dans le traité de la paix generale les autres pretensions que je pourrois avoir contre la France. J'ay répondu sur le champ, et fait dire ensuite au dit Nonce, que j'ay beaucoup de reconnoissance de la bonté avec laquelle sa Sainteté s'interesse en ce qui me touche, que je le priois de l'en remercier très humblement en mon nom, que quant à la guerre presente elle n'ignore pas, comme il est notoire à tout le monde, que je ne l'ay nullement suscitée, puisque je n'y suis entré que par l'obligation d'une legitime defense, laquelle devant uniquement aux genereuses assistances des puissances alliées, je leur donnois part de l'ouverture qu'il me faisoit. J'ay crû qu'il estoit à propos de trancher court par une reponse de cette nature, dont le Pape neantmoins

ne peut pas se plaindre, et je confirme maintenant à V. Majesté la fermeté avec laquelle je seray toujours inviolablement uni à ses interets, et à ceux de la Ligue, pour meriter de plus en plus la royale protection de V. Majesté, et luy marquer par les effets la parfaite reconnoissance, le constant attachement, et le respect avec lequel je seray ...'

2pp. *Copy.*

233(5). William III to the Duke of Savoy. 1693, May 5/15. La Haye. 'J'ay reçu avec plaisir votre lettre en date du 12e du mois passé, par laquelle vous me donnez des vives marques de cette éclatante vertu qui vous attache inseparablement à ces maximes d'honneur et de probité qui font la gloire des plus grands princes et la lustre de votre serenissime maison. Vous concevez avec un discernement juste et raisonnable le but des representations et instances que vous a faites le Nonce du Pape, en vous offrant de procurer une paix ou treve particuliere pour vos etats, qui donneroit bientost jour à l'enemi commun de faire valoir ses pretentions et injustes visées dans toute leur etendue, et de s'assurer par des oppositions separées d'une conquête generale. Le refus que vous avez fait de prêter l'oreille à de semblables ouvertures font voir à l'univers une perseverance qui est à l'épreuve de toutes atteintes, et un glorieux exemple à vos allies d'une noble fermeté et d'une digne preference de l'observation des traités publics à des apparences trompeuses d'un interest present. Un procedé rempli d'une si genereuse resolution en faveur d'une alliance formée par les raisons d'une defence naturelle et entretenue par la necessité du salut commun m'obligera indispensablement comme tous les autres confederez à une reconnoissance perpetuelle et proportionné à la constance inbranlable avec laquelle vous voulez garder religieusement les liaisons et engagements où vous estes entré; et cette derniere preuve qui vous unit encore plus étroitement aux puissances interessées exigera avec raison d'elles toutes les assistances que peut demander le soutien d'une partie si considerable de l'alliance commune. C'est aussi de la continuation de cette alliance uniquement qu'il faut attendre par la benediction de Dieu la seureté publique et les conditions equitables et avantageuses d'une paix generale et durable, quand la France ne sera plus en état de s'en dédire, et dans laquelle vos interêts doivent avoir une part essentielle et principale, comme ils me seront toujours aussi chers que les miens propres, de quoi vous pouvez être assuré par la foy inviolable de ma parole royale ...'

1½ pp. *Copy.*

234. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, May 16. Whitehall. I have received yours of 11/21 May and have written to the Lord Lieutenant to prorogue Parliament to about 19 August and to report the names of the officers chiefly guilty of the disorders in Ireland. The Queen expects his answer and will then signify her pleasure for cashiering such as deserve it most, and for proceeding against future offenders.

'The Duke of Leinster has very much lamented to me the uneasiness of his condition, and how incapable he is of supporting himselfe with the allowance he receives, and much less is he able to pay the debts he has contracted. This he desires may be laid before his Majesty that he may obtain some further marks of his favour.' The Lords are come back from Portsmouth.

Note of enclosure: Queen's letter.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book III, p.187.

235. THOMAS PAPILLON TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 16. In obedience to your command I wrote to Dover and send you copies of the answers.

On the same page, but evidently written later:

I have just spoken with a Dover man and find that the person named in the two letters must be the person you intended, 'and whereas in one of the letters it is said some thought very ill of him, I perceive it is from a suspicion that by him some dealings might bee carried on for his correspondents in London in favour of the French, but the party I spake with said this was onely his apprehension for hee was not any way conversant with him nor knew any thing of his dealings.'

Having this occasion to write to you I am also enclosing [*missing*] a copy of a letter I had a view of, coming from an eminent person.

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham: 'About La Croix.'*

Enclosing:

235(1). 'By letters of the 12th May 1693 from Dover. As to the person you write about, I beleeeve it is Mr Isaac de la Croix, a French merchant which liveth here and came over from Calles sometyne before the heate of the persecution in France and hath lived here ever since. Hee is a man of very good reputation and a responsible man, and a very sober man. He lives at the peere at a place called the new buildings.

'By another letter from another person of the same date. The caracter descr[ib]ed can bee noe other then that of Mr Isaac de la Croix who is a French refugie aged 50 years, by profession a merchant and cheifely doing businesse for such; lives with his family in good fashion, of civill and peaceable behaviour, is by some well, by others very ill reputed of, but whether justly or unjustly I cannot say. His dwelling is neere Mr Stock's house.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy in Papillon's hand.*

236. NOTTINGHAM TO COLONEL JAMES KENDALL

1693, May 18. Whitehall. 'The stay of Captain Phillips here gives me the opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of yours of March the 4th, with the welcome news of Sir Francis Wheeler's arrivall and of the extraordinary reception he has had from your island, which is so good an evidence of their affections that her Majesty is extreemly pleased with their great duty and readinesse in her service, as well as with your zeal who have so eminently promoted it.

'I have spoke with the Commissioners of the Admiralty about your bills, and they assure me that your bills amounting to about £1,300 are assigned for payment and may be, if not already, received. The last, of about £300, is accepted also, and will be payd as soon as possible.'

P.S. 'I desire you to present my humble service to Sir Francis Wheeler and

Colonel Foulks, to whom I have nothing to write at present in answer to their letters more then to wish them good successe.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.106. (For the letter to which this is in reply see *Cal. S. P. America and W. I. 1693-96*, p.39.)

237. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 18/28. Dighem. Your letter of the 12th has been read to the King, who has not yet signified his pleasure touching the Parliament of Ireland. I have written his order to the Pensioner concerning Mr Hill.

'Wee are under great uncertainties what the French will undertake or whether they will undertake anything in these parts, which it is generally believed they will by the number of their forces, which is said to exceed 150,000 men in the Low Countries, and by the great preparations they have made and are making. Few days will resolve these doubts, the French King being to arrive this day at Mons or at the camp near it.' In the meantime his Majesty has ordered the troops under Lord Athlone near Liege to march immediately towards us, but it is not thought advisable to send for those encamped near Ghent, or to join the two bodies, before it is plain whether the scene of the war will be in Flanders or Brabant this year. 'The French give out confidently they will attack Bruxells. In the meantime there is great reason to fear that the news of the loss of Heydelberg is too true and then if the French should possess themselves of Francfort the blow would be fatall to the Empire and break all the measures the Germans have taken for this year's operation.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 22 May.*

Enclosing:

237(1). 1693, May 18/28. Camp at Diegem. 'The four battalions mentioned in my last to be in the neighbouring village are now encamp't with the rest of the forces, and the Dutch train of artillery is likewise here.

'The King has mark't out a camp at Anderleck on the other side of Brussells, and 'tis thought wee shall march thither in three or four days.

'His Majesty has been pleas'd to make my Lord Colchester, captain of the third troop of horse guards, major generall of his forces.

'It is said the French King will be this night at Mons and that it will soon appear whether his design be upon Bruxells or any other place.

'Yesterday the Elector of Bavaria received letters from Germany that the French army, consisting of 52,000 men, were marcht to Heydelberg and had taken that place by assault, from whence it was feared they would march to Francfort; but other letters from Cologne of the 22nd instant mention only a party of 2,000 French horse to have passed the Rhine, and haveing made a course as far as Heydelberg, to the great terror of those parts, were again retired.'

2pp.

238. PORTLAND TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693,] May 18/28. Diegom. '... Jay parlé au Roy des pensions que vous proposes pour de certaines gens en Irlande. Cela va plus loing que sa Majesté navoit creu, cependant il l'approuveroit mais dans ce temps l'argent est si rare en Irlande comme en Angletterre quil vaudra mieux de remettre cette affaire pour un peu de temps. Pour ces deux officiers qui ce sont rendus protestants, la somme est si inconsiderable quil seroit bon quon leur donnait quelque chose en attendant quils pussent estre employez, pour encourager dautres den faire autant. J'espere que la flotte sera sortie asteur [à cette heure, by now], car autrement elle ne trouvera personne à Brest, et les ennemis seront sortis en mer ou trop forts en nombre dans la Baye.'

P.S. 'Le Roy de France estant arrivé, et ces troupes estant plus nombreuses que lanné passée, nous aurons apparemment une facheuse campagne.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 22 May.*

239. NOTTINGHAM TO PRESIDENT DE LA TOUR

1693, May 19. Whitehall. I rejoice to learn from your letter of 12/22 May that his Royal Highness is restored to health, the more so since I believe that the welfare of Christendom is involved.

The Mediterranean fleet is ordered at once to sail, and will have done so before you receive this.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.217.

240. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, May 19. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of the 15/25 and his Majesty's pleasure touching the sayling of the Mediteranean squadron is obey'd, as you will be more fully informed by Mr Secretary Trenchard, and I have acquainted my Lord President with the other letter of the same date, and I have writt to the President de la Tour, from whom I had a letter and copy of his memoriall to the King, to tell him that the squadron is positively order'd to proceed and that he may depend upon its sayling immediately, so certainly as that he may give his master an assurance of it.

'Upon this occasion, though the fleet be not in my particular province, I cannot forbear observing some few things to you.

'Before the receipt of this your last letter the orders were agreed upon that the Mediterranean squadron should proceed with the main fleet, and if upon their arrivall upon the coast off of Brest they should find the Thoulon squadron come and joyn'd the French fleet, then only ten men of war should go on with the merchants; or if the Thoulon ships were not come then the

whole squadron to go to Cadiz, and if there they found the Thoulon fleet come out of the Streights then ten only to goe from thence and Sir Georg Rook was to return with the rest, as the King once intended about February last. For tho' this did not exactly answer the treaty of Spayn, yet the end of the treaty, which was to be superior in the Mediterranean, was fulfilled, and our merchants sufficiently secured; and there was no need of more there, perhaps there may be here.

'But now the whole squadron is orderd away, and I cannot but think it expedient for his Majesty to send orders over land to Cadiz for Sir Georg Rook in the case above mention'd to return with all but ten men of war and the bomb-vessell to England.

'Sir Georg Rook has orders to stay with his squadron and the merchant ships twenty days at Cadiz, the consequence of which will be that the Count D'Estree, if in the Streights, will certainly have notice of their being att Cadiz, and will infallibly so post himself as to meet them, and I cannot think but that our squadron and merchants must be destroy'd: to prevent which either the King, by orders overland, must be pleas'd to direct Sir Georg Rook to make no stay there otherwise then as by the intelligence he shall receive there he shall judge expedient, which will not sute with the convenience of the Dutch merchants, or that Sir Georg Rook be permitted, if he sees fitt, to leave the merchants and their proper convoys at Cadiz and take the first opportunity that he finds best of avoyding the French, which he may better do when he is not incumbred with merchant ships, and go into the Streights and joyn the Spanish fleet and come back in search of the French, sending notice to Cadiz when the merchants may come away with safety.

'Thus much has been discourst at the Committee, and Mr Trenchard is to write to you of it, as expedient to prevent notice to the enemy of our motions and for security of this fleet.

'But there is a further reason for it, which I have not mention'd to the Committee, which is that considering the time requisite for the voiage to Cadiz, twenty days' stay there, and afterwards the time necessary for the squadron's sayling to Gaietta and from thence back with the Spanish fleet to support the designs against France, the season may probably be too far spent for any considerable attempt or, at least, progresse against the enemy. And as Sir Georg Rook should return hither from Cadiz in case the Thoulon ships should be come out of the Streights, so surely, if it were certain that they were to remain there, Sir Georg Rook should be strenghtned [*sic*] with an addition of eight or ten considerable ships to be detachd from the main fleet, and even with a greater number if the French should have sent any more thither from these seas. If therefore the King has any certain advice to be relied on that the French will not come out of the Mediterranean or that we could have any

such notice here, and that his Majesty would lett the Queen know his opinion in such a case that her Majesty may give orders accordingly in the secretest manner that is possible, we might hope for great success there, and considering the twenty days stay of Sir Georg Rook at Cadiz as his present orders stand, if such a detachment were made from the fleet within a fortnight they would certainly joyn Rook at Cadiz.

'If what I have writt be of no use, I am sorry I have given you or my selfe the trouble of it.

'I think 'tis fitt the admirall of the Spanish fleet should have notice of our squadron's sayling, which perhaps you may give him by a better way then by the Consull of Naples.

'I should be glad to know how long the Spanish fleet will continue at sea and where 'tis to be laid up; the reason of this question is because care must be taken for the returne of our squadron and merchants out of the Streights, for if the Spaniards go into port and we do not send more ships at the end of the year, the French may easily and will certainly destroy them.

'The orders to the Admiralty about corn in neutrall ships are already given and they have form'd instructions to the men of war and privateers accordingly. Count Oxinstern and Monsieur Scheels had copies of them when they were here and made no exceptions, but if there should be any complaint hereof from those courts, and that they will equally disapprove the like proceeding of France which was the ground of ours, this article may be alter'd when France shall be obliged to do so too better then now so soon after the orders are given. But if his Majesty will have it altered presently it shall be done.

'I have a letter from Mr Methwyn of the 8/18 April wherein he says he has a good prospect of settling such a forme of a passeport as may prevent the abuses committed by the Portuguese merchants, and that the King of Portugall complained to him of the hardships his subjects sufferd from France and express'd himself so as if he apprehended he should be necessitated to break with France.

'I have also a letter from my Lord Pagett of March 29 O.S. giving account of his audience, which was with great respect to him, and of the removall of the Grand Vizir and severall others; that the proposall of peace made by Monsieur Heemskirk at Belgrade had been read to all the great officers in the presence of my Lord Pagett and the two Dutch ambassadors, and that all the officers had declared against such a peace. My Lord Pagett complained of this to the Mufti, telling him he had no instructions to propose the terms in that project: to which the Mufti frankly answer'd that 'twas necessary to tell something to the people, whose expectations of peace were raised by the coming of so many severall ambassadors. My Lord Pagett says Monsieur

Heemskirke has done harm rather than promoted the peace; however he does not despair of successe.

'You have not sent me his Majesty's pleasure about Major Generall Maxwell and his horses.

P.S. 'Mr Clark says the two Scotch regiments design'd for Ireland are raised, and he desires to know whether they shall be sent thither or remain in Scotland.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to King; memorial from Mr Clarke concerning the two Scots regiments.

3½ pp. Letter Book III, pp.187–8.

241. NOTTINGHAM TO DR JOHN WALLIS

1693, May 21. Whitehall. On Thursday I sent you a letter enclosing a paper in cipher 'which being sent by the ordinary post, I desire you will let me know whether you received it'.

I now send you another letter for deciphering as soon as possible.

½ p. Letter Book IV, p.107. (The original of this letter is at Add. MS. 32499, f. 339. For the enclosure and the Thursday letter and enclosure see introduction above.)

242. SALATHIEL LOVELL, RECORDER OF LONDON, TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 22. 'I have committed to Newgat Caning and Dormer for dispersing the declarations. They are known persons to have usually been very forward against the Government. Caning has been twice in Newgat before for a privat presse and dealing in such matters. I thinke the evidence both is very strong, and doe think it may bee for the publick service to try there the next sessions whilst the matter is fresh.'

1p. *Holograph*. (See also the undated letter from Dr Richard Kingston calendared in *Finch IV*, pp. 196–7, as May or June 1692, *recte* 1693.)

243. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [May 22/] June 1. Dighem. His Majesty approves of the directions prepared for the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland concerning the decision of claims. It is his pleasure that Lord Athlone be gratified in his request, and you will understand from the Queen his intentions concerning the Duke of Leinster.

'Your Lordship will in some manner be informed from the enclosed account of the deplorable condition of the Palatinat and I may say of the neighbouring part of the Empire by the destruction of Heydelberg, and more particularly from the copy I send to Mr Secretary Trenchard of a letter from that Elector to his Majesty.

'The Pentioner has not yet returned any answer concerning Mr Hill. His Majesty is now satisfied that Colonel Hamilton's engagement to my Lord of Meath should be deliver'd up or cancelled ...'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 May.*

Enclosing:

243(1). The Earl of Athlone to [Blathwayt]. 1693, May [16/]26. Liege. 'Le Roy m'a fait la grace de me dire à Breda que sur le bien de Milord Limmerick que sa Majesté m'a donné, et que Coll. Dongam me dispute, elle vouloit escrire à Milord Nottingham que les warants seroit despeschées ou bien Coll. Dongam ordonné de prouver sa pretention dans un tarme [terme] bien courte, et comme je soufre beaucoup de prejudice dans le trainisement de cest affaire, qui dure austeup pres d'un ann, je vous serois obligé, Monsieur, si vous avez la bonté de construire ceste lettre dans des termes un peu fortes, afin que je puisse avoir une fin de cest affaire, et je seray fort aise de me venger et vous rendre quelque service.'

2½ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Blathwayt.*

243(2). 1693, May 22/June 1. Camp at Dighem. 'Our camp is now encreased to about 30 batallions of foot, and 19 of those which were encampt at Ghent are come on this side of Dendermonde within one day's march of this place under the command of Lieutenant-Generall Talmash in order to joyn us, which 'tis thought they will doe in a day or two when wee remove to Anderleck, where there are now encamp't about 2,000 horse and dragoons. When these 19 batallions of foot have joyn'd us, all the foot in the King's pay will be together, excepting Colonel Tidcomb's regiment which remains at Ostend, the Lord Castleton's at Bruges, and the Earl of Argile's at Ghent. The two troops of English guards are at Liere between Antwerp and Mechlen, and the rest of the English horse remaine still about Ghent.'

Heydelberg was taken by storm on 22 May, N.S. 'The enemy put all before them to the sword, then plunder'd and fired the towne, taking away the best of the goods and destroying the rest.' Part of the garrison and many inhabitants, to the number of 1700, retired into the castle where they capitulated and were conducted as far as Sintzheim, nearly halfway to Frankfort. Only the churches of St. Peter, St. Jacob and the Capucins remained standing, with a few houses which may since have been destroyed.

Prince Lewis of Baden and the Landgrave of Hesse are drawing their forces together. Frankfort has been reinforced. The troops of Saxony are likewise expected at their rendezvous near Frankfort in three or four days.

'It is confidently reported that the French King is indisposed at Le Quenoy, and has been let blood twice.'

1½ pp. *Copy.*

244. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, May 23. Whitehall. I have received yours of the 18/28 inst. Secretary Trenchard will write to you about what was discussed at the committee touching reinforcements for Sir George Rooke if the Toulon fleet remained in the Straits. 'My Lord Lieutenant recommends Sir Jo[h]n Every, Deputy Governor of Galway, as a very honest and diligent man to be placed upon the establishment, by reason he is at more expence in the absence of the Governor

then otherwise he would be obliged to.' Captain Thornycroft, lately in Colonel Hales's regiment, is now in Colonel Hastings's, 'who commends him as a very good officer and desires he may keep his rank and praecedence in his regiment according to the date of the commission he had in Colonel Hales's.'

Note of enclosure: Queen's letter.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book III, p.191.

245. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [May 25/] June 4. Digheem. In answer to your letter of the 19th, his Majesty approves of the orders to be sent to Cadiz for Sir George Rook to return to England with all but ten men of war and the bomb vessel if the Toulon squadron comes into these seas, 'but the sending these orders *over land* his Majesty cannot think safely practicable since they must pass the French hande who will alter their measures accordingly ...

'His Majesty is sensible enough that the twenty days' stop at Cadiz may be a great disappointment to the service, but the necessity of staying for the merchants is to take place unless upon my writing to the Pentioner of it they shall otherwise agree in Holland which 'tis thought they will not.

'What your Lordship does likewise propose of strenghtning [*sic*] our Mediterranean squadron in case the Toulon fleet remain in those seas his Majesty thinks very reasonable, but to have any certain advice to be relied on that the French *will not* come out of the Mediterranean is impossible, since they will always do as at land change their designs as they shall see cause, and therefore it is his Majesties pleasure that detachments be made from England as by the best intelligence may seem requisite from time to time.'

The admiral of the Spanish fleet will have notice of the sailing of our squadron from the Spanish envoy at Bruxells, and as soon as it is known how long the Spanish will continue at sea, and where it will be laid up, I shall let you know.

'As to the stopping of corn in neutral ships, it is what Monsieur Scheels as well as Count Oxenstiern has complained of since our arrivall in Holland, and a memoriall from the latter to that purpose is now lying in Mr Secretary Trenchard's hands. And that which is no less materiall, there is not much benefitt accruing by it, there being few ships stopt, and therefore his Majesty thinks that article may be alter'd in the regulation, both parties disowning that France does practice the same thing.

'His Majesty has the like intelligence from Turkey which shews the two ambassadors are not a little jealous of one another. Monsieur Heemskerck is recalled by the States.

'The King gives leave that Major-Generall Maxwell may now go into France but without horses; and would have the two regiments designed for Ireland stay where they are untill further order, and that the Lords of the Treasury take care of their subsistance.

'We are to begin our march in few hours to Park Abby near Louvain where all our forces will join. The French seem to have a design upon Liege and are marching that way.'

P.S. The King wishes to know whether Lord George Douglas is well enough to go to Sweden.

4pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 30 May.*

Enclosing:

245(1). *In Blathwayt's hand on a separate slip.* 'Your Lordship is pleased to say Mr Secretary Trenchard was to write to me of Sir G. Rook's staying or not staying at Cadiz, etc., but I have only a bare account from Mr Secretary of the going out of the squadron with the main fleet, so that if your Lordship had confined your self to your province the King would not have had any of those considerations your Lordship mentions.'

245(2). 1693, May 25/June 4. Camp at Dighem. The horse and foot that were at Ghent are now encamped a mile beyond us towards Louvain. The Dutch artillery train marched towards Louvain yesterday and tomorrow our whole army follows. The King will have his quarters tomorrow night in Park Abby, as last year. The French are also on their march. They encamped last night at Nivelles, tonight at Genap, and are thought to have a design on Liege, so the King has sent the Duke of Wirtemberg there to report on its condition.

'It's said the King of France lay last night at Mariemont.'

A Spanish captain who with 50 men has the guard of the Bois de Soignys charged and routed 150 of the enemy today, killing many and taking some prisoner.

'The French are retired from Heydelberg after having utterly destroyed that town and castle. They are gone towards Philipsburg or the country of Wirtemberg.'

1½ pp. *Copy. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 30 May.*

246. NOTTINGHAM TO ABRAHAM STOCK

1693, May 26. Whitehall. Thank you for the account you give me of the doggers from Holland in your letter of the 24th.

'I have been informed of Monsieur La Croix, that lives near you at Dover, as if he were an instrument of carrying on the correspondence with France, tho' others give him a good character. Pray let me know what you have observed of his behaviour, and what grounds you apprehend there may be of this suspicion, and the methods you think the most proper to make a further discovery of his practices, if there be reason for such a jealousy; but take no notice to him or any other of what I write to you.'

½ p. Letter Book IV, p.108.

247. LORD CONINGSBY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 26. Hampton Court, Herifordsheir. 'Yesterday the Mayor of Heriford braught me over one of the late King's declarations and said very many had the night before bin dispersed about the citty.' I went ther this day 'but I could not meet with any information sufficient to fix it upon any person, only I found very great grounds to beleive that my Lord Huntington braught them thether whoe the last week made a progress thro these parts to noe other end. Three days he stayed in Heriford and conversed with none but some of the discontented clergye that live in that colledge and in and about their quarters was most of these papers found.

'In the window of his chamber after he was gon was found ritt in a pane of the glass these words, God bless King James and the Prince of Wales. He went from Heriford to Worcster and from thence God knows whether.

'The Mayor I suppose burnt the declaration last night, the people of the town requiring it should be don; for that it takes but little amongst the comon people in these parts.

'Some smale tumults there has bin in Heriford about the exportation of corn, as has bin in other places, but soe inconsiderable that its scars worth mentioning and I hope is prevented for the future, and I can't but say to your Lordship that the Mayor there and Mr James Morgan doe take great pains and care to preserve the peace of the citty.'

3pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 29 May.*

248. NOTTINGHAM TO GEORGE STEPNEY

1693, May 26. Whitehall. Please forward the enclosed [not entered] to Lord Pagett, when you have an opportunity.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book II, p.218. (The enclosure is not described in the original covering letter, which is at SP 105/82, f.114).

249. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, May 26. Whitehall. Covering letter.

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book III, p.191.

250. ABRAHAM STOCK TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 28. Deale. 'I am glad my niews of the doggers was acceptable to your Lordship.

'As to Monsieur Isaac de la Croix he hath bin my next neighbour and tennant

now nine yeares. He came over with his familie (before the persecution) to settle i[n] hopes of better trade then he had at Calais.

'Dureing peacable times it hath bin observed he never drove any visible trade for himselfe, onely something by comission for receipt of silkes and such other goods as usually came over in the packetboats to be sent by land to London.

'But it was generally believed that his chiefest employ consisted in running of[f] of goods out and in of Rumney marshes in conjunction with Rowe for that those two were very conversant and 'tis believed they were copartners.

'His familie is very greate and was maintained very high and costly in time of peace, more then any visible trade he drove would beare; yet when all comerce with France was ceaced, it was observed that altho' he had little or no trade to any other contries, he grewe to a greater hight then before notwithstanding the encrease of his familie and decay of trade, which gives occasion of jealousie that he is a pensioner of France, haveing no visible estate but what stocke in money and goods he might bring over with him which is not seene.

'He keepes comonly a brace of good gildings and rydes out often which is an other cause of jealousie.

'He is it may be sensible and feares that his corespondance from Dover to and from the marshes and to and from Whitstable, Herne and that way might be at one time or other be [*sic*] intercepted, therefore a while agoe he tooke a house at Canterbury where he kept his wife and some part of his familie and he with the rest at Dover tho' they exchanged sometimes. The pretence was to sett up a linnen manufactorie there but that blinde would not hold long. Then it was for the education of their children, but that hath as little coulour. Now they talke of leaving that house and be altogether at Dover. Time will shewe.

'Canterbury being almost as neare to Rumney marshes as to Dover and farr nearer to Whitstable and Herne then to Dover, and being a greate citie where may come in and out at any time of the day or night especialy to a merchant's house without being suspected, it is to be supposed he made choice of that place to carrie on his private trade with France if continued in it as 'tis suposed he did. Both himselfe and his wife are very subtile and carrie on their designs with greate secrecie.

'Yet for all this conveniencie at Canterbury they could not be without a house at Dover for other conveniencies there, which 'tis supposed he had by meanes of the transport ship that goes to and from Calais with prisonners of warr, the master whereof may justly be suspected because of the company he keepes, as Mr Bastinck and others, and this master is very frequently at Monsieur La Croix but especialy at his going away and coming in.

'That some give him a good character it may be, but very fewe of his neare Calais neighbours refugied in Dover doe it for he hath much disturbed their small congregation.

'When Monsieur Dulivier and Monsieur Medy were obliged to quit England they were some dayes at Dover. Monsieur La Croix was often with them and they at Monsieur La Croix, it being the last house they were in in England, and in his house searched by some of the customehouse officers who may not be the best affected to the government.

'My daughter who manages the letter office in Dover for me, she is of yeares tho' single and of sence and capacitie for buisienes thanckes be to God, hath observed entercourse of letters betwixt Monsieur La Croix and a gentleman that belongs or did belong to your Lordship's office when I was last in London.

'This is all I can say is the cause of jealousie which I humbly leave to your Lordship's wisdomes to jure of.

'Now what methode to be used for discoverie of his practise which your Lordship desires of me is something to high for me to prescribe, yet seing it is your Lordship's pleasure to comand me I will with all humilitie and obedience ... begin thus.

'If your Lordship shall thincke fitt to comand my daughter Susan at Dover (or if your Lordship thincke [it] too greate a trust to be imposed on her I will ... goe there my selfe, tho' I have no cause to feare my daughter's diligent care and prudent management of any affaire of that kinde), that whatsoever letters that shall be brought into the office for one, two or 3 nights together from Mr La Croix and from Mr Rowe, to pack them up altogether and send them to your Lordship and the like for the next night or the same, if your Lordship thincke it fitt to stop all such letters as come from London for Mr La Croix, Mr Rowe, Thomas Hogben and one widdowe Gallant, there are two of the name but my daughter know[s] which she believes receives letters under her cover as well for Rowe as La Croix as Hogben does, and by your Lordship's opening those letters may be found something right downe or at least such ambiguous nonsense like matter as may give your Lordship greate cause to suspect.

'The next to give order to the captain of the drago[o]ns that is in the marshes to intercept one Montaine that carries private letters twice a weeke from Dover into the marshes besides what he hath from my house at Dover. I will direct him the places and dayes he shall best doe it.

'I will certainly and religiously observe your Lordship's comand concerning keeping this matter secret.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 29 May.*

251. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY

1693, May 29. Whitehall. 'Mr Stock has furnisht to one of the machine ships an anchor to supply what was lost, which her Majesty would have your Lordships order to be allowed.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.108.

252. NOTTINGHAM TO ABRAHAM STOCK

1693, May 29. Whitehall. I have received your letters of the 26th [missing] and 28th and have written to the Admiralty to allow you the anchor you have furnished to the machine ship. I enclose letters to the captain of the *Kingsfisher* and Captain Van der Stam, which I pray may be despatched with all speed.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.108.

Enclosing:

252(1). Nottingham to Captain Van der Stam. 1693, May 29. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of the 28th and have writt to the Admiralty for an additional convoy, and they have directed the *Bonaventure* to accompany you with the *Kingsfisher* to Portsmouth, so that no time must be lost in prosecuting of your voiage.

'You have done very well to secure the master of the *Hopewell* hoy.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.109.

253. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [May 29/] June 8, N.S. Park Abby. I now return an answer to your letter of the 23rd with directions from Mr Secretary Trenchard touching an additional strength to the Mediterranean squadron; likewise to that of the 19th, whereof I sent an extract to the Pensioner relating to the stay of that squadron at Cadiz. Enclosed are extracts of two letters from him [missing].

'His Majesty has had no leisure since the arrivall of the post to be moved concerning Sir John Every and Captain Thorncroft; as your Lordship may believe, his Majesty is fully taken up with the business of the warr at so very criticall a time.

'The army where the King of France is in person encamps this night at Ramelliés and the Maréchal of Luxembourg at Walheim, by which disposition it is easy to conjecture either Liege or Mastricht are aimed at, the siege to be carried on by one army and cover'd by the other as the last year, both of them being at least as numerous and superior to ours as they then were.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received June 3/13.*

Enclosing:

253(1). 1693, May 29/June 8. Camp at Park. 'On Fryday last his Majesty marched from Digheim and came hither the same day with all the foot and both the trains of artillery. The 3 troops of horse guards join'd us in the march, and this day my Lord Auverquerque is come in with the horse and dragoons under his command, as is likewise the Earle of Athlone with the forces he commanded near Mastricht.

'The French King march'd yesterday with his army from Fleury to Ramiliers, and Monsieur Luxembourg from Genap to Walheim.

'Deserters come in to us dayly in good numbers, and among them many Irish, being some of those that have been lately detached for Catalonia.

'By letters of the 5th of June from Cologne it is advised that the cavalerie of the Landgrave of Hesse had passed the Main at Franckfort, and were marching with all diligence to joyn Prince Louis of Baden, and that the infantry were encamp't between Mentz and Franckfort. The same letters say that the troops of Saxony would be the 6th instant at Hanau within twelve English miles of Franckfort, and that Marshall de Lorge was gone with the French army towards Philipsbourg, from whence 'twas believ'd he would march to Hailbron, where Prince Louis of Baden lay strongly entrenched, resolving to waite his coming.

'And by other letters of a later date we are told that the Marshall de Lorge did march from Heydelberg to Heilbron in order to engage Prince Louis of Baden, who had there upon put his army, which did not consist of above 20,000 men, into battallia, and faced the French the whole day, after which he passed the Neckar, where he now is. The French were 50,000 strong.

'The letters from Paris say that the French fleet was abroad being about 70 ships of the line of battle, and that they have orders to keep on their own coast, and not to avoid our fleet.'

2½ pp. *Copy.*

254. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, May 30. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of May 22/June 1 and had before it came to my hands signified their Majestys' pleasure to the Lords of the Treasury to dispatch the grant of the Lord Limerick's estate to the Earl of Athlone', delayed because of an unsubstantiated claim by Colonel Dungan that his brother was only tenant for life.

'My Lord Lieutenant of Ireland has writt to me again about the banishing the Popish bishops and regular clergy and has sent me a draught of a proclamation approved by the Councill of Ireland for that purpose. The King did once intend to have such a proclamation issued ... and order'd Mr Attorney, etc., to prepare a draught accordingly, but upon consideration of it again at the Councill you may remember his Majesty thought fitt to suspend his resolution in this matter, as thinking it might be lyable to misconstruction abroad by his allies, so the Queene will give no directions in it but has commanded me to write to you of it that you may send me the King's pleasure in it.

'My Lord Lieutenant has prorogued the Parliament of Ireland to the 5th of

September, which he says is the most proper time for the meeting of the Parliament there, and this will not interfere with the Parliament here, which will scarce meet so soon as the other in Ireland may be ended. And therefore there can be no inconvenience that he has exceeded the 19th of August, which I told you was prescrib'd to him from hence, but this order did not come time enough as I guesse, for his Excellency takes no notice of the receipt of it. He is still of opinion that a new Parliament there will be most for their Majestys' service, and there are many reasons to induce me to think so too.

'My Lord Carlisle was with me today to know whether there would be no Deputy Governor appointed for Carlisle, which if there should be any disturbance in those parts he thinks absolutely necessary, he himself being so young a man. He has no body to recommend but desires if his Majesty names any he may be a soldier whose experience may supply any want of ability in himself. This is very modest in my Lord and very zealous for his Majesty's service ...

'The Queene has been again moved to permitt Major Generall Maxwell to go into France in pursuance of the exchange agreed upon, the persons having bin here already ten weeks, and her Majesty has order'd it; but I believe he will not make use of this leave till you lett me know his Majesty's pleasure touching his carrying with him three horses which he long ago bought in confidence of such a permission, Lieutenant Generall Talmach having promised to speak to the King for it.'

P.S. 'I send you a paper [James II's declaration of 17 April] whereof multitudes have been spread both in London and most parts of England. Two of the dispersers here are taken, and one of them is the same who printed the last declaration; and though the Recorder writt to me that there were three witnesses against them, yet it seems there is but one that speaks positively, and I fear the others may have been tamper'd with by the party, that so there might not be a prosecution of them for high treason, and the Committee thinks that it ought not to be for a less crime. All care will be taken in this matter that is possible.'

P.P.S. Yours of 4 June has just arrived.

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Viscount Sydney's letters to the King.

2pp. Letter Book III, pp.192–3.

255. NOTTINGHAM TO ROBERT WOLSELEY

1693, May 30. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of the 21/31th, and doe acknowledg that it will be very difficult to perswade the persons you mention to write directly to England, and the opportunities of it will be very few; but if they will venture, and they should meet with a convenience for it, let them

putt no superscription upon the letter seald to me, but only a crosse x, and inclose it in a letter directed *A Monsieur le Chevalier Herne, marchand a Londres.*'

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.109.

256. NOTTINGHAM TO ABRAHAM STOCK

1693, May 30. Whitehall. 'The method you propose is very good for sending to me all the letters for one or two posts together which la Croix writes to London, expecially to do so after the arrivall of the vessell with prisoners or before its sayling to France, or when you hear of any goods to persons landed in the marshes or elsewhere upon the coast.

'As for letters directed to him from London and the orders to the captain of the dragoons, I will take care here.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.109.

257. NOTTINGHAM TO LORD CONINGSBY

1693, May 30. Whitehall. 'I have received your Lordship's letter of the 26th. Your conjectures of the person that dispers'd the declarations at Hereford are very probable, and it would be very good service if it could be traced to some proof; but your Lordship will best judg of the methods which are most proper to make the discovery, now you are upon the place.'

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.110.

258. BENJAMIN TIMEWELL TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, May 30, 12 noon. Portsmouth. 'The whole royall fleet with the merchant ships are now under sayl with a fresh gale at east.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Endorsed by Nottingham as received 31 May.*

259. WILLIAM MEESTERS TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 1. Portsmouth. 'Last Friday I arrived att this place, and on Saturday mourning the ship with machines which I had att London got into this harbour from the Downes. The next day I went on board their Majesties ship the *Brittannia* to the admiralls, purposely to have their advice and instructions, but they being indisposed at that juncture appointed me to come to them on Munday mourning; but that night an humour falling down into one of my hands disordered me soe that I could not put on my cloaths the next day, therefore was forced to send to the said admiralls for their instructions, and withall an account how that the rest of the machine ships were arrived to the Downes, who sent me back this answer, that the Lords of

the Admiralty had not as yet intimated any thing concerning me, or the ships and my care to them, soe that they could give no directions.

‘... Receiuing this answer put me to a nonplus, and haueing but one fireship with two machines here did not think it convenient to sayle along with the fleet without sayleing orders ... and moreover the rest of the machine ships being not arrived hither as yet, without which it is not to be expected that any great matters could be performed.

‘... Soe soon as the rest of the ships with machines shall arrive hither (which did ride in the Downes the 25th of last month) ... I am in a readiness to goe along with them ... but ... without the assistance of the admiralls ’tis not possible any business of moment can be done, and besides the men which are in the machine ships were only hired in Holland for to bring the said ships to the fleet but not to perform any execution, soe that ... it will be necessary to direct that stout fellows be pickt out of the fleet and put into the said ships in lew of those that are now on board for to perform the designe, and likewise that six or 7 of the wellboates [transports] will be wanted for to put small machines in when that we shall arive att the place where [the] disigne must be executed (the said boates are all laid up in this harbour).’

P.S. ‘Just now the lieutenant of the *King’s Fisher* brings me tydeings how that the rest of the machine ships are come into this bay, soe that I desire your Lordship to send orders to the admiralls accordingly.

‘The small machines will be of no service in these ships because there’s a great one for each of them, therefore doe intend to leave them in a storehouse here till the wellboates shall be ordered to sayle.

‘I have sent this express, and desire speedy orders by the bearer.’

1p. *Signed. Endorsed as received on 1 June at 10 p.m.*

260. ABRAHAM STOCK TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 1. Deale. ‘I am rejoiced to find by your Lordship’s letter I received last night your Lordship’s approbation of my weake methode. I intend for Dover very speedily where all care shall be taken to observe your Lordship’s comands and should be glad to receive farther wherein I may be servicable ...

‘Here is a paper left with me by a custome house officer of Hyth which he brought, and the original was given to Mr Pewton, collector of the customes at Dover.’

P.S. ‘I feare that if a gentleman who belongs to your Lordship’s office should know the design about my neighbour it might take vent and his letters goe an other way for as I said before there is corespondance betweene them two.’

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 2 June.*

Enclosing:

260(1). 'Since my last information concerning Mr Lacroix, Mr Roue and his sons, merchants in Dover, who are the sole manadgers there of the transportation of English and French goods to and from Calais and passengers and packets to and from the late King, and Mr Regden receiver and distributor of the French goods in London for the said Lacroix, and Mrs Hawkins, Mr Holmes and Mr Mickan, receivers and distributors for the said Rous, and concerning Mr Everden, merchant in London, who go's and com's frequentlie to and from Calais upon the like designes, I have received letters from the merchants in Calais which ... doth clearlie instruct (as to the convincing point) the truth of that matter, both as to the packets I received and those that by stormy weather missing the places designed for landing wer seized and are now in the hands of Mr Bodwin, merchant in London, to whome I must pay the pryce at which they are valued in the custome house.'

The receivers and distributors in London may be evidences against the said merchants in Dover, and they being convicted, methods may be taken to stop the late King's correspondence that way ...

If the commissioners of the customhouse should desire Mr Pers (solicitor for the merchants) to show the lists he has of alamodes and black silk laces seized and prized, with the names of the merchants to whom he was ordered to deliver them, 'it will discover much of that intrigue, wherein (to my admiration) the lau is ridicul'd.'

1p. *Endorsed (in the same hand):* 'Memoriall'.

261. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 1/11. Parck. I have received yours of 26 May, and 'a letter from Monsieur d'Ayrolles at Paris that says the court at St. Germaines now expects my Lord Clancarti and not Macelligot in exchange for him, but that he believes this is rather to please his Lordship's friends than from any hopes of succeeding in so unreasonable a demand ... His Majesty directs me to signify his pleasure that no countenance be given to such a proposall in England, as I have his Majesties permission to lett Monsieur d'Ayrolles know as much at Paris.

'It is the opinion of many that the King of France is returning to Versailles and that the Dauphin will command the great detachment that is thought to be making into Germany, tho' it be no less probable what is said of Huy.'

1½ pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 6 June.*

Enclosing:

261(1). 1693, June 1/11. Camp at Park. 'We continue still in the same camp as well as the army commanded by the Marshall de Luxembourg, but the greatest part of the other commanded by the Marshall de Boufflers passed the Meuse yesterday at Namur, where the French King is himself. Some say they are marching towards Germany, and others that they intend to take in Huy, in order to the more easy besieging of Liege. We expect every moment some determination of their designs.

'A part of the garrison of Charleroy have lately taken about forty mules and twenty ledd horses belonging to the Duke de Main and other officers of the French army, the ladies of the French court very narrowly escaping while the party was busied in rifling the baggage on the mules.'

1p. *Copy.*

262. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, June 2. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of June 4th N.S. and have writt to my Lord Drumlanrick to know in what condition my Lord Georg Douglas is, and you shall have an account whether he is capable of undertaking a journey to Sweden.

'Major Generall Maxwell has his passe to go to France in the ship for exchange prisoners, but without his horses.

'I told you in my last that I had done all on my part touching the King's grant of the Lord Limerick's estate to the Earl of Athlone ... But upon a very humble and modest petition of Colonel Dungan [Lord Limerick's brother], my Lord Keeper saying that tho' there was no settlement as was alledg'd whereby the Lord Limerick became but tenant for life, yet if he were tenant in tail, as he was by his father's will, his forfeiture could give no greater estate to the King then during the continuance of his issue, the Lords of the Councill thought it necessary that I should write this to you that the King (and indeed my Lord Athlone too) should be acquainted with it; for this grant will be of little advantage and very short of so durable an estate as the King intended to my Lord Athlone. For the Earl of Limerick and his lady are both very old and not likely to have any issue, and then the estate tho' given to the Earl of Athlone will upon the Lord Limerick's decease descend to Colonel Dungan. If neverthesse the King will have this grant proceed, the Lords of the Treasury will dispatch it.

'His Majesty's pleasure for altering the article about corn in neuter ships shall be obey'd, but let me observe to you that neither can Denmark or Sweden pretend to a liberty of sending provisions (which certainly comprehends corn) to France; for 'tis expressly against the treaties with those crownes, as you may see in the third article of that of 1660 with Denmark and the eleventh article with Sweden in 1661. Besides their ministers doe not pretend that France has not made the like order, but only that France does not practise it, and therefore if it must be revok'd on our part those crownes should insist that France should annull the order too as well as forbear the executing it.

'You may remember how long the *Eaglett* ketch was on her voiage to Galway and when it arrived how it could not proceed for want of victualls. I told you also that my Lord Lieutenant supply'd her with provisions, and his Excellency writes that this was done by the 11th of May. The captain neverthesse did not sayl till the 15th and then went onely to the Isles of Arran and there went a shore and loyter'd in expectation of some merchant ships till the 22, and two French privateers have taken him and 'tis feared the packet too; for he being a shore and seeing two ships and supposing them French merchant ships sent his boat with fifteen men, who not returning he

went after them and was also taken, and then they fell upon the ketch which was not able to defend it selfe and the men run her on the rocks and the French have pillaged it.

‘The Queen commands me to write to you for the King’s determination whether the Lords Justices of Ireland shall have authority to grant commissions to the army. The Lord Sidney has this power but the last Lords Justices as also my Lord Clarendon had it not.’

Note of enclosures: Queen’s and Treasury’s letters to the King.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. Letter Book III, pp.194–5.

263. THE COMMISSIONERS OF VICTUALLING TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 2. Sending ‘a list of what shipps did reach the fleet before they sail’d, what are laden and in the way, and what are in ladeing at this port [London] and at Dover; as allsoe what provisions are remaineing in store’ at both ports. A like account for Portsmouth and Plymouth will be sent when received. ‘Wee suppose that the fleet will have little occasion for any dry provisions ... above what is already ship’t for their supply ... The want of the fleet will be onely, or cheifely, beere, which wee shall take all the care imaginable to supply as fast as may be.’

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Signed (3 signatures).*

Enclosing:

263(1). 1693, June 1. ‘Account of shipps laden and in ladeing to attend the fleet and of what remains in store.’ List of 26 ships and their masters, with details of victuals already laden on twelve of them, and of victuals awaiting lading.

1 double page. *Signed (3 signatures) on 2 June.*

264. LORD CONINGSBY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 2. ‘The inclosed with many others weer taken last night with the Heriford carier directed to one Mr Broome to whome as is upon oath proved papers of this sort are most comonly sent. I endeavor’d this day to aprehend him but he missing his box of pamphletts for which he waited himself last night as I am since informed is absconded.

‘I hear his corespondent has a coronett to his seal, perhaps it may prove the same peer that I last gave your Lordship an account of. I am promised one of the seals intire. Your Lordship may be assured Ile trace this matter as far as possible I can and constantly transmitt an account to your Lordship.

‘I begg you my Lord to hasten my Lord Chancellor’s pardon and mine.’

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 5 June.*

265. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 5/15. Perck. His Majesty approves of what is done in the several particulars mentioned in your letter of 30 May. 'But as to the proclamation from Ireland for banishing the Popish bishops and regular clergy, his Majesty does not conceive the issuing of it proper at this time with reference to the allies.' He will consider a fit person to be Lieutenant-Governor of Carlisle.

'Wee are now assured from all hands that the King of France is on his way to Versailles, finding himself not able to undertake any thing, which is the greatest disappointment and mortification he ever mett with, and to be attributed to his Majestie's great foresight in taking this camp and putting the garrisons that were most exposed into so good a state of defence.

'The Marshall de Luxembourg encamps this day near Judoigne not above two or three leagues from hence, which streightens us a little in our forage, but after so good a beginning we doubt not of the continuance of success for the rest of the campagne from the same care and conduct on which, under God, the fate of Europe depends. I send your Lordship some news from Paris that comes from a good hand' [no. F5 below].

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 13 June.*

Enclosing:

265(1). [1693,] June 5/15. Camp at Parke. 'We have certain advice that the French King lay on Fryday night last at Dimant in his return to Versailles, and that the Dauphin is marching at the head of a detachment of above 200,000 men, who lately passed the Meuse, towards Germany, to joyn as 'tis supposed the Marshal de Lorge, who after having repassed the Rhine, has sent a part of his army into Piemont.

'Yesterday Colonel Tidcomb's and Colonel Lawder's regiments came into the camp from Ostend.

'The French army is marched this day towards Judoigne, the remaining part of the forces, commanded by Marshal de Boufflers, having joined the Marshal de Luxembourg. Upon this march a considerable number of deserters are come in to us. They all complain very much of great scarcity of money and provisions in the French army.

'The Duke of St. Albans, my Lord Laxington, with several other volunteers, arriv'd here Fryday last from England.'

1½pp. *Copy.*

266. ELEANOR ALDRED

1693, June 5. 'Ellinor Aldred (which is now in custody of Henry Allen) went from England to Flanders with two children, the one child's name Smith and the other Man, both which she left at St. Omers and received 16 ll. for that service and then went to Paris to see her sonn, and went from thence to St. Jermans and saw King James and his Queene twice, and the said Aldred was at Paris once before in February 89/90.

'For the last passe she went over with she paid Mrs Baker in Leicester Fields 7 guinneys and 10s. for her owne gratuity.

'The said Ellinor Aldred confest all this to me. Henry Allen.'

1p. *Endorsed by Nottingham*: 'About Aldred's passe.' (On 6 Feb. 1693 a pass was granted to Catherine Aldred, Eleonore Aldred and her three children to go to Harwich and Holland. On 1 June a warrant was issued for the arrest and detention of Eleanor Aldridge for coming privately out of France. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1693, pp.29,167.)

267. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, June 6. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of June 8 and 11 N.S.... I have formerly told you that the article about corne in neuter ships will be alter'd, tho' for the reasons I mentioned in my last the Swedes and Danes cannot claim it. And as to Hill, the Dutch consull in Ireland, he may be admitted as such, but that character can give him no protection from suites for his debts, nor will the making over his estate to his creditors exempt him from arrests by our law, however it may do by the law of Holland.

'I have already told Sir William Trumball, who being concerned for Monsieur Dayrolle had been spoke to from my Lord Clancarty about an exchange, that the King will not allow of it.

"The enclosed to the King is from the Duke of Norfolk in behalfe of his brother in law the Duke of Gourdon. If his Majesty will show any favour to him, pray let me know it that I may acquaint the Duke of Norfolk with it'.

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Duke of Norfolk's letters to the King.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book III, pp.195-6.

268. LORD CONINGSBY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 6. Hereford sheir. 'I troubled your Lordship last post with a pamplet that was seised in one Simons his hous a merser in Heriford; with it weer many more of the same sort, and severall of the late declarations.

'By the inclosed papers your Lordship will see how they weer discover'd, and whoe wee can find to be consern'd in the dispersing heer.

'That mark[ed] no. 1 is a letter ritt to one Mr Broom a great Jacobitt in this country, which being intersepted for that reason, gave us an account of the parsell of papers coming by the Heriford carier and how it was directed.

The 2nd are the depositions taken before the Mayor of Heriford, and the 3rd [no. 268(1)] is another letter stopt att the same time to another gentleman of the same sort, and is only sent to your Lordship to lett you see what sort of news wee deal in, in this part of the kingdome.

'By the seal of the first letter, which I have likewise inclosed, it appears as if the correspondent were a man more considerable than ordinary, and by the 2nd letter taking notice that the pamphlets are sent by another hand it's plain that they came from the generall dispersers of that sort of intelligence. This I am sure of, that if it were possible that notice might be taken from above of this affair it would do great good in this country, for tho' since I came I have to the utmost of my skill endeavor'd to quicken the majestacy a little yett to noe purpose. They seeme to me to be over awed by these enimyes to the government, and a messenger for one of these gentlemen would be some terror to the party and consequently an encouragement to the honest.'

P.S. 'I have don all I can to take Mr Broom but he is fled.'

2¼ pp. *Holograph. Endorsed as received 9 June.*

Enclosing:

268(1). — to John Price senior, Wisteson, Hereford. 1693, June 1. 'I promised you in my last to send you a paper assoon as I could, but truly have not put my hand yett upon one of them. I humbly consceive that you are before this time supplyd by an other [*sic*] hand ergo crave parden for my defect.' The English fleet sailed from Portsmouth last Tuesday. According to the *Paris Gazette*, Monsieur Tourville with 71 capital ships, besides fireships and tenders, is sailed from Brest, and 'D'Estree is gone with 22 men of war to besidge some place in Catalonia. English marchants beware.' The French have also invested Charleroy and other places in Flanders. 'The happy or miserable effects of this summer's expedition we are not worthy to know. The month of October att farthest is expected a month of jubilee, etc. Wee have heare a noise of a (sham) Scots plott and that severall warrants are signed to secure honest men in England. 'Tis no new thing indeed for Scots as well as Englishmen to be rebels. What shall be done to a rebellious brood? What? Hang 'em all, etc., that's a dredfull sentence indeed. Oh! spare them till your King returne, then my life for theirs if they be not the best Royalest and that will be a most glorious day shure when rebels turne loyall. God bless, etc., the heavens protect all that dare, etc. Vive le roy à dieu live for ever, etc. Yours semper idem, etc.'

P.S. . 'Humble service to Sir John, Captain Herring, etc. Pray speek.'

'This is a true copy.'

1p. *Endorsed by Coningsby:* 'No.3. Another letter intercepted att the same time with letter no.1'.

269. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 8/18. Parck. '... I have only to send the enclos'd from his Majesty to the Queen'.

P.S. 'The Spaniards will load us with reproaches for the loss of Roses and all Europe for our not being at sea so long after the French.

'Some of the declarations come from England enclosed to divers officers of the army who have brought them to me.'

½ p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 13 June.*

Enclosing:

269(1). *In Blathwayt's hand on a separate slip.* 'Midnight. We have just now an alarm that the French are decamping and have sett fire to their lines, which is yet uncertain.'

269(2). Extract from a letter from the Pensionary of Holland [Heinsius]. 1693, [May 27/] June 6, N.S. La Haye. It was on the understanding that Mr Robert Hill, before obtaining his commission to be consul in Ireland, had surrendered all his estate for the benefit of his creditors, and believed himself thereby to be quit of his debts, that the States General recommended him to the Viceroy of Ireland and the Queen.

'Pour l'empeschement du transport des bleds par les neutres dans le pais ennemy, j'en ay parlé avec Monsieur de Wild, qui m'a informé que presentement il n'y a pas beaucoup à craindre que ledit transport soit grand à cause que dans ce pais là chacun attend la recolte, et qu'avant qu'elle se face cet empeschement ne se pouroit pas faire; la recolte se faisant, soit bonne on mauvaise, ils sont accoutumés de la consumer avant que de faire venir d'autre bleds hors du pais; ainsi nous croyons qu'on pouroit donner à penser à sa Majesté s'il ne croiroit pas mieux, pour nous pas exposer aux hazards dont ils nous menacent, qu'on allast asteur son train comme l'on a fait jusques icy, empeschant toutes sortes de fraudes, et y mettant tel ordre comme l'on pouroit, et qu'après avoir veu la recolte on y songeat meurement selon la conjuncture du temps.

'Nous avons deliberé ce matin au sujet de l'escadre que la maison de Lunenburgh nous demande, et dont on auroit aussi besoin en cas de quelques troubles dans le cercle de la Basse Saxe. Monsieur Berenstort [*sic*] m'en advertit comme d'une chose assurée. Je vous prie de me faire scavoir quels vaisseaux sa Majesté pouroit adjouter à cet escadre, pour là dessus pouvoir prendre nos mesures.'

2pp. *Copy.*

269(3). 1693, [4/]14 June. Bruselles. Advice has reached Paris from Namur that the French King, after reviewing his army, resolved to return to Versailles, where he was expected to arrive on the 25th.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

269(4). 1693, June 8/18. Camp at Parck. 'The French are encamp't in two lines. Their right lies near Bunsbeck and their left at Bossut which flanks our left wing, so that on Tuesday his Majesty alter'd the disposition of our camp and caus'd tenn batallions of foot with twenty-eight pieces of cannon to march to the left to strengthen our camp on that side. The out-guards are in sight of each other.

'Yesterday evening the enemy made a treble discharge of their artillery and small shott for the taking of Roze in Catalonia, as we may make them the like return for Jena in Hungary, which General Heusler has possess'd himself of.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

270. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, June 9. Whitehall. 'You will see in the *Gazette* what the French prisoners relate of our successe at Martinico, which is all the account I can give you of that matter, for I have no letters from Sir Francis Wheeler nor expect any till he can write that he has taken or quitted his attempt on the fort.

'The other day we mett with the Spanish Ambassador, who has long desired

a conference to settle matters relating to the West Indies. The ceremonies and methods of our joyning and acting will be to the same effect as in the Mediterranean, and orders are sent accordingly to the Spanish governors, etc., there, of which I have some time ago received copies. The proposall he now made was that since all the French islands did of ancient right belong to the dominion of Spayne, whatever should now be taken from the French should be restored to Spayne, that is, not only what the French should take from the Spaniards during this war and might be retaken, but all other places now in the French possession which should be taken from them either by the joynt forces of both nations or by us alone; which three cases were suggested to him that he might explain his meaning in the generall demand he at first made. In the first case he required that the dominion and property should be given back to Spayn though retaken by us alone. In the second case where any island now in the French hands was taken by the joynt forces of both nations the dominion with the forts should appertain to Spayne, but the property in the soyl should be divided in proportion to both nations; and in the last where the Spaniards did not concur in the attempt the property should be deliver'd to the Spaniards. I need not trouble you with our discourse upon these subjects, on which nothing reasonable could be said on his part, and the propositions are so wild and his Majesty's affairs likely to be so great during this campagne that he will not give himself the trouble of thinking of any orders hereupon to be sent to me, and by the end of the campagne we shall have an account of the successe of this expedition, and then it will be more convenient to answer these questions, of which there is no colour for his insisting on any but the first, viz., of restoring a place taken by the French in this war and retaken by us, which is not likely to happen, and then too it ought to be askt as a favour rather then of right, as it lately happened in the case of St. Eustace restored to the Dutch; and compensation for the expence is to be allow'd as justly as salvage for a ship.

'The consul of Legorne writes to me that the consuls of the allies at the desire of the governour of Legorne have mett with the French consull to adjust the termes of neutrality for Porto Ferraio as was sometime ago done for Legorne, of which the enclosed is a copy. Mr Blackwell thinks this will be much for our advantage, and the committee is of the same opinion too'; so I have written a letter to him, which I send you open, so that if his Majesty approves it and the Dutch concur, you may seal and forward it.

'The Queen desires to know the King's wishes about Sir John Trevor's claim on part of the Earl of Clancarty's estate.'

'My Lord Elphinston is going for Flanders and hopes for his Majesty's favour there ... He was captain of dragoons in Scotland which he quitted to serve abroad, and had the King's orders for a commission in Colonel Titcomb's

regiment which was signed in March, but it happen'd that the vacancy was filled in February upon the recommendation of the collonel, so that my Lord is disappointed of this favour.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King; letter to Consul Blackwell; copy of project about neutrality in the port of Leghorn.

2½ pp. Letter Book III, pp.196–8.

271. NOTTINGHAM TO ABRAHAM STOCK

1693, June 10. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of the 8th and do wonder that any letter should come from the person you suspect; for I had spoke to the Commissioners of the Post Office to bring to me all letters directed to your neighbour, and some I had from them; but if any from the person here should escape them, and that you meet with them, pray send them to me, unless you find some wax dropt on the side of the superscription, by which you may conclude I have already seen the letter.'

½ p Letter Book. IV, p.110.

272. NOTTINGHAM TO DR JOHN WALLIS

1693, June 10. Whitehall. If you will appoint someone to receive £100 for your use, it shall be paid as you direct.

'I should be glad you could succeed in decyphering the first of the two letters I lately sent you; but if you have no prospect of it, I must pray you to returne it.'

¼ p. Letter Book IV, p.110. (The original of this letter is at Add. MS. 32499, f.336.)

273. LORD BERKELEY OF STRATTON TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 12. N.W. from Ushant 15 leagues. 'This is to acquaint your Lordship that this morning Sir John Ashby dyed of a feavour, and to desire your Lordship would do me the favour to speak to her Majesty that she would order me a commission to succeed him, I being the next officer in course, and the fleet not capable of being governed well without an officer in that post ...'

1p. *Holograph. Seal of arms (attested as 'safe sealed' by the Post Office clerk Edmund Sawtell). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 23 June and postmarked with the same date.*

274. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 12/22. Parck. I have little to say in answer to your letters of the 2nd and 6th except that in reply to the Queen's enquiry whether the Lords

Justices of Ireland should have authority to grant army commissions, his Majesty declared that the power should be reserved as formerly.

‘The King is very much concerned at the taking the New England advice boat and would have the captain severely punished for his neglect ...’

Having understood by a letter from Consul Loddington that the Tripolines are treating with France and are very angry at receiving no answer to their letters to the King, his Majesty thinks fit that proper answers be despatched to them with notice of our squadron’s coming into the Mediterranean.

Being informed that the French privateers have done great mischief in the Bristol Channel and upon the northern coast of England, he directs that care be taken to hinder the like for the future, ‘it being a great scandal that the French should be so bold on our coast and so far within the headlands.

‘By the enclosed your Lordship sees how the Spaniards take the want of our squadron.’

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 16 June.*

Enclosing:

274(1). Alexander Stanhope to Blathwayt. 1693, May 18/28. Madrid. ‘Since I ended my letter I am certainly assured that the Comte d’Estrée is return’d before Roses and lies within cannon shot of the place, as they believe, expecting their galleys; and that the Marshall de Noailles invests the place by land. There is but six hundred men in garrison where two thousand would be necessary. This alarm makes the Spaniards very angry our squadron does not appear in these parts as was expected long since. The Spanish armada I hear is ordered from Naples to Genoa there to watch occasions of advantage.’

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Extract, in same hand as the following.*

274(2). 1693, June 12/22. Camp Perck. ‘The armies continue in the same posture I mentioned in my last, and his Majesty goes frequently to the hills about the middle way between the camps to view the enemy, and to give orders for securing of defiles that lye between us. They have made some bridges over the Dele at Florival to prevent our foraging that way, it beginning now to be scarce with us, as other provisions are with them, so that his Majesty has ordered oats to be brought to the camp from the magazines at Brussels and the neighbouring towns for the use of our army.

‘A party of the garison of Charleroy have lately surprised a convoy of provisions going from Namur to the French army after beating those that attended it.

‘The Electorall Prince of Hanover and his youngest brother are both in the camp.’

1p. *Copy.*

275. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, June 13. Whitehall. ‘I have received yours of June 5/15th and 8/18th and have signify’d the King’s pleasure to my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to suspend the issuing the proclamation against the regular priests, etc., till further order.

'The Queen has given his Excellency leave to come away into England and to constitute a deputy or justices in his absence.

'I told you in mine of the 2nd how the *Eaglett* ketch was taken, and that I fear'd the *pacquett* was so too, but now I am assur'd it was thrown into the sea by the care of the gunner who very bravely defended that little vessell.

'I am very glad the French King has been once more disappointed in his designes, and I hope since our King has overcome the first difficulties of the campagne his success in the rest will exceed his own expectations. I can say nothing of the proceeding of the Mediterranean squadron nor the consequence of its delay in the loss of *Roses*, and though Spayn may justly impute to us that we have not been punctual to the treaty, yet methinks [Spain] should be the last of the allies to complain. Why the fleet did not sayl sooner I cannott tell; the admiralls say they wanted victualls, tho' some here will not allow it, but perhaps will acknowledge it when they find the fleet return, as I fear, sooner then may be convenient, for want of a due quantity.

'The Queen went to Windsor on Saturday and came back at night indisposed; on Sunday her Majesty was lett blood and, God be thank't, is so well againe that she was this afternoone at the Cabinet Council.'

Note of enclosure: Queen's letter.

1p. Letter Book III, p.199.

276. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 13. Admiralty Office. Enclosing copy of a letter from Captain Greenhill, giving account of the taking of the *Eaglet* under his command on the coast of Ireland.

1p. *Signed (3 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 13 June, with the following.*

Enclosing:

276(1). Captain David Greenhill to the Commissioners of the Admiralty. [16]93, May 25. *Philip*, Capd. Muns. De Vanjoreux, Isle of Arron [i.e. Aran, Ireland]. 'Their Majesties ketch the *Eaglet*, which was under my command, is taken by two French privatiers, one of 40 odd gunns, the other of 36, but the packet is overboard, according to the Secretary of State's order. The ketch held the dispute 6 houres with the two shippes, and I have lost two men, and some wounded.'

P.S. I shall be putt on shoar in France the first opportunity and 6 of my men.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

277. NOTTINGHAM TO ABRAHAM STOCK

1693, June 15. Whitehall. 'I have by these two last posts received some letters from your daughter written by your neighbour, but can find nothing materiall in them, and therefore I think it will be best not to send any more till upon some extraordinary occasion (as the coming of any boat from France with persons or goods) you can judg it may be likely he should write something of importance. Only if you meet with any letters from your neighbour to the person you suspect here, or from this person to your neighbour, pray send them to me'.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.111.

278. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 15/25. Parck. 'His Majesty has seen your Lordship's letter of the 9th instant and has good hopes of Martinico tho' the Paris gazettes give a different account.

'Your Lordship expects no answer upon the Spanish ambassador's proposalls which none but Spaniards and that ambassador could make, there being but very little of reason in any of them.

'His Majesty approves of the terms of neutrality for Porto Ferraio and her Majesties order will be forwarded to our consul at Leghorn.

'As to Lady Clancarti's desires to have her son's estate applied to the payment of her debt when Sir John Trevor shall be satisfyed, his Majesty does not think fitt that any orders be given in that matter until his return into England.'

In answer to your letter of the 2nd relating to the Earl of Lymerick's estate, you are to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury that the grant of it to Lord Athlone is to be passed in Ireland and Colonel Dongan is to have timely notice of it so that his claims can also be examined there.

The Parliament in Ireland is to be dissolved by the Lord Lieutenant before his coming away and a new one called to meet early in September at the latest.

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 20 June.*

Enclosing:

278(1). 1693, June 15/25. Camp at Perck. 'On Munday about midnight we had an alarum that the enemy were burning their camp and going to march, upon which some partys were ordered out to observe their motion, but the next day we were inform'd by the deserters who came in to us that it was only the accidental burning of some of their tents.

'We have lately had very great rains and particularly last night when the waters from the hills carryed away many tents, waggons, horses and people that were in

the hallow [*sic*] ways, whereof some were drowned. Severall houses that stood in the way of the torrent were likewise carryed away. We reckon the French camp must have received more damage than ours as standing on lower ground.

'Some deserters say that a small detachment of our army comanded by a Spanish officer (a partisant[!]) have mett with a French convoy and taken it near Charleroy.'

1p. *Copy.*

279. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, June 16. Whitehall. 'I had an expresse to day from my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland that there are eleven privateers in the Irish seas, as indeed they swarm every where on the coast of England, and 'twill be very hard to prevent the mischiefs they may do us. The ships that were on this side are gone for Ireland, so there will be four under the disposall of my Lord Lieutenant including that which is ordered to cruise off the Isle of Mull, and the *St. Albans* is order'd and gone to Dublin, and from thence is to cruise at the entrance of the Irish Channell. This is all that the Admiralty say they can doe.

'The judges are return'd from executing the commission of Oyer and Terminer at Worcester, etc., upon the rioters about the corne; some are sentenc'd to the pillory, and three of the rabble who broke into a man's house and took away his corne and money too are condemned to be hanged ...

'I do not know how it comes to passe that the Tripolins have had no letters, some I am sure have been formerly sent, and lately again by Sir George Rook; but others shall be prepared and sent by way of Legorne with notice of our Mediterranean squadron, for which I have great fears, if it be true which they write from Paris, that Monsieur Tourville with the French fleet is gone to Cadiz, in which case without a wonderfull providence we cannot escape them.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King.

1p. Letter Book III, p.200.

280. NOTTINGHAM TO ABRAHAM STOCK

1693, June 19. Whitehall. 'I have received two letters from your daughter with others enclosed, which I have opened and do find nothing in them but the *Gazette*; so that I believe there will be no need of sending them to me for the future, but if you meet with any letters from your neighbour directed to the person you suspect, you may send them.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.111.

281. SIR RALPH DELAVALL TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 19. 'By the *Warspight* and brigantine we sent to look into Brest we are assured that there are no shippes in that harbour. We have sailed ourselves above fifty leagues from Ushant upon most points of the compass and can hear nothing of the enemyes fleet, and indeed 'tis my opinion they are gone to the Northward Cape knowing it is usuall for all shippes bound for Spain to make that coast, by reason the winds are for the most part northerly. But Sir George Rook was of my opinion it was safer for him to keepe to the westward and to make the coast of Barbary first, and to send a frigate to Cadiz before him to gain intelligence.

'I fear our want of beer, butter and cheese will break all our measures, not being able to seek the enemy att Bellisle, if judged fitt to goe there. For with lesse then six weeks' beer and all other provisions proportionable, a single ship much lesse a fleet ought not to goe so far.

'I must pray your Lordshipp's pardon if I tell you my opinion as a friend, and desire you will make no other use of it, which is that the enemy will endeavour to intercept Admirall Rook on this side the Streights mouth, and if they doe they will then be able to make a much better fleet then we the latter end of the summer, which I desire you will consider of and move the Queen that the fleet may be strengthened, which is now but very weak, having last yeare as many English of the line of battle as now we have Dutch and English.

'I am also to acquaint your Lordship that Sir John Ashby is dead and that I doubt not but my Lord Berkely will be made Admirall of the Blew; however, I desire (to avoyd all future disputes) that I may have a comission for Admirall of the Blew, and if it be for the service that I should continue in this comission, yet I doe expect a comission may be made out for me as Admirall of the Blew before my Lord and that it may be entred so.

'I must also desire your Lordshipp's friendship in speaking to the Queen for Captain Meez that he may have Sandgate Castle vacant by Sir John Ashby's death.

'By the first opportunity of a wind we shall returne to Torbay (as resolved on by a councill of war) through the want of beer and other necessaryes, and I shall esteeme it as a favour to receive a line from your Lordshipp in answer to this.

'I pray your Lordshipp to give Captain Nevill your interest when the disposall of the rere flagg comes to be discoursed on before the Queen.'

P.S. 'The wind is at N.E. and if it continues we shall be under some straits.

'I have great reason to suspect I shall lose the use of my arme through the misfortune of my fall going to Portsmouth, and I hope the King will provide for me as one of his cripples.'

2pp. *Signed. Seal of arms. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 22 June.*

With:

281(1). Another version of this letter, dated 16 June, unaddressed but also endorsed by Nottingham as received on 22 June. The main difference is in the fourth paragraph: 'if it be thought for the service that I continue in this commission (in which I am not very easy) yet ...'

2pp. *Signed.*

282. SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 19. 'I intend to lay out my mony in terra firma, and am about a purchase in Kent, part of which estate is in the town of Foulstone, near which town is Sangatte Castle, which government is vacant by the death of Sir John Ashby, which govenerment, if your Lordship would gitt for me, I should own as a perticular favour.

'What I have further to aquint your Lordship is that now we want two flaggs, which may prove of ile consequence if we com to any ingagement with the French. I suppose my Lord Danby will have one, and I hope and wish Captain Nevell may have the other, for I know not eny one in the fleett more fitt for it. Pray, my Lord, lett Sir Frances Wheeler be advanced in his turn. By the *Warspight* which looked into Brest we are informed the French fleet are not theire, therefore we intend to looke over towards Silley and so into Torbay to watter and put our ships if possible in a condition to keep sea the latter end of the summer and obay such commands as her Majesty shall thinke fitt to send us. For if we can put our selfe in a condition, which I much doubt, yett I doe not find we are inclinable to goe far into the Bay of Biskey to seeke the enemy; and, my Lord, I am of that opinion, if their be not a certainty of the Tollone squadron remaineing in the Straights, for I doe not expect this summer that our fleett will ever be above 75 ships of the line of battle. I doubt not but your Lordshipe will pardon my plaine way of writting.'

1½ pp. *Holograph. Seal. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 22 June.*

With:

282(1). Another version of this letter, dated June 1693, also endorsed by Nottingham as received on 22 June, and again requesting the governorship of Sandgate Castle for himself, but differing as to the vacant flags: 'If it be possible I wish Churchill may com in; if not, I wish Captain Nevell. They are both good men.'

1p. *Holograph.*

283. CAPTAIN EDWARD LITTLETON TO —

[1693,] June [19/] 29. *Smyrna Factor*, Cadix. The merchant fleet left Portsmouth on 9 June, 400 strong, under the convoy of 13 English, 8 Dutch and 2 Hamburg ships. They were all escorted by the English and Dutch fleet of 90 ships of the line for 30 miles out of the Channel, when they separated, and the convoys pursued their way towards Cadix, leaving, on their way, the vessels destined for Bilbao and other ports. On the 23rd those going to Lisbon and St. Ubes left us 40 miles off the coast of Portugal with two men of war to convoy them, thus reducing our fleet by between 130 and 140 sail. On the 26th at 9 a.m. we were off Cape St. Vincent and towards 2 o'clock our foremost vessels came into view of the French. At 4 p.m. they cannonaded each other for some time and then our ships fell back and reported the incident to the commanding officer. On the morning of the 27th we were near Lagos and took an enemy fireship, which told us that there were 18 French men of war at Lagos, with some fireships and merchantmen. At 4 a.m. we saw two ships blown up after being set on fire by the enemy within range of the guns of the convoy. The commander immediately gave the signal for us to draw up in line of battle. Up to this time we had only seen 29 enemy sail, but a wind springing up at 10 o'clock, the convoy, its course set south, perceived 18 vessels on one side, including three flagships, and 40 on the other, besides a squadron sent to cut off passage to the coast. The commander sent word to the merchant ships to make all haste to gain the port of Cadix, while the men of war would divert the enemy. The French saw the design and crowded on sail to cut off our ships, but the convoy having the wind occupied them till evening, giving the swiftest of the merchantmen time to reach here. Towards 5 o'clock the 18 enemy ships engaged the convoy, the fight lasting into the night without the other vessels being able to approach, but on the 28th, at daybreak, the conflict began again with great fury. Towards 7 o'clock we could see 4 ships on fire without knowing their nationality, and we could hear firing until 9 o'clock without knowing the issue. This fighting took place about 6 miles off Cap de Ste. Marie. According to various lists received, there got into Cadix 19 English ships, including one warship, 13 Dutch, including 2 warships, and several Danish and Swedish; into St. Lucar 3 English and 15 Dutch; into Gibraltar 4 English, richly laden. Two vessels were burned in the bay of Cadix, one English, one Dutch. Our letters do not agree about the losses, and we have no news from Vice-Admiral Rooke or Mr Vandergoes. It is believed that as they were in the van they got away with the rest of the warships. It is said that Count d'Estrées was off Malaga.

P.S. [probably added by the translator]. After the fight the French fleet was drawn up in line of battle before Cadix, and was there again on the 4th.

2pp. *French (presumably translated from English). Headed: 'Coppie. Lettre escrite le 29 juin de Cadix aboard d'un vaisseau de guerre Englois nommé le Facteur de Smirne par le Capitaine Littleton.'*

With (on the same sheet and in the same hand):

283(1). 1693, July 4. Cadix. Being near Lagos, we were informed by fishermen and by a French fireship that we took that there were about 18 French ships in that bay. On 27 June we discovered the enemy, who had without doubt been warned of our approach. The English men of war and merchantmen had the weather gauge of the enemy. This drew them towards the south-west, and Rear-Admiral Vandergoes, the Dutch warships and some merchant ships had to follow them. Captains Schrijver and Van der Poel (Dutch men of war) being to leeward were attacked by eleven of the enemy; after five hours they disengaged but subsequently fell into the hands of seven other great ships. Schrijver was engaged with Monsieur de Tourville and two other flagships and after a long and unequal contest both he and Van der Poel were obliged to yield. The two captains were taken aboard Monsieur de Tourville, who gave them a very good reception and asked Schrijver if he were man or devil, for he had never seen anyone fight so. The valour of these two captains detained part of the enemy fleet. Some merchantmen were also engaged, but no particulars are known. According to accounts received here 50 ships may have been lost, but it is thought that the enemy has not taken any of the English Smyrna ships or other considerable vessels. The loss would have been much greater had the enemy sent a squadron to dispute the entry to this bay. Schrijver and Van der Poel, with their crews, were put ashore here.

The consternation and fear here have been beyond words. The vessels which were saved are behind the Puntalen. The bay is garrisoned by English and Dutch seamen, and protected by a strong battery, so that nothing is feared. Moreover, Mr de Tourville is said to have informed the governor that he had not come to storm the town; and it is rumoured that he is returning to Lagos with a commission which is not to be opened until a specified day.

The ships taken or burned are Dutch and Hamburgers. The warships are believed to be near the Straits or at Lisbon with the others. Time will tell. We owe this great misfortune to those who kept us so long and needlessly in England.

1½ pp. *Extract. French (apparently translated from Dutch).*

284. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 19/29. Parck. 'Your Lordship's letter of the 13th instant as well as that of the same date from Mr Secretary Trenchard has oppressed us with fears for the Mediterranean squadron and Streights fleet; and his Majesty is so farr persuaded of the almost unavoidable danger they are in that we expect nothing less than the dreadfull news of this great misfortune from the French canon as we had that of the taking of Roses. By the enclosed your Lordship will probably conclude that the detachment of eight ships is either gone to the West Indies or to Canada or had been sent to intercept our Bilbao fleet. 'We rejoice at her Majesties recovery.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 24 June.*

Enclosing:

284(1). *In Blathwayt's hand on a separate slip.* 'I wonder your Lordship does not take notice of the paper of intelligence enclosed in mine of the 8/18 which ends with the account of the French fleet's being designed for Cap Finisterre or Cadiz. The same paper I am told comes likewise to your Lordship from Monsieur Jurieu.'

284(2). 1693, June [12/] 22. 'Extrait d'une lettre écrite de Paris.' The day before yesterday Tourville's valet de chambre arrived here, sent to Monsieur de Pontchartrain with the news that on the first of this month our fleet was at Cap de la Roque four or five leagues from the mouth of the Tagus and that it was going to Cadiz, where it was hoped that a large number of merchantmen would be found. The same courier brought letters from Monsieur de Noailles and from Monsieur le Comte d'Estreés, to whom Tourville had indicated the place where the two fleets should join. As the courier reported that Tourville had only 65 ships, eight must have gone elsewhere.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *French.* (For the letter from which this an extract see no. E 111 below.)

284(3). 1693, June 19/29. Camp at Perck. 'We are very barren of news here, and all that can be said is that the armys continue still in the same places. The prisoners we make and the deserters which come over to us dayly confirm the great scarcity of provisions in the enemy's camp, insomuch that a loaf usually bought for three pence is now sold for twelve pence and a quart of beer at the same price.

'We find some difficulty for our forage which is partly supply'd by oats that are brought from Brussels.

'The German letters say that the Dauphin continues his rout by slow marches towards Mont Royall, where he designs to pass the Mosell; 'tis thought he may arrive at that place about the beginning of the next month.

'Our army is still very healthy.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Copy.*

285. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, June 20. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of the 12th/22nd and 15th/25th instant. The Queen has signed the commission of the Lords Justices in the manner the King has directed; and also an order to the Lord Lieutenant to dissolve the Parliament of Ireland ... And the Lord Capell, etc., will have orders to call a new Parliament to meet as the King has appointed or a little sooner.

'I have enclosed the copies of the King's letters to Algier and Tunis as well as Tripoli, that the King may signe such as he thinks fitt, and send them to the consull of Legorne. I likewise send you the copy of my letter to Consull Lodington in December last because it gives him notice of the powder, etc., which the Dey of Tripoli desired, and the King order'd, and which is accordingly on board of the ships with Sir George Rooke ... I have obeyed the King's orders in relation to the Earl of Athlone and have acquainted Sir John Trevor with what you writt about the Lady Clancarty, and she is very well pleased ...

'I have no news from Martinico and have no reason to doubt of the success, whatever the French print. That Sir Francis Wheeler, after having landed his men and done what he could, might reimbarc them is, no doubt, true, for

you know the reason of it, and 'tis probable the French magnify this into a repulse with losse.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's letter; King's letters to Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli; letter from Viscount Sydney to Nottingham; copy of letter to Lodington.

1p. Letter Book III, p.201.

286. NOTTINGHAM TO PORTLAND

1693, June 20. Whitehall. 'Some time ago I writt to Mr Blathwayt to know the King's pleasure concerning a pardon to the late Lords Justices Porter and Coningsby; and his Majesty thought fitt to [allow]* direct it; but it has bin delay'd because the Queen told me she had writt to the King about it.

'And to day my Lord Bellemont and Colonel James Hamilton came to my office to enter a caveat against the granting of it, as they have done also in the other offices through which it is to passe, that nothing may be done in it till they be heard.

'This is a very extraordinary proceeding [. To state the fact is sufficient to represent your Lordship the undecency of it, but besides it] and looks as if they intended [not onely] a prosecution of them elsewhere [but to terrify others from serving the King in a difficult time, as certainly it was during the war of Ireland] and hop'd to buoy up the party in the Parliament of Ireland which [obstructed] opposed his Majesty's service by shewing [their] they have credit to obstruct his Majesty's mercy to persons who served him in very difficult times.

'The Queen commanded me to give your Lordship an account of this matter that you may if you please lay it before the King [. I do not know that the Lords Justices need a pardon unlesse it be for ordering Gafney to be executed, of which your Lordship knows the story and the violence with which that order was extorted for them [*sic*] and how impossible it had bin for them without it to have appeased a tumult. But tho' I must not pretend to advize the King to pardon them, yet the proceedings of my Lord Bellemont and Colonel Hamilton is no argument against it, but in some respects rather for it; for surely their consent to rewards or punishments is not necessary. I shall onely say that if his Majesty does not think they deserve to be punisht, he should not leave them to a prosecution from others.] because if his Majesty thinks fitt to pardon them the sooner it is done the better, that it may not come just in the eve of a Parliament and look as if it were done on purpose to prevent a prosecution [and perhaps putt them upon an impeachment of them in Ireland bringing into question the validity of the pardon itselfe].'

2pp. *Holograph draft.* *Endorsed:* 'Copy of my letter to the E. of Portland.'

*The passages in square brackets have been deleted.

287. W. STONER TO JAMES GOODLAD, MERCHANT IN ST. MALO

1693, June 20. 'I reciev'd two letters from you both dated the 12th instant, and both to the same effect, which double trouble you need not give your selfe; as for the news it was all old and a deal of it proves not true. We much wonder here at the French King's leaving Flanders without doing anything. Our great fleet consisting of 75 capitall ships as appears by the publick liste printed here by authority continues near Ushant, all the marchants fleets have left them, but we are in great pain for them fearing they may be met with by the French fleet. The Turkey Company offer £20 *per cent* to insure thier ships, for they can hear nothing where Tourville is and believe he is gone towards the Streights so that it will be almost impossible to avoid meeting him. Last week one Mr Greenville that was in the messenger's custody shot himselfe. On the 12th instant pass'd before Plymouth 100 sail of transport ships for Spithead and on the 15th 70 more pass'd by the Isle of Wight for the same place, and all other preparations for the descent are making ready with the greatest diligence imaginable. The Duke of Gourdon, Lord Seafort and Nevil Pain are to recieve their tryalls for high treason next Wednesday. One Anderton a printer was hanged last Fryday for printing severall treasonable pamphlets against the government, great means were us'd to get him repriev'd, but my Lord Nottingham answer'd that the Jacobites were too cock a hoop and fancied the government durst not punish them, but they should now find the contrary.*

'I have now enquir'd after your kinsman but am told there is no likelihood of doing any good with him, for his interests and yours are altogether opposite, and I am advis'd not to see him. The damn'd French privateers infest our coasts more than ever, they have taken within this week near 40 ships, they tooke off the North Foreland 2 6th rate frigats that were convoys to the mackerell boats and 2 ketches with severall boats, they have taken severall ships upon the coasts of Ireland, and 15 colliars out of 50 that were coming from Newcastle, and 32 merchant ships of North Wales. Our merchants are in greater pain than ever for the Smyrna fleet and offer vast summs to have them insur'd. Unlesse you have any thing very materiall, you need not trouble your selfe to write; as for the news in Flanders, we have it here almost as soon as you and every whit as true. I would have you be of good heart for I doubt not but your affaires here will answer your expectations. I have got in some of the most desperate debts and am in hopes to get the rest in a short time.'

P.S. 'Direct your next to me at Watson's coffee-house near the Fountaine Tavern the lower end of the Hay Market.

'Pray give the inclos'd to my brother.'

1½ pp. *Holograph. Seal of arms (on a chevron between 3 lozenges 3 bucks' heads cabossed, the arms of the recusant Staveley family).*

*In the letter enclosed the same writer attributes these words not to Nottingham but to Trenchard.

Enclosing:

287(1). W Stoner to [Mr Stevens]. 1693, June 20. 'We have heard nothing of late from our fleet which we believe still to be near Ushant, and for the French fleet we hear they are before Cales. Our merchants on the Change are very apprehensive of the danger thier Streights fleet is in and offer extravagant summs to insure thier effects. Pike the printer's wife that was taken up last week has discover'd all she knows and severall warrants are out upon her information. Mr Johnson was taken out of his lodging and is in the messenger's hands, they seiz'd his trunk and carried it to the Secretary's office but found nothing in it so that I believe he will be bail'd in a few days. Great means was us'd to save Anderton but in vain, and Mr Secretary Trenchard told some that interceded for him that the Jacobites were too cock and hoop and fancied the government durst not punish them, but they should now find the contrary. Nevill Pain's indictment was read in [the Scots] Parliament and put offe till the next day; 'tis said the Parliament will be adjourn'd on Thursday next for some time, so that his tryall as also the Duke of Gourdon and Lord Seafort 'tis believ'd will be referred to the Justiciary court. The French privateers swarme upon our coasts in greater numbers than ever, and have taken a great many of our ships. They took off the North Foreland 2 small fregats, 2 smacks and 2 fisher boats, 15 colliers out of 50 near Yarmouth, a ship neer Harwich, another going with provisions to the fleet, and I hear of severall others offe North Wales. A great many here did not believe the declaration to be King James's but finding it in the Paris gazette has put it out of doubt. Great quantitys of hay and oates are order'd to be bought up for our army in Flanders. Transport ships from all parts arrive daily at Spithead. The mobile at Worcester threaten to burn the town in case those persons that were condemn'd for breaking open houses for corn are executed.'

1p. *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

288. EDWARD HARRIS TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 20. Jersey. 'By some prisoners of this island lately com from St. Mallos I receaved a letter from the Duke de Chaulnis, where in he complains of the ill treatment the French prisoners receive in England. I thinke my selfe obblidged to acquaint your Lordship with it, as alsoe that whenever any English prisoners com this way from France there is noe care taken for their subsisting till they can gett passage for England, soe that the continuall expence the inhabitants are att on such occasions creates much murmoring; 'tis therefore humbly offered to your Lordship for redress.'

I crave leave to petition you on account of my salary. 'It seemes somewhat hard that being plased in a fronteere garrison, and soe remote from England (and having frequent occasons to expend monyes for their Majesties service) that I cannot be permitted to the same advantage the officers of the army have by receaving weekly subsistance, or to have my mony quarterly as my predesesser in this island was paide.'

A numerous family to provide for forces me thus to trouble you. I therefore beseech you to move her Majesty that either subsistence or quarterly payment be ordered me. One hundred and fifty pounds is all I have had from Lord Ranelagh since two years last January.

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 27 June.*

289. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [June 22/] July 2, N.S. Parck. 'I have nothing to return in answer to your Lordship's letter of the 16th past, nor is it easy to think of anything else at present than the great danger our Mediterranean fleet is in. We have no hopes but from the length of time the French fleet had been upon the coast of Spain and near Cadiz, as your Lordship sees by the enclosed extract; which may have given opportunity for some advices to be sent from those parts to meet our squadron. His Majesty continues under very great apprehensions of the event. 'I send your Lordship a draught of our camp which is very exact' (no. N.M. 56(1) below).

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 June.*

Enclosing:

289(1). 1693, [17/] 27 June. Extract from the *Paris Gazette*, reporting that the French fleet commanded by Marshal de Tourville arrived on [18/] 28 May in the latitude of Cape Finisterre, was off Lisbon on [21 May/] 1 June, and anchored in the Bay of Lagos near Cape St. Vincent on [25 May/] 4 June, where it was still lying on the [2/] 12th.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.*

289(2). 1693, June 22/ July 2. Camp at Perck. On Tuesday last the English and Dutch trains were remov'd about half a mile towards the left of the army, being thought before too near the King's quarters.

'Yesterday a convoy which attended some waggons from Brussels to the camp mett with a party of the enemy whereof they kill'd three and brought in fifty prisoners, many of whom have desired passes into Holland, refusing to return to the French camp.

'We have advice that a party of the garrison of Charleroy, having taken three redoubts and forc'd the lines between Mons and Maubeuge, had entred into the enemy's country where they pillaged and burnt severall villages and brought away a thousand head of cattle, 120 horses and upwards of 100 prisoners, amongst whom are severall commission-officers, all which they have carryed to their garrison without any opposition.

'The two armys continue still in the same posture.'

1p. *Copy.*

290. THE EARL OF ATHLONE TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [June 22/] July 2. Camp at Parck. 'J'apprende par Monsieur Bladwey la bonté que vous avez eu de recommander les depesches de mon warant pour le bien de Milord Limmerick à la Tresaurie, et qu'il seroit expédié si Colonel Dungam ne s'y estoit opposé, soutenant que le bien luy appartenoit apres la mort de son frere. Vous me permettrez, Milord, que je vienne vous remercier tres humblement pour les paynes que vous avez prise a mon eguard, et que j'aye l'honneur de vous informer qu'ayant sceu depuis quelque temps les pretensions de Colonel Dungam, j'ay fait prendre en Yrlande des

advies la dessus, les quels sont envoyé a Mr Clerck, et feront voir qu'elles ne sont guerre fondees, et que du moins il le doit disputer en Yrlande. Cependant comme j'ay grand prejudice par le retardement que le warant ne s'expedie point, je vous prie, Milord, que je puisse vous en avoir l'obligation entiere, et de me vouloir procurer une prompte possession dans les formes de ce que le Roy m'a fait la grace de me donner, et je charcheray tousjours occasion de me vanger par mes petites services qui vous seront tousjours sacrifiees.

'Je ne scay si en mesme temps j'ause vous informer de l'affaire de Monsieur Saxfielt, au quel à la reduction de Limmerick les Lords de Justice voulant faire un petit plaisir, puisque dans la capitulation il ne faisoit pas le plus difficile, on luy accorda une petite connivance pour envoyer quelques marchandises françoises a un certayn nombre en Yrlande pour son profit et qui malheureusement ont esté pris et confisquées par un vaisau Englois, et de quoy il demande la restitution. Si cela se pouvoit faire, Milord, on luy feroit un grand plaisir, et il voiroit que vous avons agy de bonne foy avec luy. Effectivement nous ne crumes pas qu'une si petite bagatelle auroit treuvé de la difficulté comme je vois presentement qu'il perdera son argent debourçe. Pardonnez si je vous fais ma lettre trop longue.'

5 pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 June.*

291. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, June 23. Whitehall. 'I am sorry what I told you in mine of the 13th is come to passe, that the fleet is returning to Torbay and probably by this time arrived there for want of victuals; what is done upon this occasion you will have from another hand.

'The importance of the Mediterranean squadron is so vast that 'tis impossible not to be afraid for it, but I have seen a letter from Sir Cloudesly Shovell wherein he says that if Sir George Rook went upon the coast of Spayn and Portugall he intended to send a frigate before him to Lisbon to bring him intelligence, and then he must hear of the motions of the French fleet and so know how to avoyd it; or if Sir George Rook went directly to the coast of Barbary without making either the north or southern capes, as Sir Ralph Delaval writes to me that Rook as well as himselfe judged it best to doe, and to send a frigate to Cadiz to bring him news before he went hither with the fleet, he will be in no danger. These are grounds of hope and I pray God all may succeed to our wish.

'Upon the death of Sir John Ashby my Lord Berkeley is the next to succeed to the Blew flag in the absence of Sir George Rook, and the others rise gradually so that the two rere-admiralls' flags are void. I think the King promised my Lord Danby the first, and Sir Ralph Delaval and Sir Cloudesly

Shovel both recommend to me Captain Nevill for the other; his name is in the list presented by the Admiralty and I must desire you to intercede with the King for him as the fittest in the opinion of those two, on whom I am confident that the King may rely. I may say he has the esteem of all the three admiralls, for he is captain of their ship and as such has another ground of pretension which the King allow'd in the case of Mr Mitchel.

'The government of Sandgate Castle is void by the death of Sir John Ashby, for which Sir Cloudesly Shovell is an humble suitour to the King. That which makes it more desirable for him is that having married Sir John Narburgh's widow and being about purchasing land in Kent, his concerns lye about that castle. Sir Ralph Delaval perhaps did not know of Sir Cloudesly Shovel's pretensions to this favour, and has recommended Captain Mees who behaved himself very bravely last year at Cherburgh, so that I am bound to mention his name as deserving some mark of favour; but the circumstances I mention'd before will render it a very sensible obligation to Sir Cloudesly Shovell.

'All the judges of England have declared their opinion and subscrib'd it that the Parliament of Ireland has not the sole right of preparing the heads of money bills, but the Lord Lieutenant and Councill may prepare such bills, etc. I shall give the Lords Justices a copy of it and do hope it may have good effect in Ireland by preventing such disputes upon this point as happen'd in the last Parliament.

'My Lord Bellamont and Colonel Hamilton came on Munday last to my office to leave a paper in the nature of a *caveat* against the passing of the pardon to the late Lords Justices, and on Thursday they presented a petition which being a very extraordinary one I send you a copy of it.

'The enclosed from my Lord Drumlangrig will inform you of the lamentable estate of my Lord Georg Douglass.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King; letter from Lord Drumlangrig to Nottingham; copy of Lord Bellamont's petition.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. Letter Book III, pp.202–3.

292. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR RALPH DELAVAL

1693, June 23. Whitehall. Yours of the 16th and 19th 'afford me great satisfaction by giving me some grounds to hope that Sir George Rook will escape the French fleet, which is gone to Cadiz; for if he makes first the Barbary coast, and sends a fregat towards Cadiz to bring him advice, he will in all probability come into no danger, or if he should go to North Cape and do send before a ship he must have intelligence of the motions of the French, and in that case also he will avoid them. The merchants and indeed all good

men that wish well to their country are in great anxiety for that squadron, and therefore if you see any ship from the westward that can give you any account of the French or of Sir George Rook you will mightily oblige me to impart it to me.'

I believe Captain Nevile will have one of the flags. Your own post is secured by a commission as admiral of the blue dated before that which will be given to Lord Berkley, 'tho' while you are in the joint commission of admirall 'twill be of no use but to secure your precedence.'

I shall lay Captain Mees's name, among others, before the King for the government of Sandgate Castle. The Queen has ordered the *Humber*, *Sussex*, *Eagle*, *Swiftsure* and *Defiance* to be sent to the fleet as fast as they can be ready; 'want of men will be the only thing can delay them, and if you could supply a competent number of seamen for them out of the fleet, I believe there would be another regiment of foot order'd to compleat their manning and to supply the place of the seamen which you shall spare from the other ships.

'I am extreemly sorry you are in danger of loosing the use of your arm.'

1p. *Copy.*

293. NOTTINGHAM TO LORD BERKELEY OF STRATTON

1693, June 23. Whitehall. I have received yours of the 12th. 'There has been little use of me to promote your pretensions to the Blew Flag, which I think is determined for you, and therefore wish you joy of it.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Copy. On the same sheet as no. 292.*

294. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

1693, June 23. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of the [blank] and 19th and have spoke to the Queen about Sandgate Castle, but her Majesty will not dispose of it without knowing the King's mind in it, and therefore have by her command writt to Mr Blathwayt to lay your request before the King, and I shall be very glad if his Majesty will gratify you in this post which is so convenient for you.

'Sir Francis Wheeler's precedence is fixt, and I believe Captain Nevill will have one of the Flags, tho' they are not yet resolv'd.

'The Queen has order'd the *Humber*, *Sussex*, *Eagle*, *Swiftsure* and *Defiance* to the fleet so soon as is possible. The greatest obstruction will be the want of men.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Copy. On the same sheet as no. 292.*

295. THOMAS SMITH TO —

1693, June 23. London. 'It would be impertinent to trouble you with my misfortunes since I came here if I did not believe you have goodnesse enough to bear with it and pitty me when I tell you my heart is ready to break with the weight that oppresses it; for to be pointed at by our own people as I walk the streets who all shun me as they would the plague; to be so closely pursued by others that I am every hour in danger of being thrown into goal and there to starve; to be branded with the infamous character of spye and informer and to be thought madman, knave and fool at the same time; after all this you will say I have reason to complain, and wish for any favourable occasion to put an end to such miserys; and indeed there wants but one thing more to compleat them, that is to hear my master believes me to be that monstrous creature I am taken for here; and for ought I know I have some reason to fear it, since the industry my enemys have used to blacken me here will not want abettours there. But if after all I have done and suffer'd I must be thought an ill man, certainly there ought to be more than bare conjectures, idle hearsays or malicious storys to make you believe it; there ought at least to be substantial proofs of what's alleadg'd against me; else what I have already done and suffer'd and the advantagious offers I refus'd five years ago will be sufficient to lessen the credit of what my enemys charge me withall now. Malice and folly may invent a great deal but I thank God 'tis not in the power of any one to prove or make appear the least part of what I am accus'd, nor can they shew one particular instance wherein I have betray'd my trust or my master's interest. I must confesse I have had some hot disputes with some here who seem to disapprove of what has been lately done and looke upon Frank Davies to be a silly fellow, because what he says does not agree with thier hot headed politicks; and they say I am become a friend to John Palmer and have quitted Mrs Mary Polton's interests, and have done me the honour to say I am an agent here for Mrs Jane Mason, whom they ridiculously looke upon to be thier enemy. All I can say is our master can never be well serv'd by such sort of people as these are, who endeavour all that in them lyes (I don't say this of all tho' there are too many) to ridicule his measure (which most wise men think the only probable means in this juncture to preserve his family) and to throw blemishes on that great lady who has already done you such services and is capable of doing you yet greater, for that she is beloved by your friends here and her very enemys justly revere her capacitys. 'Tis a great point you have gain'd upon them, and as for Frank Davies, tho' they have answer'd his message publicly, yet we find they are well enough pleas'd to have it thought he came without your orders or direction; a certain sign they don't like him, for which we our selves ought to think well of him. Now as for some of Ned Crawly's friends they have swallow'd down such preposterous notions would make a man sick to hear

them; they desire and think too they have a right to govern all when Robert Keen comes, and whatsoever you doe that seems to crosse this thier foolish expectation will never be approv'd of by them; but God be thanked your eyes are now opened and you are steering another course; and I think was Mr Robert Keen here tomorrow at his full ease, he could not have a fitter man to serve him than Frank Davies, whose measures ought even then to be pursu'd. I don't know whether you are of my mind, but I am perswaded could I talk with you halfe an hour I could convince you that things would be easier and better done for our advantage by such a winning compliance than by positive and more arbitrary methods; for certainly if the sower particles in the blood are not sweetned by such addoucive lenitives, 'twill put the whole masse into so great a ferment that if Mr Robert Kempthorn should chance to dye and leave a young heir behind him, he would hardly ever have strength enough to cure or master the distemper. They are short-sighted that don't provide for future contingencys, and they are but ill counsellours who under pretence of propagating I don't know what will ruine a man's estate; and we shall be thought very unreasonable to expect more than an equall share upon any account whatsoever. It has been such discourses as these have created me enemys, and they have carried the businesse so far as to make me a rascall and villain because my notions of things have not pleas'd them nor suited with thiers. As for any thing else they can lay to my charge, I am willing to stand the tryall, and if they can't convict me of what they maliciously alleadge against me, I have reason to expect justice and that you will be pleas'd to think favourably of me and believe me an honest man. I must confesse indeed when I deliver'd a message to Mr Robert Kemble there was one circumstance I was oblig'd by my commission to tell him that was not so exactly true as it ought to have been, which upon better consideration I can't excuse and think my selfe too rash and inconsiderate in presuming to doe it, and heartily beg his pardon: however the designe (tho' foolish) was so innocent that it could doe no prejudice to his affaires; and for any thing else I am sure I said nothing I had not orders for by those that sent me; and as for betraying my trust, I challenge all the world to make out the least tittle against me; and I here call God to witnesse and I renounce Heaven itselfe if directly or indirectly I ever in all my life either said or did any thing contrary to my duty or his interests. I must own I have been foolishly guilty of an errour in my judgment, but I beg you will have the goodnesse to believe 'tis impossible I can ever be guilty of a malicious one, or that for any mercenary consideration I can be villain enough to betray him or his friends. I have been told that one Kambell ('tis some such name) an Irish priest whom his superiours here have been a long time endeavouring to send out of England by reason of his ill manners and drunkenesse has taken upon him to deliver a message to you from Mr George Throckmorton of Hartfordshire

whom (to say no worse of him) severall here take to be a little crack-brain'd; but I hope you will have a better opinion of me than to believe such an idle talebearer or him that sent him, who for want of better matter to recommend themselves to you have thought it worth thier while to trifle with my reputation, for I am very certain they could tell you nothing of me that either malice or folly was not the the *[sic]* occasion, and what I can assure you is altogether false and groundlesse. But to trouble you no longer with these matters, I shall only add something concerning my correspondent Peter Hempson, my acquaintance with him having given occasion for some people to think hardly of me, because they say he is very great with Richard Dawson and Mrs Rebecca Davies and that he is often with James Norris and Mrs Sarah Treby and some others of thier relations. Now, Sir, you know that it is for this very reason that I keep in with him, for if he had not such acquaintances he could not serve me, and since I take care not to trust him with much, it can't be in his power to hurt either you or me. But seing him last night he told me he would trouble himselfe no more about your businesse and that he would not venture any further risks for you since he found nothing was like to come on't, and says he, they have either sent me money by you which you have cheated me of, or else they don't think I can doe them any service; I have already spent a great deal of money in coach hire and runing up and down and for ought I see to no purpose. So that you see 'tis plain if he serves you 'tis for his own interest, and money indeed has great charms and will make people industrious, and it matters not in my mind whether you think him an honest man or no nor what his character is or formerly has been, provided he serves you well. I think he ought to be encouraged, and tho' he serves you purely for his own interest, and tho' in other things he may be an ill man enough, you should have regard to the services he does you and to nothing else; so I leave this matter to your further consideration whether you will think fit to answer his expectations or no. I am satisfied 'tis in his power to doe you considerable services, for he is a man of intreagues and wants not wit to carry on a design, and besides his knowing every body here his cousin germain is James Batop's mistresse; but if you are not fully satisfied with him, I have done and shall trouble my selfe no more about him. I know some will object against him that it is not safe to trust him, I am indeed of thier mind, but then I don't see wherein we are necessitated to doe it, for we need not trust him with any thing, we have only to hear what he says from time to time and make the best use we can of it, without making him privy in the least to our affaires and designs. I should be glad to recieve a letter from you, and know if Mr Robert Keen believes me to be so ill a man as some endeavour to perswade him, as also if you would have me continue to write to you, which I intend to doe unlesse I recieve your orders to the contrary. Mr James Birch is just now come hither, but

what his errand is can't be known so soon, but in my next I shall be able to give you some account of it, for Peter Harper is to see him tomorrow about some businesse of her cousin. Our fleet is coming back from Ushant and will be in Torbay tomorrow, Sir John Ashby is dead on board, and I hear there is a great mortality amongst the seamen.'

P.S. 'Pray shew this letter to Mr Robert Keen [James II].'

3½ pp. The writer may have been Viscount Strangford's Roman Catholic son Thomas Smith or Smythe (d. 1696), arrested in October 1693 on suspicion of high treason (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, pp.356, 360).

296. NEWSLETTER

1693, June 23. London. 'Edinbourg, June the 15. This day the Parliament agreed upon a gratulatory letter to the King for suffering them to sit so long and that Duke Hamilton and Secretary Johnson represent to his Majesty the further griveances of this kingdome that remaine unredressed and to desire that they may sit againe with the King's first conveniency to that end.

'They passed severall acts, amongst the rest one remitting the Duke of Gourden, the Earl of Seaforth and Nevell Paine's tryalls to the next sessions of Parliament or to the Justiciary as the King shall think fit, and another dispensing with the Episcopall clergyes taking the oathes, etc., till the 10 of July next, and then the Parliament adjourn'd to the 12 of September next.

'On Wednesday last a Cabinet Councell was held about the descent but the result is kept secret.

'Tuesday last Justice [blank][Harriot] was committed to the King's Bench by the Court of King's Bench for striking a Jacobite person [parson] out of the pole tax.

'Dr Horneck is made prebend of Westminster in the roome of Dr [blank] [Samuel de l'Angle] deceased.

'This week our Turkey merchants attended the Earl of Nottingham to learn intelligence of theyr fleet but received no satisfactory answer ...

'Pardons are passing the seales for the Lord Sydney and the late Lords Justice Cuningsby and Porter but a caveat is entred by the Lord Bellamont, etc.

'All silks imported from Holland being forfeited, whereby one moiety falls to the King and the other to the informer, her Majesty hath been pleas'd to bestow her share upon the poor silk weavers of this cytty.

'We have advise that the tin miners in Cornwall are well pleased with King James his declaration and that the same is read publiquely amongst them.

'The Earl of Nottingham having declin'd sending or receiving any of the King's letters to or from the fleet, Secretary Trenchard manages all that affair ...

'Yesterday an express arrived here with advise that the Royall Navy is coming to Torbay and that Sir John Ashby, Admirall of the Blew, dyed on board, as did Captain Cotton, captain of the *Northumberland*.

'On Tuesday last 3 souldiers were by a court martiall tryed for deserting Colonel Hastings' regiment and sentenced to be shot to death.

'A great many French refugees' families dayly arrive here from Holland, Swisserland, etc., and are to plant themselves in Ireland.

'A pardon is preparing for the 3 persons sentenced to dye at Worcester upon the account of the ryott formerly mentioned about corne, etc.

'A 4 rate man of warr is [being] launched at the Red house [at Deptford, the *Falmouth* on 25 June] as will 2 bombing vessells next week.

'The new Lords Justices of Ireland's comission passed the seales on Wednesday last and will set forward for that kingdome in few dayes, theyr instructions being allready prepar'd, so that the Lord Sydney is dayly expected here since he has power to nominate 4 persons pro tempore to supply his place in that government.

'We omitted in our last to tell you that the judges at Worcester in theyr charge tould the mayor and aldermen that they were uphoulders of the rabble, that they breath'd out rebellion, that they deserv'd to loose theyr charter, that some stood behinde the curtaine to that effect that the cytty jury would not finde any guilty, for which the judges tould them they would take cognizance of them, but the country jury brought in 3 as formerly mentioned to be condemn'd.

'This dayes letters from the West say that upon the 19 instant the royall navy was off Scilly steering a Channell course for Torbay, that orders were come to Plymouth to prepare the hospitalls for a great number of sick seamen from the fleet wherein a malignant fever raged violently, that provision was so scarce on board that 6 men were reduced to the mess of 4 men.'

The Turkey merchants are at their wits' end for fear their fleet may have fallen into the hands of the French. 'This occasions them to utter undecent expressions and among other base language that if the fleet escape the enemy that they have no reason to thank the government for its conduct, that they are sould to the French, however that the next Parliament will call some of the pillars of the government to an account for it, etc. The coming bak of our fleet makes a great noise.'

3pp. *Seal of arms. Addressed (in Stoner's hand):* 'For Mr James Goodlad, merchant in St Malo'. *In the margin:* 'Pray give the inclos'd to my brother Stevens. W. Stoner'.

Enclosing:

296(1). W. Stoner to Mr Stevens. 1693, June 23. 'The Lisbon fleet is at last put in to Portsmouth and are like to loose thier convoy, the *Dreadnought* and others that are to be refitted.

'Edinbourg the 15th the Parliament agreed upon a letter of thanks to his Majesty for suffering them to sit so long. The tryals of Nevil Pain, Duke of Gourdon and Lord Seafort are referr'd to the next sessions of Parliament or to the Justiciary as the King shall think fit. The Episcopall clergy are dispenced with from taking the oaths till the 10th of July. They are adjourn'd to the 12th of September.

'Sir William Gore and Sir John Hodges are like to be sheriffes the next year for London, etc.

'French privateers forced a shoare 12 miles from Yarmouth 3 pinks and a ketch laden with tallow and hides, but made shift to get the 3 pinks offe and tooke them away.

'A pardon being ready to passe in my Lord Nottingham's office for the Lord Conningsby and Sir Charles Porter, a caveat was lodg'd there by Colonel Hamilton, my Lord [blank][Bellomont], etc. A justice of peace, I think his name is Harriot, was committed by the Court of King's Bench for striking out a Jacobite parson that had not taken the oathes out of the poll tax. Letters from Cornwall say that the tinnars are well pleas'd with King James's declaration, it having been publickly read amongst them.

'My Lord Nottingham has declin'd having any thing to doe with any orders for the fleet; Secretary Trenchard is to manage that affaire. Yesterday an expresse arrived that our fleet is coming back to Torbay and that Sir John Ashby dyed on board, as also Captain Cotton, who had the *Northumberland*.

'The 3 persons condemn'd for the riot at Worcester are to have thier pardon.

'A 4th rate ship is launched at the Red house.

'I forgot to tell you that the judges at Worcester in thier charge told the mayor and aldermen that they were upholders of the rabble and encouragers of rebellion, and deserved to loose their charter.

'They are preparing hospitalls at Plymouth for great numbers of sick men on board the fleet, there being a malignant feaver that rages violently amongst them, and I hear provisions begin to be scarce with them. Our Turkey merchants are utterly in despair for thier ships and some have offer'd £50 per cent to insure them. They begin to rail at the government for it, and say if thier ships escape the French they are not oblig'd to the government for it, and say they are bought and sold, with a deal of such like stuffe. The French privateers swarme upon our coasts and have taken above 40 ships in lesse than a fortnight. The coming back of our great fleet makes people think very odly of affaires.'

1½ pp. *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

297. NOTTINGHAM TO LORD CONINGSBY

1693, June 24. Whitehall. I have not been wanting to serve you and Lord Chancellor Porter in the matter of your pardon, although the Queen has not yet passed it. 'The other day my Lord Bellomont and Colonel James Hamilton came to my office to enter a caveat against it, and have presented a petition to the Queen complaining of your administration and praying to be heard before the pardon be granted, and they told me they intended to impeach you both. I should not have mentioned these matters to you but that they are of so extraordinary a nature and may possibly otherwise come

to your ears, and that I may assure you that I believe this proceeding will be no obstruction to her Majesty's favour towards you in the pardon; which shall not be delayed by me.'

1p. *Copy.* (See no. 312 for a delay in the delivery of the original letter of which this is a copy.)

298. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [June 26/] July 6, N.S. Parck. I have read your letter of the 20th to the King. 'For the enclosed to Consul Lodington and the Tripolines they will be dispatch't to Leghorn by the next Italian post which goes from Brussels every Fryday.' I have also laid before the King the Lord Lieutenant's letter about Sir John Every. He says 'that there was no mistake in the establishment, and that the appointing a Lieutenant-Governor with a salary for Galway would be a chargeable precedent for the other garrisons, where there are no Lieutenant-Governors or allowances setled for them at present except for Kinsale; but my Lord Galway having undertaken to sollicite for Sir John Every, something may be obtained for him in consideration of his particular meritts.

'Your Lordship's former letter mentioning Captain Thornicroft's having quitted his company in Colonel Hales's, now Goodwin's regiment, his Majesty would know when and why he left that regiment before his Majesty grant him any new favors in another.'

P.S. 'The King has order'd me to write the enclosed letter [missing] to the Duke of Norfolk. It is left open that your Lordship may see it before it be deliver'd.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 30 June.*

Enclosing:

298(1). 1693, June 26/ July 6. Camp at Perck. 'Comte Serclaes de Tilly has been for some days encamp't with about 12000 foot and 3000 horse and dragoons of the garrisons of Liege and Mastricht at Huy, to streighten the enemy's camp on that side and interrupt their provisions from Namur. But the detachment under the command of the Dauphin being now past the Mosel, his Majesty will draw good part of those garrisons hither to strengthen our army.

'Some of the garrison of Charleroy having made an attempt upon a party of the enemy that were marching in the neighbourhood, were drawn into an embuscade, but they nevertheless made their retreat without much loss.

'This morning a party of ours met with a party of the enemy in the woods on the left of our camp, of whom they kill'd severall and brought away thirty two prisoners. They were dismounted troopers endeavouring to steal our horses grazing by the wood side.'

1p. *Copy.*

299. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [June 26/] July 6, N.S. Parck. Upon reading that part of your letter where it is said that Lord Capell will have orders to call a new Parliament, as the King had directed, his Majesty commands me to write to you that it may first be considered by your Lordship and such as you shall consult whether it may be convenient to call a Parliament in Ireland at all this year.

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 30 June.*

300. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [June 26/] July 6, N.S. Parck. 'I am encouraged to give your Lordship this trouble by your kind promises when I acquainted your Lordship with my intentions to aske a reward of the King for my extraordinary service. I left the enclosed reference upon the King's table which his Majesty approving of signed by mistake. However, that paper remaining with your Lordship, it can only shew the King's inclinations to gratify me and I beg the favor that it may be transcribed upon the petition as usuall and signed by your Lordship as the King's pleasure.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 3 July, 'with the King's order of reference of Mr Blathwayt's petition which I gave to Mr Blathwayt Jan. 30, 94/3.'*

301. NOTTINGHAM TO HEINSIUS

1693, June 27. Whitehall. 'Je serois bien aise de pouvoir vous avertir de la seureté de nostre escadre destinée a Cadiz. Voici inclus [not enclosed] tout ce que j'ay appris par un expres touchant la flotte francoise, et qu'apparemment c'estoit le Chevalier Rook qui se trouvoit le 13/23 de ce mois à l'hauteur de 43. Je ne scay quelle route il devoit prendre, mais seulement qu'il ne manqueroit pas d'envoyer un avant coureur a Lisbonne en cas qu'il alloit a la longue des costes de Portugal et d'Espagne pour luy apprendre des nouvelles, et ainsi il sera averti des Francois et scaura eviter un si malheureux rencontre. Mais j'ay une lettre d'un de nos amiraux qui dit que le Chevalier Rook en partant estoit du sentiment d'aller tout droit vers les costes de Barbarie, et de la envoyer une fregatte pour scavoir où estoit l'escadre ennemie. Dans l'un ou l'autre cas il y a lieu à croire et esperer qu'il ne sera point exposé au danger qu'on apprehend icy et peut estre en Hollande aussi. Mais nos amiraux sur ces avis croiant plustost que le Chevalier Rook se trouvera a Lisbon ont pris la resolution dans un conseil de guerre d'y aller avec la flotte pour la plus grande seureté de cette escadre, si elle y est, et pour donner bataille aux Francois en revenant de Cadiz. Et parce que les Francois estant joint seront beaucoup superieurs en nombre a nous, ils ont prie la Reine d'augmenter la flotte autant qu'il sera possible, et sa Majesté a ordonné de leur envoyer au plustost 5 vaisseaux, viz. 2 de 80 pieces

de canon et 3 de 60 jusques a 70. Et elle m'a commandé aussi de vous recommander cette affaire, qu'on tasche de vostre costé de nous envoyer un bon nombre de navires de ceux qui sont prests. Pardonnez moy, Monsieur, si je vous dis que dans les années precedentes et mesme dans cellecy nous n'avons pas eu le nombre stipulé pour la proportion de messeurs les Estats Generaux, et il y a des mescontents icy qui s'en servent pour amuser le peuple. Pour cette raison, ou pour dire mieux, parce que le bonheur de l'une et de l'autre nation depend sur le succes de cette entreprise, je ne doute pas que vous ne tombiez d'accord avec moy qu'il est necessaire de faire des efforts extraordinaires, comme nous avons fait de nostre part, dans une conjoncture qui nous pourra rendre heureux pour jamais et nous mettre hors des insultes de l'ennemy de l'Europe. La flotte est à present à Torbay pour y prendre des vivres.'

2pp. *Copy, endorsed:* 'Copy of my letter to the Pensioner Heinsius'.

302. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, June 27. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of the 19/29th and wish I could ease you of your fears for the Mediterranean squadron. The grounds of my hopes I gave you in my last, to which as yet I can add nothing; only you will see by the enclosed that the whole coast of Portugall and Spain is alarm'd with the French fleet, so that if Sir George Rook steers that course and takes that precaution, which I doe not doubt, of sending for intelligence before he makes that coast, there is great reason to conclude he will not be in danger. The letter from Cadiz of which I give you the extract was sent by the consull by express to Mr Stanhop who dispatcht it on the 6/16th from Madrid to the Corunna.

'I suppose Mr Secretary gives you an account of the resolution of the councill of war, and of the desires of the admiralls for a reinforcement of the fleet, and of the measures taken for that purpose and for a supply of victuals which they greatly want.

'I have writt to the Pensioner Heinsius to acquaint him with these matters and to desire if it be possible an addition of some ships, and doe wish the King would presse that matter. I hope there is no occasion now for a squadron to the Sound and if some five or six ships could be sent to the fleet immediately, and we could happily meet the French in their return (who must be shatter'd and disorder'd by such a voyage) before they gett into port, we may hope reasonably for great successe, even beyond whatever was known at sea.

'I did not take notice to you of the intelligence you sent me because I have the same from Monsieur Jurieux, but 'tis always read at the Cabinet Councill and Mr Secretary transmitts what is thought proper to the fleet.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's letter; extract of letter from Cadiz.

1½ pp. Letter Book III, pp.203-4.

303. W. STONER TO MR STEVENS

1693, June 27. London. 'Last Fryday in the evening Mr James Baines came to town, and I am told he won't stay long nor see many of his friends. His chiefe businesse is to take up money but I hear his old friend Will Lemon has no mind to lend him any, and he is advised not to ask him till we have news that our Turkey fleet is escaped out of the French clutches, for he is much out of humour about that matter, for we had an account last Saturday by a Genoese ship that left the French fleet (D'Estrée having joyn'd Torville) on this side Cales, and about 30 hours after pass'd by the Streights fleet making full sail towards the French, and 'tis verily believ'd here there is no possibility of thier escaping them, which occasions great clamours in the citty, the merchants saying we are bought and sold and that thier ships were kept here on purpose till the French fleet was at sea that so they might be taken. Mr James Norris has taken a great deal of pains to satisfye the merchants theyre ships are in no danger but they won't believe him. He tooke his maps to shew them how Sir George Rooke had orders to steer his course and that he was sure they would not come within a great many leagues of the French fleet. But all this gave them no satisfaction. Mr Johnson was out again last week upon bail. There is one Farre a printer taken into custody about printing the late King James's declarations. Mrs Jolly who came in the packet boat to Harwich, and from thence came in a hoy up the river Thames, was seiz'd upon there and is now in the mesenger's hands, severall papers being found about her and she is suspected to have come from France. Sir William Hedges and Alderman Abney are chosen sheriffes. An expresse came to Edinburg the day after the Parliament was adjourn'd with orders for them to sit 10 days longer but it came too late. There were orders likewise to put a stop to the levying of any more foot in that kingdom. My Lord Camarthen continues very ill and is gone down to the Bath for a month.

'There is a great sicknesse on board the fleet, and great scarcity of provisions for that all their meat is corrupted. They are now at Torbay putting a shoar thier sick men. There was once orders sent down for them to follow the French fleet towards the Streights, but 'tis since contradicted and I believe they are not in a condition to doe it, besides they would come too late.

'Since the tryalls at Worcester another of the ringleaders has been seiz'd; they are very mutinous there still. The French privateers infest our coasts more then ever and daily take great numbers of our ships. They begin to presse again for the fleet. Sir A. Phillips is retired into the country and has left offe his practice. Jack Cory presents his service to you as does honest Cupid who drinks your health. My service to your lady.'

1½ pp. *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

304. LORD CONINGSBY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 27. Heriford-sheir. I have not yet heard from you in reply to my letter by Mr Paunsford. 'I hear my Lord Bellamount prosecutes the caveat he enter'd with great earnestness. I can't pretend to answer for my Lord Chancellor in a business of this importance but for my self I could with all my soul wish her Majesty would permitt these gentlemen to vent their malice. I thank God I am not concious to my self that I have don any thing that can deserve either the King or Queen's displeasure but on the contrary have ever served them with zeal and fidelity ... I challenge all mankind to prove I ever gott one penny unjustly or that I acted any thing contrary to the interest I espoused. The success of our endeavor the world is a witness too, and I can't but have vanity enoufe to say that none but such a retch as my Lord Bellamount and his company could be ungratfull enoufe to make soe barborous a return.

'What I gott amongst them is in considerable ... I am not this day one thousand pounds in a better condition then I was when I went for Ireland except what the profitts of my own estate has in the meantime raised and 'twould be too unreasonable to expect that I should have expended that.'

I beseech you to let her Majesty know 'that I shall be infenitely satisfied to have all these gentlemen can say heard and when they are soe I hope she won't lett their informations take place with her till I am heard in answer to them and then I doubt not but it will appear to be the most malicious prosecution that any body ever suffer'd under. I don't pretend, my Lord, but that severall things weer don in the heat of the warr that weerr not exactly agreable to the forms of law and 'tis for such I hope to have her pardon, and since it was never refused to any I can't suspect it will be soe to me since I am sure of such there is not a single action but what the servis required.' Until I hear from you 'I shan't stirr from hence', but will then come to town if it is thought necessary.

3¼ pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 30 June.*

305. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [June 29/] July 9, N.S. Parck. You will see by my letter to Mr Secretary Trenchard how the King has received the news of the return of the fleet and the apprehensions that continue about the Mediterranean squadron. He has not thought fit to give any orders by this post upon Mr Trenchard's letter of the 23rd or yours of the same date, 'which are both very much to the same effect.'

½ p. *Holograph.*

306. THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND TO THE QUEEN

1693, June 29. Edinburgh. Captain Wilkieson, commander of the English ship the *Countess* of London, has seized the *Fortune* of Flensburgh, Laurance Peitersons master, in the river of Forth, and, upon our order to release her, set sail and carried her away. We sent Captain Douglass, of your Majesty's ship the *Sweepstakes*, to sail after him 'but they soon agried', and Wilkieson delivered the vessel to Captain Douglass in exchange for 'his recept and obleidgement to delyver in the river of Thames' to the Lords of the Admiralty. By this means the rights and liberties of this kingdom are violated and our merchants much injured and discouraged. Other merchant ships of ours have in the same way been seized and carried away by English and Dutch privateers 'as if they were our enemys'. This abuse is grown to so great a height that the farmers of the customs have complained and offer to resign. Many of our merchants have already given up trade, and the rest must follow their example if your Majesties do not order a speedy remedy. We pray for orders to be given that the vessel carried away by the *Sweepstakes* be restored to our merchants, her owners, and that no English ships shall seize upon or molest any ships (not open enemies) within our Scots rivers or ports, and that the States General be moved to give similar orders, which are 'not only necessary for the security and freedom of the trade of this kingdom and the interest of your Majesties customes, bot lykewayes for the preserving the rights and honor of this your ancient kingdom which certainly is absolute and independent'.

2pp. *Signed (13 signatures). Paper seal. Endorsed with a note that an extract was sent to the Commissioners of the Admiralty on 5 July.* (See further nos. 326 and 412 below and J. Grant, ed., *The Old Scots Navy from 1689 to 1710* (1914), pp.119–25.)

Enclosing:

306(1). The Privy Council of Scotland to the Queen. 1693, June 29. Edinburgh. An unsigned copy of no. 306, omitting the final passage about independence.

1½ pp. *Copy.*

306(2). The Privy Council of Scotland to the King. 1693, June 29. Edinburgh. 'Albeit that your Majestie by your former letter was pleased to order that no English ship should search for goods but only for persons aboard of our ships, which certainly implies that our ships should not be seized, yet Captain Thomas Wilkieson [then as letter to the Queen] ... as if they were our enemyes. And further wee are informed, that severall other English merchant ships have taken out commissions of mart from the Admiraltie against unfree traders, which wee see they mostly make use of against our ships coming from the plantations and in our seas and rivers, albeit it be certain that befor this late warr non of our ships could be attacked or molested on that account att sea, but only in the ports and harbours of America' [then as letter to the Queen].

2pp. *Signed (13 signatures).*

307. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, June 30. Whitehall. I have received yours of 22 June/2 July and 26 June/6 July and have sent your letter to the Duke of Norfolk. 'I will inform my selfe of the reasons which made Mr Thornycroft quitt his commission in Colonel Goodwyn's regiment and acquaint you with them; as I remember, he pretended to be major upon the advance of the officers when Colonel Hales was dismiss'd as being the eldest captain, which claim was not admitted ... and another was prefer'd. I am sure he did not refuse the service because the regiment was order'd to the West Indies, and I have heard he behaved himself very bravely in Ireland ... All that I have writt upon this matter has been at the desire of Colonel Hastings under whom he now serves.

'Mr Methven writes that he does not think the King of Portugall will be induced to enter the alliance with the confederates but believes he may be perswaded to make a defensive allyance with Spayn if it were proposed to him. Mr Methven says he has already mentioned it to the King of Portugall, who gave him only a generall answer but bid him speak of it to his minister whom he chiefly and entirely trusts; so that if his Majesty thinks this will be of use as a step at least to closer measures, Mr Stanhop must be directed to speak of it to the court of Spayn, that a proposition may be formally made to Portugall, of which Mr Methwen may be a fitt instrument.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King.

1p. Letter Book III, p.205.

308. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

[16]93, June 30. Whitehall. 'I can't give you a full answer to yours of June 26/July 6 touching the meeting of a Parliament in Ireland.' The Lord President is at Bath, and I have spoken only to Lord Rochester. I think we both agree that if money cannot be found in Ireland or here to support the army and government there is an absolute necessity for the Parliament to meet in September. I believe it will be fit to be debated at the Cabinet Council. In the meantime I will enquire what prospect there is of money on the revenue in Ireland or here. I need not tell you that the Lords Justices can have no orders to call a Parliament until they are in Ireland.

1p. *Holograph copy (many abbreviations).*

309. — TO SIR MATTHEW BRIDGES

1693, June 30. 'There has been five or six English privateers in this channell this summer, and as I heare are at Carrickfergus. There are more of the French, the fear of which keeps our[s] on ground.

‘There is (I suppose) a private trade with France from this coast not for glory or state designes but (I believe) for lucre only. I cannot find any instructions given relating to this matter. I am not willing to beget trouble to the subjects, when those very well employed and rewarded by the state are silent, yet to vindicate my self from being supine or indifferent for the generall good I would be glad to know whether the Lords of the Admiralty or Commissioners of Prizes have thought hereof, or think of any expedient for redress of the inconveniences, if accounted such, and to be free with you, altho’ the merchants aime at noe more then to sell butter and other provisions very dere in France and buy wine, brandy, salt, etc. very cheap, yet this trade may have some tendencies of evill consequences to this government, which whether it support me or not I must either support it or sink in its ruines.’

1p. *Copy. Endorsed: ‘An abstract of two letters from the North of Ireland’ and in Nottingham’s hand: ‘to Sir M. Bridges’.*

With (on the same sheet):

309(1). — to Sir Matthew Bridges. 1693, July 18. ‘My last was an account of the French privateers and their triumphs in our seas. This last week brought us the *Recovery* of this place, John Crookshanks owner and his brother master. She coming from Bristoll was taken off Milford by the *Juven Hourne* of Grandvill in France. After rifling they were forced to buy the ship and what the gentlemen thought not worth their taking at £550. James Bovy of Newtowne was kept as a pledge, the rest dismiss (as they suppose) at at least £1500 loss. Last week came in an other in like manner first taken then sold. The caper is in the mouth of our river with 8 prizes more (vizt.) one from Dublin with butter bound for Holland, 2 from Norway, 3 from Virginia with tobacco, 2 Scotch barks. Two capers more forced another Virginia man on shore at Do, and staid some dayes at anchor without the harbour waiting for her. This that tooke the prizes has but 12 guns. They can tell exactly the number of our fleet when returned to Torbay, the officers aboard, and the probability and hopes of catching of our merchant fleet. They know what ships of ours were on our coast, where our armyes lye, what regiments of ours in Ireland, and speak of Scotland as if of the Councill there. There is one Morris McDonnell illegitimate son to the Earl of Antrim on board her, and it was reported last yeare he was in the same or some such on this coast, being an officer in the French army and but as volunteer here. ’Tis conjectured he’s on some designe beyond the captains and perhaps makes a trip yearly to this and the Scotch coast.’

1p. *Copy.*

310. FRENCH LINE OF BATTLE

1693, [June]. ‘Ordre de bataille de l’armée navale du Roy pour la campagne de 1693.’

1 double page. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 June 1693.*

With:

310(1). Summary of the above in Nottingham’s hand: 94 line of battle ships, with 6,446 guns and 40,960 men; 28 frigates, 300 guns, 1,210 men; 4 bomb vessels, 144 men; 30 fireships, 300 guns, 1,175 men; 3 hospital ships, 36 guns, 180 men; 31 ‘bastiments de charge’, 372 guns, 1,042 men. Total 190 ships, 7,454 guns, 44,711 men.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p.

311. JOHN METHUEN TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July [1/] 11. Lisbon. 'I write this only to acquaint your Lordship that her Majesty the Queen Dowager [Catherine of Braganza] very constantly enquires of the King and Queen's health and owns a great concerne for the good success of affaires and upon all occasions especially the unfortunate accident of our Smyrna fleet shews her affection to England and her readiness to doe any good office with her brother the King of Portugall.

'Her Majesty likewise knowing the honour I have of writing to your Lordship, often enquires of your Lordship's and my Lady Nottingham's health with expressions of very great kindness, and hath newly commanded me to acquaint your Lordship that she preserves the memory of your kindness to her and shall never forget her obligation or lose the esteem she hath always had for your Lordship and my Lady. This hath made me sometimes presume to present your Lordship's duty to the Queen, not knowing whether you had taken any other way of doing it, the rather because I finde that some others of the English nobility pay that respect to her Majesty and she seemes to take it very kindly. I hope your Lordship will pardon my forwardness.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 31 July.*

312. NOTTINGHAM TO LORD CONINGSBY

1693, July 1. 'I have received yours of the 27th. The enclosed [see no. 297] which has been at Bathe and was brought back to me yesterday will shew your Lordship that I did not omitt answering your former letter; I have nothing to adde but that I think it will be convenient that you come to towne, and some other of your friends are of the same opinion.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph draft or copy. On the same sheet as no. 297.*

313. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 3/13. Parck. 'The King has seen your Lordship's letters of the 23rd and 27th past, with those from Mr Secretary Trenchard of the same date; and by this post I acquaint Mr Secretary that as the other officers of the fleet are upon the death of Sir John Ashby to rise gradually, so the Earl of Danby and Captain Nevill are to have the rere-admiralls' flags for the present expedition.'

His Majesty does not think it necessary that the government of Sandgate Castle be disposed of till his return.

On what you wrote to the Pensioner of Holland, he believes that the Dutch ships intended for the Sound 'are not in such a readiness as may be requisite for their joining in time our main fleet.

'The King has order'd Mr Secretary to name some persons for his Majesties choice to be sent to Sweden in the stead of my Lord George Douglas.

'His Majesty thinks the petition of my Lord Bellomont and Colonel Hamilton a very extraordinary one, as your Lordship is pleased to term it.' He has not yet named a lieutenant-governor of Carlisle.

P.S. I enclose a letter from Mr Skelton relating to Colonel MacElligot's exchange, and one from Mr Broughton which is addressed to me, but as I am unacquainted with his merit, and he is in your province, I do not intend to move his Majesty concerning him without your orders.

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 July.*

Enclosing:

313(1). George Broughton to Blathwayt. 1693, June [16/] 26. Venice. It is four years next November that I have been consul here, 'but the wars hath occasioned me not to receive above fifty pounds sterlin by consoladge or any other appoyments' [*sic*], notwithstanding which I have disbursed about £1,400 on the King's and the nation's occasions.

'Very justly I may reckon seven hundred pounds sterlin for the King's account; haveing received and sent weekly publick letters and avisoes to and from the courts of England, Ireland, Holland, Flanders, Dreysden, Hamburg, and all the consulls in Italy, Turkey and Barbary, etc.

'I have also been at great charges to suppress scandalous books and prints against his Majestie and kingdom's honour; for mainteining shippwracht seamen and other his Majesties indigent subjects, and endeavouring to pass them home for his service; for secreet advisers, and writers of publick newes; with a multitude of other national publick affairs at the pallace, which from time to time as happened I gave distinct account therof to his Majesties secretaries ...'

I represented to Lord Nottingham and Lord Sydney that since ambassadors, envoys and residents were all owed their extraordinary charges and certain allowances, 'I beseeched the King's favour towards this poor consul, and they ... said it was but reasonable what I requested, but his Majesties great affairs, and being abroad, prorogued my addresses.'

I therefore beseech you to acquaint his Majesty of my sad circumstances and implore speedy succour for me ... 'but least I should prevaricate for want of subsistance (not haveing fifty pounds left in the world) I had rather his Majesty should appoynt another in my stead ... in case [he] doth not think fitt with all speed to grant me assistance. Notwithstanding my large disbursements, I supplicate only a competency at present to continue it, untill our navigation reflourisheth to bring me consoladge.'

3pp. *Holograph. Endorsed in Blathwayt's hand.*

313(2). 1693, July 3/13. Camp at Perck. 'On Saturday morning last the Duke of Wirtemberg was detached from hence with 13 batallions of foot and 20 squadrons of horse for Flanders, where they may perhaps have an opportunity of falling into the French lines, and may be reinforc'd upon occasion by some batallions of foot more from the neighbouring garrisons. The Earls of Bath's and Argile's regiments of foot and the Duke of Leinster's regiment of horse are all the English of this detachment; the rest are Dutch and Danes.

'In the afternoon the 13 batallions mentioned in my last to be coming from Liege and Mastricht came to the camp in the room of those which march't out in the morning.

'The rains continue stil [*sic*], and we had so much yesterday in the evening that the waters were last night near as high as was mentioned to you in one of my former.

'The French army remains in the same camp, where we are told they are very sickly for want of provisions.

'News is just now come from Germany that Prince Louis of Baden's army is within a mile of the Marshall de Lorge.'

1p. Copy.

314. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 3/13. Parck. You write in your letter of the 27th: '*I suppose Mr Secretary gives you an account of the resolution of the Councill of Warr and of the desires of the admiralls for a reinforcement of the fleet and of the measures taken for that purpose*'; but all that he writes of a reinforcement is: '*All possible diligence is used to furnish the fleet with provisions that they may be in a condition to go to sea again next week. There will be likewise four ships join'd to them, two of 80 guns and two of seventy.*

'This is all that is said of that matter, which I thought fitt to acquaint your Lordship with for your own private information.'

1p. *Holograph (with Blathwayt's underlinings). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 July.*

315. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, July 4. Whitehall. 'By the enclosed papers you will have an account of our success at Martinico, where I believe the French have suffered considerably tho' the great mortality by sickness among our men has disappointed much of our expectations there and elsewhere.

'And tho' it is probable Sir Francis Wheeler will returne to England from the place to which he is now gone, yet I believe it may be fitt to send him orders so to doe.

'And you may remember that it was intended to send provisions to Barbados in August next, which now seems not necessary either in such quantity or at that time but may be delayed till the ordinary time of the merchants going thither about October. You will lett me know the King's pleasure herein; some may be requisite because we see that a regiment is left in the Leeward Islands, and for the reasons Colonel Kendall gives another seems necessary to be kept, if the Kings approves it, in Barbados. And his Majesty will be pleased also to direct what number of ships should be sent to the plantations in October for their security. The Committee will speak with the Admiralty about this matter.

'My Lord Lieutenant writes that he has dissolved the Parliament in Ireland by proclamation, but says he does not think it expedient to call another so soon as August, and that I shall know his reasons when he comes here ... and Sir Cyrill Wich writes to my Lord Capell to the same effect, adding that they will probably meet with the like heat as the last was in, will give no mony, and yet may fall into the same dispute about the manner of passing mony-bills; he thinks time will cool them and give opportunity to perswade men to reason. And I find my Lord Chief Justice Reynell, Sir Richard Coxe and Mr Keatly of the same opinion that September is too soon ... and that 'twill be better in the spring after the sessions of a Parliament here is over, and this tho' no mony should be ask'd of them in September.

'Upon reading the abovesaid letters at the Cabinet Councill to day the debate arose very naturally.

'All doe agree that if money cannot be advanced by anticipation upon the revenue of Ireland for the support of the army and government there is an absolute necessity for a Parliament in September, whatever may be the objections against it.

'But because Mr Keatly thinks there may be mony borrowed upon the revenue, and Sir Cyrill Wich seems to imply so much by saying 'tis better to borrow it then at this time to call a Parliament, and my Lord Capell tells me that my Lord Godolphin (who is at Winsor) thinks £40,000 may be gott upon the revenue of Ireland from the bankers here when the English fonds are at an end, which I fear will be too soon, the Committee is to meet and consider of the possibility of it. But at present that the King's opinion and orders might be speedily known it was supposed that mony might be so advanced, and then the question was whether it was expedient to call a Parliament to meet at the beginning of September to settle the publick affairs without asking any mony of them.

'All agreed that if the Parliament mett in September and that mony could be gott on the revenue it would be best not to ask mony but deferr that till the sessions in the spring.

'But the Lords differed in opinion about the time of their meeting. My Lord Keeper, my Lord Privy Seal, Mr Secretary Trenchard and Sir Edward Seymour thought that if mony could be gott upon the revenue it would be best not to hold the Parliament till the spring; my Lord Steward, my Lord Rochester and my self were of opinion that tho' mony could be so gott yet it would be most for their Majestys' service to call the Parliament at the beginning of September. My Lord Chamberlain was there but I think he did not deliver his opinion. I will state the reasons of the Lords, or others with whom I have spoke, on both sides very impartially.

'Against the meeting in September 'tis sayd that the Lords Justices will not

have time to prepare, dispose and perswade the Parliament men to such measures as may conduce to the peace and welfare of that kingdom, which was one reason why my Lord Sidney had no better success the last Parliament which he mett too soon after his arrivall there.

‘There may be many things occurre to the Parliament for the good of the kingdom which may not be thought of in the bills that in form will be laid before them; and since ’tis agreed that the Parliament there must not sitt during the sessions here, there will not be time between the beginning of September and the end of October for them to present such things to the Councill of Ireland to be transmitted in form of bills to England and returned back from hence and passed there in Parliament.

‘And consequently if they be prorogued before such things are finisht they will be dissatisfyed, and this dissatisfaction may frustrate the next session also and may give occasion of clamour, which may reach perhaps the Parliament here, as if they were called without any intent of redressing their grievances or settling the quiett and interest of that kingdom. That they may probably insist upon some bills which the King may not think fitt to grant att all, or not at that time, and yet will not confirm the articles nor passe an indemnity, etc., which may throw the kingdom once more into confusion.

‘The reasons on the other side are, first in answer to the praeceding arguments ’tis not likely that the Lords Justices will prevail much on those who are likely to be most troublesome, whose discontents arise from other motives then the Lords Justices can satisfie, and ’tis less likely that any in the post of Lieutenant or Justices shall gain but rather lose credit the longer they stay, where some men’s dissatisfactions are so unreasonable and others, though just, so hard to be remedied; and this my Lord Lieutenant though desired and esteemed at first has sufficiently experimented.

‘’Tis true all things that may be desired by the Parliament and may be fitt to be granted too cannot be done in so short a session, and if mony were ask’d and granted and the Parliament prologued, ’twere lyable to suspicion and clamour that they were called not for their own good but the advantage of the King; but when no mony is asked and all the business before them is for themselves, and that they know the sessions cannot be long and may, besides an assurance from the Lords Justices, foresee from the want of mony that they shall certainly meet again in the spring, they can have no pretence nor colour for complaint.

‘’Tis possible they may insist on some bills which the King will not care to grant, but this is a stronger argument against their meeting in Aprill then in September. For then the King must ask money and consequently they may more reasonably hope for the return of some acts of grace from the Crowne, and then most probably they will presse for such bills as knowing the

necessities of the King which may induce him to comply with them. It has been fatal to one king to put off Parliaments till he could no longer subsist without them.

‘Tis not probable they will confirm the articles or passe a fair and equall indemnity; but if this be necessary to be done, as it seems to be, and that ’tis not likely a Parliament in Ireland ever will do it, which is an argument equally against any meeting if the not doing it may putt that kingdom into confusion, and that to prevent such a mischief and the expence of six or seven milions more the Parliament of England must in prudence interpose, then the sooner such bills as tender’d to the Parliament of Ireland the better, though they be rejected, for till then ’tis not likely that the Parliament of England will take them into consideration.

‘In the next place, the not asking money is an argument for the Parliament’s meeting in September, for generally Parliaments have paid most respect to the Crown when its necessities have been least, and the calling them then will appear so plainly to be for their own sakes that it may be resonably hoped the generality of the Parliament will be satisfied and avoid industriously all occasions which may be suggested to them of giving any dissatisfaction to the King.

‘And the chief handle of dispute which discomposed the last Parliament will be taken away in this by not asking money.

‘Tis certain there will be complaints, for there is too much reason for them, but therefore the Parliament should sitt in September, for otherwise they will be all brought to the Parliament here, which will interrupt the publick affairs in which our safety depends and may incense the Parliament so as that they will not be so well disposed afterwards to comply with his Majesty’s just desires, and ’tis probable that those who shall come to complain may represent things much worse here than they would venture to doe in Ireland where the matters of fact, etc., may be more easily made appear.

‘To conclude, if after that the grievances of Ireland have bin represented by the Parliament there, and by addresses from both Houses here, and that sufficient remedies to some of those evils could not be applyed, and yet that Parliament is dissolved and no new one called, ill men may take this occasion to say, and even to the Parliament here, that ’tis done on purpose to stifle those complaints which should be redressed.

‘After all it must be acknowledged that the case is very difficult, and it is humbly submitted to his Majesty, whose resolutions I hope will be always such as may most conduce to the happiness of his government.’

Note of enclosures: Queen’s letter; resolution of the council of war of sea and land officers at Martinique; copies of Sir Francis Wheler’s and Colonel

Kendall's letters; extract from letter prepared by Colonel Foulkes before his death for Nottingham; copy of Colonel Codrington's letter to Wheler; list of such land officers, and abstract of such officers and seamen of the West India squadron, as have died since leaving England.

4½ pp. Letter Book III, pp.206–10.

316. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, July 4. Whitehall. 'I have referred the petition which Mr Povey brought me to the Treasury in the manner you desired ...

'My Lord Lovelace is dead, whereby the places of Captain of the Pensioners and Justice in Eyre are void. I hope the King will conferre the first on my Lord Hyde, who has paid some service to the King by attending him in Flanders last yeare, but I am sure his father does every day much more for the advantage and interest of their Majestys.

'The Earl of Abingdon had some expectation of being Justice in Eyre when the King made my Lord Lovelace so. He does not know I mention him, but he is a very considerable man and was early in the King's interests, and I think upon many accounts his Majesty's favor would be well placed upon him ... '

1p. *Copy*. (Lovelace did not in fact die until 27 September.)

317. HEINSIUS TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July [5/] 15. La Haye. Immediately on receiving yours of 27 June, N.S., I obtained information from the admiralties as to what condition they were in to furnish warships to make up the deficiencies of the fleet, and I have just given this information to the King.

'Au reste, Mylord, ayant veu la liste des flottes angloises et hollandoises, je trouve qu'il y a 47 navires de guere anglois et 28 hollandois, et qu'ainsi quoy qu'il y manque de part et d'autre en general, la proportion est a peu pres esgual, horsmis les cinq qui y seront adjoutés de vostre part, mais je vous prie de considerer outre cela que dans l'escadre de Duynkerke il n'y a pas un vaisseau anglois et qu'il y a en ausi guere que je scache les années precedentes.

'Je viens de recevoir des lettres du Roy qui me marque qu'il voit guere d'apparence qu'on puisse si tost d'ici augmenter la flotte comme il est désiré et qu'il seroit necessaire; les gros vaisseaus pour le nouvel escadre ne pouvant pas estre si tost prêts et ceux de l'escadre du Nortsee ne pouvant pas estre d'un grand effet, et y estant ausi necessaires. Cependant sa Majesté s'informerait encore de plus pres sur toute cette affaire.'

The letters from Paris say nothing about the Mediterranean squadron, which we take as a good omen.

4pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 July.*

318. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 6/16. Parck. In answer to your letter of the 30th, upon consideration of what is represented by Mr Methuen, 'his Majesty does think fitt that Mr Stanhop be directed to speak to the Court of Madrid of their entring into a defensive alliance with Portugall and to do in concert with Mr Methuen all that may be requisite on his part towards it.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 July.*

Enclosing:

318(1). [16]93, July 6/16. Camp at Perck. 'Yesterday we were alarmed by a report of the enemy's marching to Leeuwe, a small place between this and Maestricht where we have a detachment of about 1000 men commanded by Colonel Trelawny, and the army was thereupon ordered to be in a readiness to march, but before night his Majesty had notice of the contrary, and that our last convoy was come safe into that place, so that the two camps remain still on the same ground.

'This morning we had advice that Monsieur de Luxembourg marcht two days since with a detachment of about 50 squadrons of horse, 10 battalions of foot and some field pieces to Tongeren in order to fall upon part of the garrisons of Leige and Maestricht, being about 18 squadrons and some foot which lye encampt near that place under the command of Comte Tilly, who having notice thereof retired over the Saar leaving only three squadrons to secure his retreat. The French detach the like number of squadrons of the household to attack them, but they were all beaten back with much bravery to their main body, from whence fresh squadrons coming on, ours were obliged to retire, upon which some part of the baggage fell into the enemy's hands.

'We have no news since the last post from Prince Louis of Baden.'

1½ pp. *Copy.*

319. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 6/16. Parck. 'I have read to his Majesty your Lordship's letter about the meeting of the Parliament of Ireland and tho' your Lordship be not to expect his Majestie's resolution in the matter untill your Lordship write further of it, yet I would not but observe in the meantime that his Majesty seems prepossessed against the meeting from an apprehension that if that Parliament do not end entirely well, it will furnish clamour to ill men in England to disturb the proceedings of ours.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 July.*

Enclosing:

319(1). *In Blathwayt's hand on a separate slip.* 'For Godsake, my Lord, what ails our admiralls, for besides their quitting the Mediterranean squadron before they knew anything of the French fleet, why did they come in so suddenly upon pretence of their wanting provisions while it was yet uncertain where the French fleet was, or why did they not send notice beforehand to the Queen by an advice boat of their want and remain at sea for the time at least they knew provisions would be coming to Torbay from London, or rather, why did they not protest before they went out? These things have very much alter'd the opinion that was had of those gentlemen.'

320. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, July 7. Whitehall. 'This day I received yours of the 3/13. I believe you will have heard that the pacquett boat that came away with the letters of the praeceding post is sunk by two French privateers ...

'I have sent Mr Skelton's letter to my Lord Lucas, but I know not what to say to Mr Broughton. I believe his consull's place is of little value, and he writes very often though seldom any thing worth the reading, and there is no salary allowed to any consull that I know of, but if he has expended any money for the maintenance of seamen or been at any charge for expresses or any publick account he must give a state of such charges, and if the King be pleased to give him any thing his Majesty may better take that occasion of doing it than to make a praecedent of allowing a stipend to any man as consul ...'

Sir William Wheeler has desired me to send you the enclosed paper. I do not know him, but Sir Francis recommended him to me when he went away, and I wish his Majesty would bestow some place upon him upon his own or his brother's account.

'The Committee has mett to consider what money was necessary for Ireland and of the possibility of raising it upon any fonds of that kingdom. The two Lords Justices were here and gave in the enclosed memorial, explaining it that with £40,000 they might be able to support the civill government and the army till the spring. My Lord Godolphin said that the £10,000 mention'd might be had in a short time, and if the Lords Justices when they came into Ireland should represent the necessity of the remaining summe he believed it might be procured from bankers here upon the quitrents of Ireland, but not till towards September when the fonds here would be almost at an end, so that till then though he did not much doubt of getting such a sum advanced yet there could be no certainty of it. Upon this I did desire their Lordships' opinion whether upon a supposition that his Majesty might think it most advisable that the Parliament in Ireland should not sitt till the spring, yet it would not [*recte* would it not] be best to have it summoned to meet at the beginning of September least this money could not be borrowed and then without a Parliament his Majesty would not be destitute of the means of supporting his government there. But if this mony could be advanced, the Parliament, if his Majesty thought fitt, might be prorogued without sitting to the spring; my Lord Capell was once of this opinion and my Lord Rochester is so as well as my selfe, but the other lords think that the calling of a Parliament and thus proroguing it will give great dissatisfaction and make the members angry in the spring when they shall meet and sitt, and therefore the Lords think 'tis best not to call it till it shall be allow'd to sitt; and this ... they would not have till the spring ... Methinks the shortest way of judging of the present question is whether the possibility of

dissatisfying the Parliament by proroguing it from September to April or March be of worse consequence then the possibility of having no money advanced by loan without any remedy by a supply from the Parliament.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King; memorial from the Lords Justices; Sir William Wheeler's petition.

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. Letter Book III, pp.210–12.

321. SIR RALPH DELAVALL TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 8. '... I am sorry I cannot tell you Sir George Rook is saife, though I doubt not but hee is, being well assured hee will nither want intelligence from the shoar by our merchants, nor will hee himselfe be wanting to ceep [*sic*] his scouts at such distance as to have notice time enough to avoyd them. Nor daire they follow him into the sea, for fear of starveing, of which hee is in no danger, and for scattering shippes that shall or may com up with him, hee will be able to dele with them. I cannot but say I hertelly wish they had stayed at Spithedd till wee had gained certaine intelligence of the enemy as the counsell of warr advised, though I am well assured every man intended the pooblick good in his opinion. Yet I must tell your Lordshipp that I am troubled to finde myselfe and the gentlemen who aire joyned with me so much and so particularly blaimed for that which I may presume to say is not our fault; for though I do not tell yow that I intend to keepe the blaime on any man, yet I can affirme that Sir Cloudsly and myselfe did in a particular manner (at our counsell of warr at sea) urge oure going farther with Sir George, and in all truth the Dutch were against it; though I often urged that I could see no service wee could do equall to the secureing that fleet as farr as it was possible. I hope and pray they may escaipe as being a trew lover of my country, and I doubt not but yow will spedelly here they aire safe.

'Here is a commission com this night for my Lord Berklyes being Admirall of the Blew; but not one for me to preseed him, nor any signifcation from the Admiralty to that purpose, though I writt to them, a neglect which I shall not forgett. Indeed, my Lord, I must tell yow, as my friend, that I am unesy at the yousage, and therefor pray yow will do me the favour to lett me know whether I have hadd justice don me; and I must say Sir John Louder has not bin virry friendly in not leting me here from him, haveing writt to him to lett me know. I pray a line or two by the fierst.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 July.*

322. THE EARL OF ROCHESTER TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693,] July 8. Newparke. I heard today from Mr Blathwayt that the King had been pleased at my request to make St. Loe a Commissioner of the Navy,

as enclosed. Please do nothing about it until I wait on you, for I wish it to be done in a way that will avoid giving any occasion of offence to the other Commissioners.

2pp. *Holograph.*

Enclosing:

322(1). Blathwayt to Nottingham. 1693, July 3/13. Parck. The King has ordered me to signify to you his pleasure that all necessary directions be given for constituting Captain St. Loe a Commissioner of the Navy in the place of Sir John Ashby.

1p. *Holograph. Enclosed in a separate cover addressed by Blathwayt to Nottingham with flying seal of arms (unused since Rochester enclosed both in his letter).*

323. ADMIRALS KILLIGREW, DELAVALL AND SHOVELL TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 9. Torbay. 'We received yours of the 7th instant signifying that the Comittee of Councell don't think it fitt Mr Abraham Anselme should be continued in the place of our secretary, and have only to acquaint you we intend to accept into that place Mr Bowles, late Secretary to the Admiralty.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Signed (3 signatures). Endorsed as received 11 July.*

324. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 10/20. Camp at Tirlimont. I have not heard from you since your letter of the 30th.

P.S. 'Just now his Majesty gives me two letters whereof the enclosed are copies out of which his Majesty is pleased to order a relation to be drawn and publish't in English.' [The *London Gazette* for 13–17 July accordingly published a narrative combining nos. 324(1) and 324(2), as well as an extract from 324(3).]

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 16 July.*

Enclosing:

324(1). Ferdinand William, Duke of Würtemberg, to the King. 1693, July [8/] 18. 'Au camp d'Ottigny.' My last was written yesterday. I did not delay in preparing to attack at 4 p.m., but was prevented by continuous rain which continued well into today. I then ordered another attack, between the right and left commanded by Brigadier-General Ahlefeld, with the battalions of Argile, Prince George, Weinberge and La Motte. The attack began at 4.30 p.m. A diversionary attack was made by the dragoons of Valazar with two or three hundred volunteers on the barricade of Mouveron, while Major-General Weinberge attacked the barricade of Lustocq, Brigadier-General Ahlefeld the barricade of Lesh, and the left under Major-General Elleberg with Brigadier-General Berensdorff the barricade of David. Halefeld's attack met with the greatest resistance and he lost more than 100 men. All nations did their duty and the English battalions distinguished themselves. That of Argile suffered most. The enemy retired 'assez precepeitement'. We have 30 prisoners and several deserters. I have taken the camp beyond Ottigny, where I shall remain two days razing the enemy lines. They were seven to eight thousand strong, under the command of Monsieur de la Valette.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Copy. French.*

324(2). Comte de Bergeyck to the Elector of Bavaria. 1693, July [8/] 18. Camp d'Ottignies. At 4 p.m. today the Duke of Wirtemberg succeeded in forcing the enemy lines. The enemy defended themselves with great resolution and were only forced back gradually. They were attacked in four places. Firstly on the right the barricade of Moueron was attacked by volunteers supported by two squadrons of Field Marshal Valensart's dragoons under his command. This was a diversion, but they took the barricade nevertheless without a single casualty. The second attack was on the barricade of Louis Stock in the village of Luigne. The infantry was commanded by Major-General Wynbergh, and the cavalry by the Marquis de la Forest. Nine infantry regiments took part, including the two Walloon regiments of the Viscomte d'Andrignyes and the Comte de Falaix, with only 22 men killed and wounded, although the major of the former regiment had his leg shattered by three bullets. The third attack, commanded by Brigadier-General Comte d'Alfelt, was on the barricade of Louys Van Est below the village of Luigne. Four battalions of infantry took part, with 100 men killed and wounded (mainly killed). The Scots regiment of Argile suffered most. All the company of grenadiers were killed or wounded except fifteen men; two or three officers were killed (including a Danish officer who was much regretted) and three or four others wounded. The fourth attack was on the barricade of the Pont David, begun by the Duke of Wirtemberg with the rest of the infantry, except one battalion which stayed in camp. It was the longest and most difficult attack, through two streams, one more than waist high; but the enemy made least resistance here and only seven or eight men were wounded, and two officers. The Comte de Liborchy was of the greatest service to the Duke throughout.

We are encamped above the village of Dottignies in the same camp as in 1689.

2½ pp. *Copy. French.*

324(3). 1693, July 10/20. Camp at Tirlemont. 'The King having advice yesterday that the enemy were marched the day before to Borchworm in their way to Huy, his Majesty caus'd the army to march this day hither. We shall march again tomorrow, notice being now come that the enemy invested that place yesterday morning. It is distant from us about seaven leagues.

'At three aclock this morning his Majesty received on express from the Duke of Wirtemberg from his camp at Dotignies giving an account that yesterday in the afternoon he had attack'd the enemy's lines at four several places with good success, obliging them, after a sharp dispute, to retire from them all with considerable loss, so that we are hourly expecting to hear of his further progress. The loss on our side is inconsiderable to the enemy's. The Duke says the English and Scotch behaved themselves with great courage and resolution, the Earle of Argile's regiment having sustained the greatest loss.

'There are some leters from Paris of the 3/13 that say our Mediterranean fleet, having received notice by a brigantine from Lisbone of the French fleet, had steer'd their course to the Canaries, but of this there is no certainty.

'Tis writ from Rotterdam that a pacquet boat as 'tis supposed coming from England was sunk by two French privateers and most of the people in her drowned; but yet there is grounds to believe the news is not true, there being no notice of it come from any other parts by letters of a fresher date.'

1½ pp. *Copy.*

325. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, July 11. Whitehall. 'The post is not come from Holland and I have had little to write to you. I have had an information against Mr Anselm, secretary to the admiralls, that a year ago he asked one Mr Praed what men he could raise for the service of the late King. The rest of the matters alledgd against him are by hearsay and not very probable; however, the first is sufficient to render him not fitt to be employed in that post, and accordingly I have writt to the admiralls, who have pitcht upon Mr Bowles. I have also sent the affidavit to Mr Attorney that he may consider what is proper to be further done to him.

'The enclosed is from Brigadier Steuart, whom you know as well as my selfe. I think he deserves extreamly well and hope his Majesty will think of some reward for his services ... My Lord Lovelace is not yet dead, but is said to be past recovery.'

Note of enclosures: Queen to the King; Brigadier Steuart's memorial.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book III, p.213.

326. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 13. Admiralty Office. Enclosing report by the Judge of the Admiralty concerning the seizure of the ship *Fortune* of Flensburgh.

1p. *Signed (4 signatures).*

Enclosing:

326(1). 1693, July 10. Report by Sir Charles Hedges, Judge of the Admiralty. The *Fortune*, Lawrence Peterson master, 'in her outward voyage went from Gluckstadt to Norway, and haveing taken in a ladeing there delivered the same at Bourdeaux and then tooke in about 70 tuns of wine and some brandy at that place and is now pretended to be bound for Copenhagen.

'By the deposition of one of this ship's company it appeares that she came through the Channell in company with about 60 other merchant men under the convoy of a Danish and Sweedish man of warr, and that the day after she left the convoy by reason that she was leaky, designing to put into Leith only to stop her leakes, but going thither was taken under saile by Captaine Wilkinson, commander of the *Countess* of London, but whither it was in the river or not doth not as yet appeare, and I find that Captaine Wilkinson put her into the hands of Captaine Douglass, who hath caused her to be brought into the river of Thames.

'The said Captaine Wilkinson is proceeding against this ship in the Court of Admiralty in order to her condemnation as good prize, and the Kings Proctor hath likewise appeared on their Majesties' behalfe which is all that is hitherto done.

'As to the complaint, I crave leave to observe that if this ship be not really bound to Scotland nor upon the account of Scotch merchants, the officers and inhabitants of that kingdome have no reason to complaine, and if she was bound to Leith or doth belong to Scotch merchants she ought to be condemned as coming from the enemy and being laden with goods of the growth of France.'

1 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Copy.*

327. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR RALPH DELAVALL

1693, July 13. Whitehall. 'Yesterday I received yours of the 8th and am glad to find that mine came safe to your hands, which I fear'd had miscaried as I find Sir Jo[h]n Lo[wther]'s letter has, for he tells me he gave you an account of your owne affair as I should have otherwise done and told you that your right and precedence is secured as is also Sir G[eorge] Ro[oke]'s etc., tho' the commissions are not actually sent you, of which there would have been no need but 'tis sufficient that they are signed and recorded in the admiralty office of a prior date to my Lord Berkely's.

'I am sorry you have heard that you and your brethren are any wise blamed here. 'Twas not want of friendship to you or them that I myselfe did not acquaint you with the objections to your proceedings, but being pretty well able to answer them myselfe I was unwilling to vex and discompose you with the censures of your actions as knowing that you have enough care in the conduct of the fleet. But since these reports have reacht you, and that 'tis now pretty evident to most men that your not sailing at first to Spithead and your return now to Torbay was occasioned by the want of victuals, why did you not take an account of the victuals on board the fleet in your first arrival at Spithead? Did you consider at a councill of war before Sir Geo[rge] Ro[oke] parted from you at sea what course was most advisable for him to steer? And since some ships had a greater proportion of victuals then others, why did you not cause a more equal distribution to be made which would have enabled you to have continued longer at sea? These are some of the things that people descant upon, and tho' I can say a great deal to these objections yet I should be glad to have from yourselfe such answers as might enable me to serve you better, for no man could be more your friend.'

1p. *Holograph copy (many abbreviations).*

328. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July [13/] 23, N.S. Camp at Vellem near St. Tron. 'Your Lordship's letters of the 4th and 7th instant are but just now arrived, which made us apprehend the like misfortune we find is hapned to the packet boat that carried our letters of the 9th instant, for which reason I send copies of what I writt by that post, which imports not much.

'The King has informed himself of the heads of both your Lordship's letters, but his Majesty being upon a continuall march, as your Lordship sees by the enclosed ... could not have the leisure to consider of the particulars or to send any orders, which may be expected by the next post.'

P.S. 'Huy cannot hold out many days if not already taken.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 17 July.*

Enclosing:

328(1). 1693, 13/23 July. Camp at Vellem. 'On Tuesday the army march't from Tirlmont to Nether or Lower Hespen, and this day we came hither, the right of the camp being at Hingelem and the left near St. Tron. In the march we saw a body of the enemy's horse, upon which eighteen squadrons of ours were detached towards them, but they immediatly retired.

'Comte Tilly has been to waite on his Majesty and assured him that his loss near Tongeren doth not amount to 150 men and but little baggage. The French lost about fourscore of their nobility who pushed too farr on the Brandebourg dragoons. The Duke of Montfort, nearly related to the Marshall de Luxembourg, is one; he died on Tuesday of his wounds at an abby not farr from this place. The Duke of Luxembourg, who commanded the detachment in person, shewed himself very much concern'd at the disappointment of his undertaking.

'The castle of Huy holds out stil, tho' the enemy have possessed themselves of a fortification which overlooks it. We are now within hearing of their great guns. The Marquis d'Harcourt carries on the siege, and Monsieur de Luxembourg lies with his army on this side the Maes to cover him.

'It is ordered that the army march tomorrow towards Borckloen.

'The Duke of Wirtemberg continues still in the lines.

'Some letters say our Mediterranean fleet is in the river of Lisbon, others at the Canaries, but there is no certainty.'

1½ pp. *Copy.* (In fact Montfort survived his dangerous head wounds.)

329. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, July 14. Whitehall. 'I never wrote to you with so sorrowfull an heart as at this time. The dismall account we have of our Mediterranean ships you will see in the enclosed letter from Oporto, and we do not yet know the worst of this misfortune, for tho' the not hearing from Mr Methven, as he promist in his letter, by expresse, and many other circumstances gave me still some hopes, yett I have seen a letter, of which Mr Secretary will send you a copy, that mentions so many particulars that there is no room to doubt of this calamity, nor to have any hopes but only that 'tis possible the men of warr and some merchants ships may have escaped and that our fleet may meet them in their return to Brest.

'I send you Mr Methvens letter, tho' he says he has writt to you by another way. The Spanish embassadour tells me to day that their minister at Lisbone has proposed to that King to enter into the alliance and declare against France and that he concludes that King very well disposed to it and desires our King to promote those good inclinations by such methods as may be most effectuall. I shall write to Mr Stanhop and Mr Methven as you direct in yours of the 6/16 of July, but if there be any particular matters and termes which his Majesty would have proposed I shall expect to heare them from you and his Majestys commands for Mr Methvens conduct in this affair shall be sent to him.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King; copy of letter from Methuen to Nottingham; copy of letter from Oporto to Consul Parker.

1p. Letter Book III, pp.213–14.

Enclosing:

329(1). Nottingham to Blathwayt. [1693, July 14.] 'I have not time to answer your queries because the expresse stays but be assur'd want of victuals has not been pretended but a reall truth to which all our misfortunes are plainly to be ascribed tho' great endeavours are us'd to asperse the admiralls whom I am not concern'd to justify tho' I heartily wish them well as knowing we have no better.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Holograph copy (not entered or noted in the Letter Book).* At the foot: 'Enclosed in mine to Mr Blathwayt July 14 93'.

330. THE QUEEN TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, July 14.] 'The Spanish embasador spoke to me when I cam out of the Councel this morning but for my life I cant tell what he ment neither dare I tell what I gessed, for I had the Smirna fleet so much in my head I turned every thing to that and sometimes flattered and as often frightened my self, but he looked as gashly and as much frightened as I dremt you did, and beged me for the love of God this post might not be lost, that he would go speak with you but desired I would do so too or we shoud all be undone. This makes me very curious to know what he meanes and I thought I must tell you his way and earnestnes tho I cant tell for what that you may do as you see it nessessery.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. Seal of crown and monogram. Endorsed by Nottingham: 'Q July 14 93'.*

331. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 15/25. Camp at Nether Hesben near Tirlmont. 'I hope I shall be excused if for the more speedy dispatch of the messenger I do not repeat to your Lordship the particulars of the sad news of the loss or dissipation of our Mediterranean fleet. I send the papers that contain this information to Mr Secretary Trenchard, as I do his Majesties letter for the Queen here enclosed to your Lordship.

'Wee march't yesterday from Vellem to Popertingue [*recte* Hopertingue] near Tongres but upon notice of the surrender of Huy the evening before wee are this day returned hither.'

Your letter of the 11th has just arrived.

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 20 July.*

332. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, July 16. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of the 10/20th. The pacquett boat that was stopt on Friday is now order'd to proceed that you

may have a further account of our Mediterranean squadron, which, though it be very lamentable, is better than wee could have expected after they had mett the French fleet, as you will see by Mr Stanhop's letter.

'The consull of Corunna writes in a letter of the 7/17 July that he had that day sent me a pacquett for Mr Methven by an English privateer, but it is not yet come to me, of which I am very impatient because it will be fresher than Mr Stanhop's and so more certain and particular.

'When I had writt thus far I received a letter from Sir George Rook which I send you with the list of the ships with him, which compared with that of the ships in Cadiz and St. Lucar, and what Consul Parker writes, shews our loss to be considerable and grievous, but far short of what we might justly have feared after meeting the French fleet, whose conduct in this action must certainly have bin very ill or else not one ship almost could have escaped. But God be thankt we are delivered out of their hands; and we hope to meet them in their returne upon better termes.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's letter; Rooke's to Nottingham, with his list of the ships with him; Parker's letter; Stanhope's to Nottingham, with list of the ships at Cadiz and Sanlucar; Captain Littleton's account of the fleet.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book III, pp.214-15.

333. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 17. Admiralty Office. Sir Francis Wheeler having advised us that he had sailed with his squadron for New England, we desire to know whether the four months' victuals directed to be sent to the Barbadoes for his squadron should still be sent, and if so whither.

1p. *Signed (5 signatures).*

334. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July [17/]27, N.S. Camp at Nether Hespen. 'I dispatch't an express on Satterday last to Mr Secretary Trenchard by his Majesties commands with the unwelcome news of Admirall Rook's falling in with the French fleet, but by letters I have since received from Mr Stanhop and the enclosed papers as well as other advices, of which I send copies to Mr Secretary, wee are extremely comforted with hopes that the loss may be very much less considerable than was at first believed, and that we may even safe [*sic*] our squadron and almost all our merchant ships. I humbly take leave to refer your Lordship to the particulars which may besides come to your Lordship directly from Mr Stanhop.'

I have already acknowledged your letters of 4, 7 and 11 July, and am now to

signify the King's pleasure that 'inasmuch as the committee seems to incline that it may be convenient not to call the Parliament in Ireland till the spring and in regard of the shortness of time for the presenting, transmitting and returning of the bills from England, his Majesty ... does think fitt that without some new exigency the Parliament be not called in Ireland until that time.'

He likewise agrees 'that orders be sent to Sir Francis Wheeler to return to England from the place whether he is now gone as your Lordship proposes, which will not hinder his calling at Newfoundland and at the Bank where the French usually fish and performing the services directed by his instructions.'

He leaves it to be determined in England what provisions be sent to the Charibby Islands and at what time, and will at his return direct what regiment and number of ships be sent to the plantations, 'unless upon the Committee's speaking with the Admiralty about it, it shall be thought necessary to send any sooner.'

He has not yet had leisure to consider Captain Thornicroft's case. He agrees that the allowance to be made to Mr Broughton should be by the way of extraordinaries, 'and as I have received from him such a bill I now send it to your Lordship to judge of it.

'His Majesty seems very well enclined to gratify Sir William Wheeler with some beneficiall place but will not dispose of the regiments till their return.' He would have you assure Brigadier Stewart 'of his gracious intentions to favor him in anything he may reasonably propose'.

P.S. I have just received by express your letter of the 14th.

3pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 23 July.*

Enclosing:

334(1). 1693, July 17/27. Camp at Netherhespen. "On Fryday last the army marched from Vellem to Hopertingue, where his Majesty received advice that the castle of Huy was surrender'd the day before about noon, being chiefly occasioned by the mutiny of the garrison, which immediatly thereupon capitulated, with the French threatning to shoot an officer sent by the King to assist the commander in case he opposed to surrender. They consisted of about seventeen hundred men, and are march'd to Leige. Hereupon at 2 a'clock on Saturday morning his Majesty detach'd 10 batallions of foot likewise for that place, and the same morning the whole army march'd and return'd hither.

'The enemy are stil in their camp between the Mehaign and the Jecker, having sent a detachment towards Flanders.

'The Duke of Wirtemberg continues in the enemy's lines where he is raising very large contributions.'

1p. *Copy.*

335. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July [17/] 27, N.S. Nether Hespen. 'I return your Lordship my most humble thanks for my reference.'

The King says Lord Lovelace is not dead, and even if he should not recover his Majesty will not dispose of his places until after his return.

'His Majesty is somewhat surpriz'd to hear that the transport ships are kept in pay and the provisions undisposed of, his Majesty having writt to the Queen lately about it. This I was order'd to write in a private letter to your Lordship.'

P.S. 'Pray, my Lord, how will Mr Methuen answer his not sending severall advice boats to meet our squadron off of the coast of Portugall?'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 23 July.*

336. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, July 18. Whitehall. 'Four more of our Turkey ships are got into Gibraltar; so nine are safe and two onely 'tis to be fear'd are lost, viz., the *Mary* and *Joseph*, which were the least worth of all the eleven. I hope the Dutch have had as good fortune.

'I have received yours of July 13/23, but you did not enclose the copies of the orders lost in the pacquett boat, but you say they did not import much.

'I pray God give the King good successe in his enterprize, for among the many happy effects of it 'twill put us in good humour after our late misfortune.

'Before the King went away my Lord Monmouth spoke to him about the government of Guernsey, that he might have it for his life and agree with my Lord Hatton for the perquisites of it during my Lord Hatton's life. The two lords are agreed upon the termes, so that I must know from you his Majesty's pleasure whether he pleases to grant to my Lord Monmouth a patent for life in reversion after my Lord Hatton.'

Note of enclosure: Queen's letter.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book III, p.215.

337. BATTLE OF LANDEN

[1693, after July 19.] List of 30 officers in Luxemburgh's army killed and wounded [19/]29 July 1693.

1p. *Copy. French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham:* 'Relation of the battle in Flanders 1693'. (Inaccurate, e.g. the Duc de St. Simon 'tué ou pris'.)

338. THE KING OF FRANCE TO THE DAUPHIN

1693, July [20/]30. Marly. 'Je ne vous escriis que pour vous dire que j'ay recû vostre lettre du 24me; il me paroît que vostre conduite est bonne, que vous faites detachements à propos, et que vous occupez des postes, qui pourront nous estre utiles dans la suite. J'attends le courier que vous me devez depecher avec impatience, car je seray tres-aise quand vous aurez passé le Neccar. La suite sera plus curieuse, mais il faut commencer par là; les ordres sont donnez pour qu'il ne vous manque rien; St. Pouanges vous en rendra compte plus au detail. Prenez garde de ne pas mettre tousjours Monsieur, en parlant de quelqu'un. Il faut dire: le Prince tel, le Marechal, le Marquis, le Comte et le Sieur, quand il n'y a point de titre à donner.

'Vous avez bien fait repondre par Chanlais au deputé de Wirtemberg; il n'y a qu'à suivre ce que vous luy avez fait dire, et nous serons du pair en tout ce qu'il nous sera commode. Tenez tousjours la main à ce que les soldats, cavalliers et dragons vivent dans l'ordre, et punissez les officiers, comme vous leurs avez dit, s'ils ne contiennent pas leurs soldats. Enfin faites ce qu'il faudra pour cela, car il n'y a rien de plus utile pour la conservation de l'armée. Je finis en vous assurant qu'on ne peut pas estre plus content que je le suis de vous et de vos lettres.'

P.S. 'Depuis cette lettre escrite, le Marechal de Catinat m'a mandé que depuis qu'il s'est éloigné de Pignerol avec l'armée qu'il commande, les ennemis faisoient mine de le vouloir investir, et que luy de son costé se prepare pour le secourir, s'ils font la folie de l'attaquer. Il y a douze bataillons dans la place, et tout ce qui y est necessaire en abondance. Faites part de cette nouvelle à Chanlais et luy dites de me mander ce qu'il pense sur cette nouvelle. Je ne m'endors pas de mon coté pour faire qu'il ne manque rien à Catinat, en cas qu'il soit obligé de marcher au secours de cette place.'

1½ pp. Copy. French. Endorsed: 'Copie de la lettre intercepté du Roy au Dauphin'.

339. THE KING OF FRANCE TO MONSIEUR DE CHANLAY

1693, July [20/]30. Marly. 'J'ay reçu avec plaisir le detail que vous me faites de ce qui se passe dans le corps (*Hier waren Characteres gemacht welche sehr verzogen* [corrupted])^{*} qui composent mon armée d'Allemagne et ses ordres que mon fils donne, il me paroît que jusques là cela va à merveille, et qu'il n'y a que la grande quantité de chariots, chose d'autant plus facheuse qu'il n'y avoit rien de si important que de gagner des moments pour entrer en action devant la junction de toutes les forces des alliez. Il est vray qu'il marche des troupes de Brandebourg et quelque[s] autres vers le Rhin. Je ne sçais pas encore qu'elles soyent passées le Rhin. Et leur force n'est pas telle que l'on le publie, car je ne crois pas qu'en tout elles ayent plus de 5 ou 6 mille hommes à mon compte,

^{*}Above this is written in French: 'Il y avoit icy des chiffres'.

quand elles auroient joint le Prince de Baaden, il ne sauroit avoir au plus 45 ou 50 mille hommes à prendre les choses, comme les ennemis nous les veulent faire voir. C'est estre assez forts mais non pas assez pour empêcher mon fils avec ce qu'il a de faire une grande partie de ce que l'on a résolu.

'J'attends avec impatience des nouvelles; il n'y a rien de si important presentement que ce qui se passe ou vous estes pour les suites. Vous en connoissez la consequence. Vous aurez vû par la prise de Huy que l'on a bien pris son temps, si le Prince d'Orange n'avoit pas envoyé un grand corps dans Liege, le[s] Deputez allerent partir pour aller trouvez le Duc de Luxembourg. Il a reconnu les retranchements et n'ayant pas jugé à propos de les attaquer, il a detaché le Marechal de Joyeuse, ainsi que je luy avois mandé, pour aller chasser les ennemis des postes qu'ils ont (*Hier waren characteres*)* et marche au Prince d'Orange qui estoit campé, la gauche à Leuve, s'étendant le long du vaisseau [*recte* ruisseau] le plus avancé du côté.'

1¼ pp. *Copy. French and German. Endorsed: 'Copie de l'intercepte lettre escrite a Monsieur de Signalay' (recte Chanlay. The Marquis de Seignelay had died in 1690 and his heir was only ten.)*

340. THE BISHOP OF LONDON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693,] July 21. 'The bearer, Dr Lesk, is the person I told you of formerly, who is now going over to the King: the reason whereof you will better understand from his own mouth, and the Secretary Stares [Stair] will further satisfy you if there be need. We are forced to make a private purse for him, if it be possible, to furnish him with £200 for his voyage, towards which your Lordship's favourable contribution is desired.'

¾ p. *Holograph. Seal. Endorsed by Nottingham with full date.*

341. NOTTINGHAM TO GEORGE STEPNEY

1693, July 21. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of July 4th N.S. with two from my Lord Ambassador Pagett and must desire you to forward mine by the first opportunity that his Excellency may have some truer and better account of our Mediterranean Squadron then the French will give of it in Turkey.'

½ p. Letter Book II, p.221. (The original is at SP 105/82, f.125.)

342. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, July 21. Whitehall. I have received yours of 15/25 July by the express. We are still waiting to know the King's pleasure regarding what I wrote on 4 July about victuals for Barbados.

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King.

¼ p. Letter Book III, p.216.

*Above this is written in French: 'Il y avoit icy des chiffres'.

343. BRIGADIER RICHARD LEVESON TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 24. Bath. 'I receav'd a letter this day from the officer commandeing the troope at Hexam wherein he gives me an account of severall disorders committed there by people disaffected to the government, who frequently meet in parties nere the Borders, are allwais well mounted and well armed, and offer dayly affronts to the souldiers, drinkeing King Jams's healthe publickly, etc. I have this day writt to my leutenant collonell and ordred him to goe to Hexam in hoapes that by his autoryty and prudence the like disorders may be prevented for the future, and am sorry my health will not permit me as yet to undertake so great a jorney'.

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed as received 26 July.* (For Nottingham's reply see *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1693, p. 237.)

344. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [July 24/] Aug. 3, N.S. Camp at Epigem near Malines. 'The army having taken severall ways in the retreat occasion'd my missing the King the first days so that I could not write by the last post, nor was it possible to send any certain relation of the battle [of Landen] before this time. The enclosed is by his Majestie's particular command and such as may be fitt to be publisht.'

I have received your letters of 16 and 18 July 'and hope your Lordship does not believe it a proper time at this instant to move his Majesty in the business of the Earl of Monmouth, which I will do with the first opportunity.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 1 Aug.*

Enclosing:

344(1). [1693, cJuly 24/Aug. 3.] 'A relation of the battle of Landen. On the 18th of the last month new stile the King being at his camp at Parck understood that the enemy was marching towards the Meuse, whereupon his Majesty march't the 21st to Tirlemont, where receiving the news that the enemy had attackt Huy, we continued our march as far as Hopertingue, between St. Tron and Tongres, with a design to succour the place. There his Majesty being inform'd of the surrender of Huy detach't the same day 10 battallions to strengthen the garrison of Liege, and so returned the next day to Neerhespen, where the army halted, that it might not be too farr from the enemy before their design was known, to which end several parties was sent out towards their camp, which stretch't itself almost from the river Jecker to the Meuse.

'On the 28 the parties brought word that they could not come so near the French camp as usual, because they had found a great body of horse upon the high grounds near the Mill of Warrem which hinder'd them from making any discovery beyond the Jecker. Some hours after, the King was acquainted that the enemy appeared from the high grounds of St. Gertruyden-Landen at half an hour's distance from the camp. His Majesty sending out parties soon discover'd that it was the vanguard of their army that had march'd before day without beat of drumm. His Majesty not doubting but they intended to attack, our army resolv'd to fight them, to which end having ordered the foot to their arms and the troopers to mount, made that evening

the disposition of his army, having plac'd the right wing towards the village of Elixom and the castle of Loang upon the river Gheete. The left of the right wing extended itself to the village of Neerwinden, being covered by a little rivulet, some hedges and hollow ways. The brigade of Ramsey, consisting of 5 battalions, was plac'd before the right wing near Lare, the Brandenburg foot over against Lare, and that of Hanover over against Winden. His Majesty finding the ground very much open from Winden to Neerlanden caused a retrenchment to be made in the night between these places, behind which his Majesty plac'd the rest of the foot, and some battallions in the village of Neerlanden. The left wing began towards the village of Dormal cover'd by the rivulet of Landen as farr as Neerlanden, where it made an elbow that return'd behind the foot, which was upon the retrenchments, the better to second it.

'Our army remain'd all night in this disposition. At the break of day we saw the enemy drawne up in two lines upon the high grounds of St. Gertruyden Landen and another body that advanced towards our retrenchment on the side of Winden. At sun rising the enemy was advanc'd so near to us that we playd our cannon upon them. For about two hours they made no motion. About 6 a clock those that remained on the high grounds came down in severall lines, and when they were within reach of our cannon they left the middle of the plain and caused their infantry to file off to our right towards the village of Winden and Lare, and on our left towards the village of Neerlanden, being sustained by their horse which march'd on both sides of the plain and caus'd a body to pass on the other side of the rivulet of Landen to make us believe they intended to fall upon our left wing, while they should make their greatest effort upon our left [= right], which they attack't about 7 hours after.

'The fight lasted on that side for some hours with doubtfull success. The enemy advanc'd and were repulsed several times, and even some squadrons got over the little rivulet below the village of Lare and came into our camp, most of which were either kill'd or taken. In the mean while the Elector of Bavaria, behaving himself with the greatest vigour and giving orders to all the right wing, made them charge so advantageously that he made the enemy give way and drove them back into the plain. The brigade of Ramsey that had been forc't to give ground regain'd their post. The Electoral Prince of Hanover brought up his infantry again into their post, as did the Prince of Brandenburg his own foot. The French nevertheless remain'd in some part of the village at Winden, but finding that they could not force our right wing, attack't the village of Neerlanden on our left, where having been beaten back after a very great fight they renewed their attack with fresh troops, which obliged the King to come from the right to give the necessary orders at the left, where the fight was renewed again very warmly with small shott, which continued about an hour, when we became masters of the village, having driven the enemy quite out of it, which made them withdraw all their troops from the attack where they had succeeded so ill, carrying them to their left and our right, where had been always some small firing, and tho' the enemy had been beaten at the left, they had nevertheless kept a part of the village of Winden and made themselves masters of the hedges of the rising ground, which layd the flank of our retrenchment open to them.

'The King who was in every place where his presence could be any ways usefull, after having secured every thing on the left, returned immediatly to the village of Winden and brought up twice to our retrenchments the English and Scots foot, where they behaved themselves as they had done every where else, with great resolution and courage.

'The Elector of Bavaria did dispose two battallions so as to take the enemy in the left flank, whilst three others attack't them in the front, but before this could be put in execution the enemy having been strengthened with such of their forces as they had drawne from the right became masters of the passage into the village and made an overture through which their horse began to pass with the help of their foot that lay in the hedges. Their horse that past first was beaten back, but our foot at the retrenchment not being able to suffer their fire any longer in flank was oblig'd to retire, and our cannon on that side abating its fire the enemy's horse crowded through the passage and began to extend themselves towards their left, all along the hedges which were possess'd by their foot. Most part of this cavalry consisted of the French King's household. As soon as they had formed some squadrons they attack't the troops of Hanover and Brandenburg which were on the left of the right wing and took the advantage of the motion of part of those troops which they forced to retire, and at the same time went to their left and did the like to the Spanish troops which were on the right of the Hanover horse.

'His Majesty to remedy this disorder caus'd part of the left wing to advance, but being farr of[f], the enemy did not give them time to form themselves, but having attack't the Dutch horse on the left partly in flank forced them to retire before the English had got into a line, who were obliged to attack the enemy as they found themselves, which some did with success having beaten what came before them, but the right wing having been forc'd to pass the river, the English troops were quite encompassed. The King finding the enemy overpower'd us sent orders to the generalls of the foot and to those of the left wing to retire to Leuwe, a fort near the camp. The King's dragoons and grenadiers that lined the rivulet of Landen made their retreat by the river through the village of Dormal, and the foot and part of the cavalry of the left wing by Orsmael, the enemy, whose horse was drawne up in two lines upon the rising ground, adventuring to attack them in their retreat.

'The King having given all necessary orders everywhere for the retreat and finding himself encompass'd on all sides thought fit to go over the river, and with great difficulty pass'd the bridge that had been made at the village of Neerhespen, where his Majesty met some of his guards and light horse of the right wing and the remainder of the brigade of Ramsey, and near Tirlemont came up with those troops of the right wing that had been rallyed by the Elector of Bavaria. His Majesty marched with this body, encamp'd that night near Boutersem and the next day at Betlehem near Louvain, while the rest of the army that had made their retreat towards Leuwe encamp'd near Diest.

'Our forces being not yet all of them come together, wee cannot give a certain account what loss we have had, but so much wee know, that it is much less than we thought it at first, and there is no doubt but the enemy has suffered a great deal more, but chiefly in their infantry.* The Comte de Solms had his legg shott off by a cannon boulet at the beginning of the fight. My Lord Portland is wounded. The Duke of Ormond, Monsieur Sgravemoer and Monsieur Zuylesteyn are taken, the two first being likewise wounded. We do not know yet what other prisoners there are. We have taken the Duke of Berwick and severall other officers, many of them of note, of whom we have yet no exact lists. We have lost some standards and taken as many. By the next we shall be able to send you more particulars.'

6½ pp. (For other descriptions of the battle see nos. 356 and J10 below.)

*The last words have been altered in another hand from 'suffered at least as much, especially in their infantry'.

345. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, July 25. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of July 17/27 and have acquainted the Lords Justices (who were at Chester on the 22nd but I hope are by this time in Ireland) with his Majesty's resolution of deferring the calling of a Parliament in Ireland till the spring, unless there should be some new occasion for one sooner; but they are directed to prepare such bills as may be useful and proper that there may be the more time duely to weigh and consider them.'

Note of enclosure: Queen's letter.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book III, pp.216–17.

346. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, July 25. Whitehall. 'In answer to yours of the 17/27th I can assure you that the Victualers were order'd a great while ago to make use of the provisions in the transport ships for the service of the fleet and to take care of the rest that no dammage might come to them, and that to prevent it they might unlade such as were perishable or would suffer by lying on board, and these orders have been more than once repeated; and they have accordingly sent considerable quantities thereof to the fleet ...

'The reasons why the transport ships have not been sooner discharg'd were partly because their men were necessary for the ships which were intended to be added to the fleet ... of which there is now no further thought; but chiefly because there was no money to pay them according to the agreement some part of what is due to them, the rest being to remain as a debt of interest till paid: but now the Lords of the Treasury are directed to settle this matter and to putt them out of pay, and in order to it the Commissioners of Transport last week prepared their estimates, and thereupon the Treasury had the said directions before I received your letter ... Some of these transport ships were necessary for the Victuallers to carry victuals to the fleet, but the continuance of these will be on their account and no longer for the descent, for which there has been no expence made a great while, but onely the monthly pay of the transport ships which is now determined.

'This is what occurs to my memory; last year I could have been more exact.'

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Copy.*

347. THE WEST INDIA SQUADRON

[1693, before July 26.] 'The disposition of the West India squadron according to Sir Francis Wheeler's last account.' With Sir Francis Wheeler: 3rd rates *Resolution*, *Dunkirke*, 4th rates *Ruby*, *Dragon*, *Advice*, 5th rates

Experiment, Pembroke, Mermaide, Canterbury storeship, *London Merchant* hospitall ship, 6th rates *Phoenix* bomb vessel, *Owners Love, Hawke, Cignet*. Lately arrived at Plymouth: 6th rate *Quaker* ketch. Coming convoy home from Barbadoes: 4th rate *Diamond*. Coming convoy home from Jamaica: 4th rate *Mordant*. Attends on the Leeward Islands: 4th rate *Chester*. Attends on Barbadoes: 4th rate *Tyger*, 6th rate *Wild* prize. Attends on Jamaica: 5th rate *Faulcon*. Ordered home from Jamaica: 5th rate *Guernsey*.

1p. *Endorsed by Nottingham as received 26 July.*

348. NOTTINGHAM TO THE CAPTAIN OF THE *RICHMOND*

1693, July 26. Whitehall. I send herewith a letter for Sir Francis Wheeler which the Queen would have you deliver to the Governor of New York to be forwarded by him with all speed, there being in it orders of great importance for their Majesties' service. Rather than let it fall into the enemy's hands you must throw it overboard.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.112.

349. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR FRANCIS WHELER

1693, July 26. Whitehall. 'I send you here enclosed her Majesty's orders for your returne into England without going back to the Leeward Islands, as by your instructions you are permitted to do, and this I do to prevent any difficulty you might otherwise lye under in your owne thoughts what you ought to do. For by the accounts you have given of your ill success at Martinico and the loss of your men by sickness, there is little reason to hope for any great advantage by your returne to those islands.

'You will find at the end of the Queen's letter a clause for your touching at Kinsale, the reason whereof is only this; that in case of any infection of the squadron you should remain there till the men are recovered, that the contagion may not spread it self in the fleet by the converse of the seamen with one another if they should come into England; which therefore you may do directly, without touching at any port in Ireland, if your men are in good health.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.112.

350. THE QUEEN TO SIR FRANCIS WHELER

1693, July 26. Kensington. 'Having considered of the account given by you in your letters of the condition of the squadron under your command and of the posture of affairs in the West Indies, we have thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you that assoon as you shall have done all that is possible of what is ordered by your instructions bearing date the 27th

day of November last past, you do immediately returne into England with the ships under your command and the troops on board without going againe to the Leeward Islands, notwithstanding any thing in your former instructions. But in case any of the ships with you shall be in a condition to be sent to the Charibee Islands, and it shall be judged needfull at a council of warr to do so for the better security and defense of our islands there, you shall in that case detach such ships thither as shall be fitt and necessary for that purpose. If the men on board the ships with you shall happen to be sickly, you shall then touch at Kinsale or some other port of Ireland, and send us an account of your arrivall and of the condition of the squadron and such other matters as may be proper and necessary for our service.'

1p. Letter Book IV, p.113–14.

351. THE MARQUESS OF CARMARTHEN TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 26. Bath. 'I have been solicited here on the behalf of one John Rolfe, who stands condemned in the isle of Guernsey for the death of one Horne; and her Majesty was pleas'd to grant her reprieve to the said Rolfe, untill she could be better inform'd of the fact, and the said reprieve will expire on the 16th of August next.

'In the meane time I understand that two severall persons have made affidavits at your Lordship's office of Horne's having sworn 2 or 3 days before the duel that one of them should drop; and if that be true, it would be hard that the defendent should dye for it. Now altho' I hope to waite upon your Lordship before the expiration of the reprieve, yet because it is uncertain how the winds may serve, and what conveniency of passage there may be to Guernsey, if it should be delay'd too near the time; and there being now as much information of the matter as is to be expected, they desire her Majesty's pleasure might be knowne as soon as may be; and altho' I neither know the man nor any related to him, yet I cannot refuse to give your Lordship this trouble where the life of the man stands concern'd, and where there seems so much reason for mercy to be shew'd.'

2pp. *Signed. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 July.*

352. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [July 27/] Aug. 6. Epighem. 'His Majesty desires to know from your Lordship and others your Lordship shall consult what may be most advisable in reference to the sending another squadron into the Mediterranean as well for the convoying those ships that are in the port of Spain and countenancing our Levant trade as complying with our treaty and expectation of our allies, what number of ships and time of sending them may be most fitting?

'The Luneburgers are very pressing for the Sound squadron, the Danes being upon their march as they apprehend towards Ratzburgh.

'Mr Methuen, I find, did his duty in sending out ships to meet Sir George Rook.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 2/12 Aug.*

353. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [July 27/] Aug. 6, N.S. Epighem. I have not heard from you since your letter of the 28th, acknowledged by the last post. I have moved his Majesty about transferring Lord Hatton's patent to Lord Monmouth for life and he seems inclined to defer it until his return to England.

P.S. You will see by the enclosed letter how it is with the Duke of Ormond. His exchange will have priority over any other.

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 2/12 Aug.*

Enclosing:

353(1). Captain Thomas Smyth to Blathwayt. [1693, July 24/] Aug. 3, N.S. The Duke of Ormond desires you will inform the King that he is a prisoner in this place and put him in mind of exchanging him for the Duke of Berwick. 'The reason why he mentions that is that Monsieur Sgravemoor talks of being exchang'd for the Duke of Berwick as being both lieftenant generalls. If that shou'd be done his Grace does believe there may be some chican made in regard to his return ... My Lord Duke was taken charging att the head of Lumlie's where his horse was kil'd under him. His Grace is wounded in two places, one (and which is the least) on his rist which was a cut with a sword before he fel and the wound which he has in his breast was a thrust with a sword a sword [*sic*] when he was on the ground, which was thought soe dangerous that 'twas not thought he wou'd recouper. But now 'tis not doubted but that he is out of all danger, tho' will not be able to leave his bed in some time. There has been noe civility in nature he has not reciev'd from all the men of quality both whilst he was in the army and since he came to this place. Sir for my part I was taken prisoner a litle before his Grace, having sight of him when my horse was kil'd under me.'

2pp. *Holograph.*

353(2). 1693, July 24/Aug. 6. Camp at Eppegem near Malines. 'We cannot yet make an exact computation of our loss in the late battle, many straglers coming in dayly, but it is certain it is not so great as that of Steinkerck, and that the French according to their own account have lost more than double the number.

'The French chirurgeons under whose care the Duke of Ormond is at Namur have assured his Grace that he is not in any danger from his wounds.

'The French army continues between Hannuy and Borckloen near St. Truy, not being able to undertake any thing through the great loss they have sustained.

'The Duke of Berwick is sent to Antwerp. We have not lost one colonel of the English army, and not more than one or two field officers besides the Count de Solms.

'The Spanish troops are encamp't near Bruxelles and the detachment under the Duke of Wirtemberg near Alost, but all the parts of our army will joyn again in very few days.

'The numbers of the French before the battle exceeded ours by almost one half, they consisting of at least 80,000 men.'

1½ pp. *Copy.*

354. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, July 28 (*received*).] 'The late newes from Flanders [the battle of Landen] has so puft up the Jacobites that they talke of nothing but getting on horse back and providing armes. There is one Captain Aubery in the Mint has armes for fourty or fifty men. He is a dangerous man and ought to have his house searched before the birds are flowne.

'There is one William Butler taken (by this bearer) whom I have often complain'd of. I am sure he can, and I beleive he will make a greate discovery if your honours please to manage him before that party send mony and promises to him which I will take care to prevent for a day or two. I hope to discover more armes quickly and break the neck of this project.

'I beseech your honours to imploy this bearer and think of some way to reward him for he is very serviceable and one I dare trust.'

1p. *Holograph but unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 July 1693.* (The bearer was Richard Poyke, who had arrested Butler. Warrants were issued for Aubery's arrest on 29 July.)

355. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, July 28. Whitehall. 'On Wednesday last the King's letter was brought to the Queene, giving an account of the unfortunate issue of the battle, and yesterday the post came in, but I had no letter from you by either way; nor any from his Majesty's camp, which adds to our affliction, fearing least the first misfortune should be attended with more. The merchants have letters from Rotterdam dated the 21/31st at one of the clock at night that the King being reinforced with some of his detach't troops had fallen upon the French and routed their whole army; I pray God it prove true.

'The Turkey Company has presented an address to the Queen in Councill, setting forth the proceedings in relation to their ships from the first appointment of their convoy to their sayling, and praying her Majesty in very humble and modest termes to cause an inquiry to be made into any miscarriages and that care may be taken for the sending away their ships when it shall be proper and secure. Her Majesty has order'd the Committee of the whole Councill to meet upon this occasion, and required the Company to assist her in the enquiry into any miscarriages and to consider and offer their opinion as to the time and method of sending away their ships.

'My Lord Coningsby has given a petition on behalf of himself and Sir Charles Porter to her Majesty taking notice of that of my Lord Bellamont

and praying his Majesty to require my lord to charge them with any crimes that he can make out and that in the mean time his pardon may be stopt; and the Queen has appointed Thursday next.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King.

1p. Letter Book III, pp.217–18.

356. BATTLE OF LANDEN

[1693, after July 28.] 'Un capitaine de l'armee de son Altesse Monsieur le Duc de Wirtemberg party de son camp devant Alost lundy dernier 3e. d'aoust 1693, embarqué a Ostende jeudy au soir, 5e. du dit mois, et arrivé a Market [Margate] le vendredy au soir 6e., et a Londres le samedy a midy, raporte que le Roy étoit en bonne santé, campé pres de Bruxelles, que son armée se renforçoit journellement, et qu'il s'enfalloit de beaucoup que la perte que nous avons faite ne soit si considerable qu'on l'avoit d'abord publiée. Nous n'avons perdu aucun gros canon, seulement 7 ou 8 petites pièces de campagne. Nous n'avons perdu aucun bagage, le Roy l'ayant fait prendre les devant a Louvain. Le combat a été rude et sanglant. La victoire ce declara en notre faveur jusqu'a une heure apres midy, que 4 bataillons d'Hanover furent vigoureusement attaqué par deus cent enfans perdus que le Marechal du Luxembourg avoit choisis dans son armée, les quels, soutenus d'une partie de la Maison du Roy de France, s'engagerent de forcer l'aille droite de notre première ligne, ce qu'ils firent aisement.

'Ces 4 bataillons n'ayant fait presque point de resistance, non plus que quelques esquadrons qui les devoient soutenir. Nous avons perdu dans ce combat plusieurs personnes de marque, d'entre lesquels sont le Comte de Zolme qui eut la jambe emportée d'un coup de canon au dessous du genou, dont il est mort. Le Prince de Barbançon, si devant gouverneur de Namur, a été tué a la teste d'un esquadron du regiment du Baron de Courière. Le Duc du Holstin, grand hamiral de Bourgongne et general au service d'Espagne, a aussi perdu la vie. My Lord Duc d'Ormon, my Lord George Hamilton, Colonel Stanley, manquent; Monsieur Skravemours et Monsieur Zulstein ont été faits prisonniers et blessés.

'Le Comte d'Atelonne se rendit a l'armée du Roy deus jours après avec quelque cavalerie, Monsieur d'Overkerque aussi et le General Talmutge, qu'on assure legerement blessé. Les troupes ont generalmente bien fait, mais aucune ne se sont mieus distinguée que les Anglois, qui se sont battus comme des lions, ayant entassé des corps mors pour se faire des rempars derriere les quels ils se sont deffandus tant qu'ils ont eu de la poudre et du plomb, sans vouloir recevoir aucun cartier. On assure que notre perte ne se monte qu'a neuf ou dix mille hommes, suivant la reveue que le Roy en a fait a son camp pres de Bruxelles, y compris les mors, les blessez et les prisonniers.

‘La perte que les François ont faite est beaucoup plus considerable de leur propre aveu, car les nouvelles venues de Lisle depuis le combat assurent qu’elle se monte a 25 mille hommes. La guasette françoise de Lisle de dimanche au soir en avoue saise [16] mille de leur meilleure infanterie, quon assure estre tostalement ruinée. C’est ce qui empecha le Marechal de Luxembourg de poursuivre notre armée. Il est certain que douze mille Suisse des meilleures troupes de France y ont absolument succombu, qui après avoir forcé notre première ligne se trouverent enclos au milieu de nos gens, que la bravoure et la bonne conduite de nos generaux rallierent dans le moment, et qui les taillerent en pieces.

‘Les François ont perdu un nombre tres considerables d’officiers; on ne sait pas encore les particularitez. Ce qui est sur, c’est que le Duc de Barouik a été fait prisonnier dans le combat, le fils du Duc de Luxembourg a eu le mesme sort, aussi bien que le Duc de Maine, et un grand nombres d’autres officiers de marque. Le Marechal de Joyeuse a été mortellement blessé. On assure que son Altesse Electorale le Duc de Bavière, avec le consentement du Roy, a renvoyé le fils du Marquis de Luxembourg, qui luy a écrit une lettre de compliment pour le remercier, et qui luy marque que la perte qu’il a faite est tres considerables.

‘Son Altesse Monsieur le Duc de Wirtemberg, après avoir fait quatre jours de tres longue marche pour venir joindre l’armée du Roy selon l’ordre qu’il en avoit reçu, campa a Halost dimanche au soir, ou il reçut ordre de sa Majesté d’y rester, luy marquant positivement que Dieu mercy les choses n’étoient pas a beaucoup prest en si mauvais état qu’il l’avoit craint, ainsi qu’il eut a rester là jusqu’a nouvel ordre, n’ayant pas encore besoin de son secours.

‘Les plus recentes nouvelles venue de Gand de dimanche au soir, publiée a Bruge et a Ostende et dans tout le pais, assurent que Monsieur le Lieutenant General Testeau, ayant joint le Comte de Tilly et de Cercas avec sept bataillons qu’il amenoit de Mastrik, et saise que ces deux generaux ramenoient de Liege ayant fait un corps de 23 bataillons, et un nombre a peu pres semblable d’esquadrons, pour venir joindre sa Majeste, avoient le jeudy matin, landemain de la bataille, tombé dans le camp des François, ou ils taillerent en pieces quelques bataillons destinée pour la garde du camp, pillerent tout le bagage, mirent le feu a toutes les poudres, et firent crever les canons qu’ils ne peurent emmener avec eux, lesquels en tout ce montoient a soixante pieces qui estoient destinez pour le siège de Liège. Ils defirent aussi un convoy considerables de chariots qui venoit de Namur a l’armée de Luxambourg, apres quoy ils se retirerent au camp du Roy.

‘On assure que les Francois apres la bataille se saisirent du camp de Park, ou ils campent a present, d’ou ils avoient envoyé sommer la ville de Louvain de payer incessamment les contributions qu’ils imposerent. Sur cela sa Majesté

y envoya quatre bataillons pour en renforcer la garnison et ce joindre a ceux qu'il y avoit deja laissé.'

3½ pp. *French.*

357. NOTTINGHAM TO THE MARQUESS OF CARMARTHEN

1693, July 29. Whitehall. The best answer I can give to yours of the 26th is to state the proceedings in the case of John Rolfe. You had written to the Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey to stop his execution until her Majesty could be informed of his case, and, some time being past without any account of it, and you apprehending that without a reprieve he might be in danger, her Majesty signed a warrant on 17 June for respiting his execution until 17 Aug. and ordered me to write to the Lieutenant-Governor to transmit a relation of all the circumstances. I have had no answer, which makes me apprehend that either his friends did not deliver the warrant and letter to the Lieutenant-Governor or that they have concealed his answer and report of the case. Instead two soldiers came and made oath of what they knew of it. They were probably heard at Rolfe's trial, being at that time in the island, and it seems that he has been condemned notwithstanding their testimony. Consequently what they now say ought not to be much valued, at least not until the judges before whom Rolfe was tried have certified their opinion. But if you would have anything done in this matter before you come to town, I will acquaint the Queen with it and obey such orders as she shall give me.

1½ pp. *Copy.*

358. EDWARD SOUTHWELL TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 29. Kingsweston. On Wednesday we called on Lord Finch at Bath and found him very cheerful and well disposed. 'Wee also visited my Lord President, who proposed to try the waters for a week longer, as hoping the conclusion would more decide in his favour then he had much reason to commend them for the time past.' We invited him to this place, which he had visited before, 'but his Lordshipp being intent on his health and having excused going both to Badminton and Longleat, wee are not to expect him here.

'By a vessell that left Corke on the 23rd and here arrived, wee have no tidings of Sir George Rooke from that side. The great fair here at Bristoll proves much better then was expected from the generall discontent upon our ill fortune abroad. The people talk loud of treachery, as thinking that English courage, and so much money given, ought every where to turn to better account. So that if a new Parliament were to be call'd, it were but, as many think, from the frying pan into the fire.'

The next carrier will bring you 'six dozen of the best sherry that Bristoll now affords, tho' it be hard to find any thing to match what your Lordshipp's cellar does allways abound.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 31 July.*

Enclosing:

358(1). Joseph Hill to Edward Southwell. 1693, July 18/28. Rotterdam. 'The dreadfull news of our Straits fleet occasions these.' We have about seventeen letters from Cadiz of 3 and 4 July and scarcely two that agree, except in general, which I attribute to the great confusion they were in there. Some say 20 ships taken and 18 burnt; others 32 taken and 27 destroyed; and others more destroyed or fewer taken. This morning letters from France mention their taking and destroying 67 or 68 and their capers taking a ship from Guinea belonging to our West India Company and another bound to Brandenburg, both rich with gold valued at £30,000 sterling. 'But noe letters mention what's become of our men of warr.' What ships have escaped you will see in the gazette enclosed.

'These countries had never such a loss, nor you I feare in England. The outcries of our merchants are incredible. At Amsterdam de Wilde is threatned to have his house plundered, because he assured the merchants their shippes should not be kept up in England, as formerly when the Queen of Spaine was conveyed thither. It's generally concluded they are betrayed or bought and sold. And for the land armies, the French are every where stronger then wee, and baffle us. In the detachment from the army and Charleroy that attacqt their convoy wee lost one thousand men slaine and taken. The 20th past de Lorges took Swingenburg, a small city and pass over the Neckar. The 16th Tilly had been surprised and 8 regiments, had he not been a Papist and warn'd by a preist of Luxemburgh's approach, yett lost his baggage and some 200, and was pursued almost to Mastricht from Tonger. The Duke of Wirtemberg with 16,000, sent into Flanders, hath taken and demolished the line and driven Monsieur de le Valet thence into the adjacent garrisons, and is raising there contributions; but in the meane time is wanted in our army. For upon his going the French decampt, and the 19th beleagr'd Huy, which on the 23rd was with the castle surrendred, the soldiers prisoners of warr and carryed to Namur. Which way they will take now is not knowne. Wee have a report they are before Liege; if soe, they have soe strong a Frenchified party there that it's not doubted they will become neutrall at least. Our army is on their march and attend their motion, but are too weak to ingage them, who have been the whole campagne one quarter stronger then wee, and now much more, in Wirtemberg's absence, especially in cavalry. And the Dauphin's army having joyned de Lorges are too strong for the Prince of Baden's, tho' the Saxons and Hessons be with him. A great many of our English run over to the French; whether from some discontents betwixt Solms and Talmash and other officers, or from some confusion and sometimes scarcity of provision, or seeing the enemy stronger thinke they may prevail, or from their loose principles, I know not. But to stop this, the King hath offer'd 100 ricks dollars to any one that discovers the inticers, and hath lately hang'd an English captain and some under officers that were tampering in this kind.

'The States have order'd 24 warr shippes to be prepared, whether in jealousy of Denmark, who threatens to stopp our ships for satisfaction, or to reinforce the grand fleet, I know not, nor where they will gett seamen to man them. All things considered, the scene of affairs looks very tragically. People here, especially since this last news, are all for peace, tho' none dares motion it, seing the Hallewins soe handled for it. I can easily foresee the affairs of warr or peace will turne upon the

hinge of your House of Commons next meeting; for wee shall dance after your pipe. And the rest seem coole or can doe little.' Spain cannot pay the 6,000 troops turned over from Brandenburg (whose quota is upon the Rhyne); the Germans are so divided they can scarce agree in anything; the Savoyards still in preparation to enter Provence. 'And tho' all are held up with hopes of your descent and making diversion (the end, I suppose, you make such a noise with it) yett if nothing comes of it you will find them cooler, except you will feed them with more money then I feare you can spare. It will be well if you can defend your selves; the reason I suppose you keep your fleet, which some here interpret that the French may have liberty to returne with their prises. Let's pray and hope for better things then wee have yet seen.'

2½ pp. *Copy. Endorsed by Southwell as received 28 July. Endorsed: 'Copy of a letter from Mr Hill.'*

359. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 29. Admiralty Office. We enclose a copy of what the Commissioner of the Navy at Chatham writes in answer to a paper you some time since put into our hands concerning some irregularities practised in the yard there. 'Wee are not able to make any further enquiry into this matter unlesse wee could know the person who gave you the information.'

½ p. *Signed (3 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 30 July.*

Enclosing:

359(1). Sir Edward Gregory [Navy Commissioner at Chatham] to [? the Secretary of the Admiralty]. 1693, July 22. The letter to Lord Nottingham, without date or subscription, has been imparted to the officers of this yard, who unanimously declare that the writer 'is not only a malicious but a false man; they deny matter of fact in every particular. As to the business of fishing and thereby getting the bread out of other men's mouths, the master attendant and all other the officers that are allow'd boats do affirm it to be a groundless and unjust charge, and they defy the Devil and all his implements fairly to prove it upon any one of them.

'They readily own that sometimes when such of them (as are allow'd boats-crews) have form'd a little leisure they have directed them to apply themselves to the master shipwright or his assistants, requesting them to mark out what of the old decay'd timber at the breaking up of ships or docks was found good for nothing but the fire that they might split it out for the service of their respective offices, having no manner of allowance from their Majesties for firing in them. But they are altogether ignorant that there has at any time been any new timber split up fit for any the least use in their Majesties' service. If there has been any they shall be glad to be inform'd thereof that the persons guilty of so great an abuse may be severely punished for it. 'Tis true that the officers of the yard and their predecessors have been time out of mind allowed the the [*sic*] perquisites or priviledges of a little old wood, which is so triffling a matter that I presume most of them would be willing to foregoe the advantage for any the meanest addition made to their sallaries, nay would rather wholly lay down their pretentions to that inconsiderable benefit than incur ... any censure or reproach for it, and to the best of my observations they have not abused the liberty granted them in this matter.

'The truth of the business relating to the *Sovereign's* mast they assure me is as

follows. At the heaving out of the said ship's mast (in order to set a new one) the old one being found decay'd very many years since it broke in three peices, one peice whereof being the spindle and about 25 feet long was laid in the creek over against the dock and was then so rotten that the master shipwright assures me a man might strick an ax into it up to the pole. After this had layn there some years upon an extraordinary rage [high tide] it broke loose and drove up above a mile into Hoo marshes and, having neither iron hoops about it nor any thing else valuable to answer the charge of getting it off and bringing it back to the dock, it was permitted to lye there; and after some time two of the gunners of the adjacent forts observing and finding it very rotten and not worth any body's while to transport it farr, split it up and burnt it without acquainting the Commissioner upon the place or any officers of the dock with it, for which they were accused and arraigned at Maidstone, and the Grand Jury brought in the bill *Ignoramus*.'

Our officers beg the Lords of the Admiralty and you 'to judge of the probity and ingenuity of the person that seems to accuse them by the last clause of his obscure letter, and when he can prove them guilty of the murther of Sir Edmundberry Godfery they will then own themselves tardy in the particulars above mentioned, but till that can be done they earnestly pray that they may stand right in their Lordships' and your good opinion.

'I could ... acquaint you with what I have done towards the prevention of abuses of this kind. I am constant in my own attendances by day and night. I never yet forgave a thief, and have try'd all ways imaginable to discover them. I have set a guard upon every avenue belonging to the yard ... But 'tis impossible in such a throng of workmen as wee have about us to prevent all irregularitys ... I will make so good a use of the caution given us by this libell that by God's assistance the publique shall reap the benifit of it; and therefore I am so far from neglecting the hint (tho' the particular accusations are either false or frivolous) that I will endeavour all that in me lyes to improve it to their Majesties' advantage.'

2½ pp. *Copy*.

360. LORD JERMYN [GOVERNOR OF JERSEY] TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 29. Rushbrooke. I received your letter last night with the Queen's command that the yacht attend Jersey 'and from time to time repayr to England in five or six weeks' time.' In the summer season she has often encompassed two voyages in that space of time, and I cannot remember that she was ever as long as six weeks in England, except once upon refitting. 'I thought the less whyle she stay'd both here and there was the best for their Majesties' service, and thereupon my orders of sayling was to stay at Jersey five or six days, then to receive the Lieutenant-Governor's orders for returning to Hampton; and assoone as I heard of her returne, and fit to sayle agayn, I lost no oportunity of dispatching her. I hope she is now in Jersey from whence shee came about three weeks since, and so leaky as it was not safe to put to sea till that was secured, and I was so carefull that no time might be lost as I sent the captayn tenne days since orders to sayle the first oportunity after she was ready, altho' I then knew she was not so. I am

sensible of the benefit of intelligence, and so truly zealous of the honour and prosperity of England as I have not, neither will fayle in performing my duty in this matter.' I think to wait on you in London next week, yet could not forbear giving you this trouble, 'being a little jealous that her Majestie have bin informed of some negligence on my part'.

1p. *Holograph. Seal of arms. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 31 July.* (For his letter to Jermyn of 25 July see *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, p.235.)

361. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [July 31/] Aug. 10, N.S. Epighem. Since the last post I have received yours of the 21st and 25th past. As to the victuals for Barbados, I refer you to mine of the 17/27 past, leaving the decision to be made in England.

Having considered Mr Methuen's letter and your observations on it, his Majesty thinks fit that Mr Methuen have instructions and powers to confer with the court of Portugal about the measures and terms of the proposed alliance and to express his Majesty's readiness to concur therein without engaging him further than may be convenient. The States will give their Minister the like instructions. 'Mr Methuen says he has writt me two letters on the same business which if sent by land his Majesty fears are stopt by the French who will be informed by them of the negotiation.'

The Pensioner has imparted to me a letter and proposal received from Monsieur Heemskerck, which I enclose for your information. The States seem inclined to send Lord Pagett and Monsieur Heemskerck powers to guarantee in their name the acceptance and ratification but not the execution of the treaty that shall be agreed on between them (or either of them) and the Turks, 'but yet there remaining some doubt whether in case the Emperor or his allies should refuse to ratify such treaty the Turks might not make great avanies [levies] upon our merchants and express their resentments towards our commerce, his Majesty leaves it to be consider'd by the Committee how far this guaranty may be fitt to be extended if given at all by his Majesty and the States. 'Your Lordship sees by the Paris letter how the battle is resented there and that the court is not satisfyed with the small advantage they have gained.'

3pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 Aug.*

Enclosing:

361(1). Coenraad van Heemskerck and Jacob Colyer to Heinsius. 1693, May 31. Adrianopolen. (For content see the next entry.)

2½ pp. *Copy. Dutch.*

361(2). 1693, May 31. Adrianopol. English translation of 347(1). 'When we were still of the opinion that an agreement would be made here we have by provision drawne up a certain project act of guarantie whereby the King of England and the States interpose their word to the Ottoman Emperor to the end such a contract of

peace as we might enter into here shall be approved by the German Emperor and his allies, which act should accordingly be exchanged one with an other on the side of the Port, whereby the Sultan likewise engages his Imperiall word to stand to the contract if it be consented to by us for the Emperor and his allies.

'You will easily perceive that this is the onely means to treat here, because that the Emperor neither can nor desires to give power to treat directly and that there may be made no difficulty here, his Imperiall Majesty has obliged himselfe in writing to the King of Great Brittain that what shall thus be promised to the Ottomans, in conformity of his instruction, shall punctually and without delay be finished. Of which act ... we do send you hereby the copy, so that meane while that the negotiation be taken in hand ... there may be sufficient time left to receive here upon the intention and orders of the States, which orders ... we, to our rest, do expect with great desire, either to serve upon the frontiers, where Mr Heemskerck will be, or by way of mediation, which may serve Mr Collier afterwards.

'That there goes enclosed no copy of the said letter of his Imperiall Majesty is done by reason of the uncertainty of the coming over of letters, and the matter is so delicat that we durst not hazard the same; but full relyance may be had of what we do assure you. We also pray you instantly, that utmost care may be had that this secret may be kept. In the deliberation over the said matter care is to be taken that their High and Mightinesses' resolution to the consent of such an act of garantie ... be likewise annext to the extraction of the act on the Turkish side, by reason we are not obliged thereunto by the Emperor, but onely drawn up the same so as the more to assure us of the success of a peace, the said act serving besides to the end the Emperor be the stricter oblig'd to observe the word given to the King of England and the States ... as also secondly to excuse ourselves in case of necessity in regard of his allies, as a businesse which is no more entire.'

3pp.

361(3). 1693, May 31. Draft of the acts of guarantee by the allied ambassadors and the Porte referred to in 361(2).

2pp. *Latin.* *Endorsed by Blathwayt:* 'From Monsieur Heemskerck to the Pentioner'.

361(4). 1693, July 31/Aug. 10. Camp at Eppegem. 'On Saturday night last the Earle of Athlone march't from hence with a detachment of about 6000 horse and dragoons towards Bois le Duc upon advice that a detachment from the French army was gone into those parts to raise contribution consisting of 4000 horse besides foot.

'We have 14 standarts and 15 colours of the enemy's taken in the last battles, and the Spaniards 'tis believed have as many.

'The army is in a condition to march again, which 'tis said we shall do on Wednesday next.

'The Duke of Wirtemberg continues with the detachment under his command near Alost.

'The number of men kill'd and taken prisoners of the severall brigades of horse and foot in English pay is given in to be as follows:

	Officers	Private soldiers
Of the horse	59	472
Of the foot	99	2467
In all	<u>158</u>	<u>2939</u>

whereof near one third are computed to be prisoners. The loss in the other forces

is not yet exactly computed, but is thought to agree with this proportion. It is certain the French have lost double the number our army has done, and a very great number of officers.

'We have news from Namur that the Duke of Ormond mends dayly and is judged to be out of all danger.

'The French remain stil in their camp between Hannuy and Borckworm.'

1½ pp.

361(5). Lists of casualties in English pay at the battle of Landen.

A. Foot

<i>Regiments</i>	<i>Commissioned officers</i>		<i>Non-commissioned officers and private soldiers</i>	
	Killed or prisoners	Wounded	Killed or prisoners	Wounded
Two Battalions of the First Regiment of Guards	7	8	160	124
The Battalion of the Coldstream Regiment	0	6	82	100
Two Battalions of Dutch Guards Regiment of Scots Guards	13	15	183	134
Royal Regiment	4	7	84	44
Colonel Selwin's Regiment	0	6	80	66
Colonel Churchill's Regiment	2	2	95	100
Colonel Trewlany's Regiment	10	3	218	58
Colonel Fitz-Patrick's Regiment	4	1	84	57
Colonel d'Offarrell's Regiment	4	7	82	0
Colonel Mackay's Regiment	0	4	43	45
Earl of Leven's Regiment	3	8	65	35
Colonel Monroe's Regiment	10	1	156	65
Colonel Lawder's Regiment	3	2	73	37
Colonel Tidcomb's Regiment	7	4	184	6
Colonel Collingwood's Regiment	6	8	83	45
Colonel Stanley's Regiment	3	0	71	28
Colonel Erle's Regiment	3	0	83	12
Sir Charles Graham's Regiment	0	1	26	3
Prince Frederick's Battalion	3	4	133	88
Zeland	0	0	50	1
Funish Battalion	4	1	164	78
Comte Nassau's Regiment	1	0	42	0
Brandenburg Regiment	0	0	54	4
Avers	4	1	87	0
	8	0	85	2
	99	89	2,467	1,132

Abstract

	Killed or prisoners	Wounded
Officers	99	89
Soldiers	2,467	1,132
	2,566	1,221

B. Horse

<i>Regiments</i>	<i>Officers</i>		<i>Troopers</i>	
	Killed or prisoners	Wounded	Killed or prisoners	Wounded
Colonel Lumley's Regiment	51	4	85	25
Earl of Berkley's	2	2	34	2
Colonel Langston's	4	2	15	14
Colonel Windham's	4	1	37	13
Lord Viscount Galway's	32	19	116	34
	47	28	287	88
Colonel Schestedt's Regiment	12	14	185	73
The Duke of Wirtemberg's				
Colonel Boncour's				
The Marquis de Monpouillan's				
Colonel Zuylesteyn's				
Colonel Schack's				
	59	42	472	161

2pp. *Copy. Endorsed:* 'List of the officers and soldiers lost and wounded in the battle of Landen.'

362. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Aug. 1. Whitehall. 'This day I received yours of the 3rd N.S. with the relation of the battle, which is sent to the presse. This has extreemly revived us, for the French have nothing to boast of but having gain'd the field, and at the same time by the great destruction of their troopes may be said to have lost the battle. But whatever it is, the good posture of his Majesty's army gives us hopes that we may have our revenge in attacking the French with much greater success than they have done us.

'... The French make great provisions on the coast of Algarbe as Mr Methven writes July 1/11, and from the Corunna the consull gives an account of the *Sheernesse* fregat's arrivall there on the 13/23 of July. We do not yet hear what is become of the *Monk*, but conclude for that reason she is safe.'

Note of enclosure: Queen's letter.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book III, p.218.

363. NOTTINGHAM TO JOHN METHUEN

1693, Aug. 1. 'I shall not fail to acquaint the Queen with the generous concerne the Queen Dowager expresses for the interests of England and her readinesse to promote them with the King of Portugal. I dare say the Queen will have a just sense of it and of the affection with which she enquires after their Majesties' health.

'In the mean time I must with all humility and gratitude acknowledge her Majesties great goodnesse to me in preserving me in her memory, who cannot value myself to her upon any account but of a true zeal to her service, and I must intreate you upon all occasions to assure her Majesty of my humblest duty.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph draft in reply to no. 311, with which it was found.*

364. NOTTINGHAM TO VISCOUNT SYDNEY

1693, Aug. 1. Whitehall. 'Having received a letter from the Lieutenant - Governor of Jersey wherein he writes that the garrisons there are still in a very bad condition, especially for want of carriages and plattforms for the guns, the ship carriages sent in hast the last year being not fit for the place, I do by her Majesty's command acquaint your Lordship with it, that you may give such directions therein as shall be necessary.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.114.

365. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. [3/] 13, N.S. Camp at Wommel. 'It appears by your Lordship's letter of the 28th past that the first news of the battle was very terrible, as indeed it could not be otherwise considering the disorder of the retreat and dispersion of the army, and therefore I forbore to write without the King's order which I could not then have. But your Lordship will have since understood that we are more than upon even terms with the French, their loss being much greater and more sensible to them which renders them unable to make any use of their victory.'

His Majesty has received a letter from Mr Methuen dated June 13/23, but nothing in it occasions any alteration to the last orders concerning Portugal. Lord Dursley is directed to treat with the envoy of that crown at the Hague, 'which is intended as a further gratification of that court.'

P.S. 'It is said the French troops are order'd into these parts from Normandy to the number of 8,000 men.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 Aug.*

Enclosing:

365(1). 1693, July [11/]21. Du camp de Rivolle. 'Le 18e. S.A.R. [the Duke of Savoy] accompagnée de tous les generaux est allée se rendre au camp de Buriasco d'où l'on a pris la resolution d'attaquer les ennemys par trois costéz pour les chassér des hauteurs proches de Pignerol. S.A.R. avec Monsieur de Caprara et le Duc de Schomberg commandent une attaque, les Espagnelz commandéz par Monsieur de Leganèz la seconde, et le Prince Eugene la troisième.

'L'attaque se doit fere le matin du 25. La veue de cette entreprise sy l'on peut reussir est de bloquer Pignerol, et l'on dit que sy nostre flotte n'avoit pas tardé que l'on

auroit entrepris des choses plus considerables comme de prendre Villefranche quy est un petit port et d'entrer en Provence, et ces jours passéz on a pris deux redoutes quy servoient à couvrir les convoys des ennemys.'

1p. *Copy.*

365(2). 1693, July [15/]25. Du camp des hauteurs de Pignerol derriere Ste. Brigide. 'Par les dernieres nouvelles on a marqué la resolution que l'infanterie et quelques dragons de l'armée des alliez avoit prise d'attaquer environ dix mille hommes des ennemys quy gardoient les hauteurs de Pignerol. Mais quoy que les postes qy'ils y occupoient fussent extremement avantageux, et fort bien retranchez, ils les ont abandonnéz sans coup ferir, et nous y sommes campéz depuis hier à midy.

'Monsieur le Marquis de Leganéz a forcé l'épée à la main dix a douse redoutes dans la Val Peirouse, et trouvé la ville de Peirouse (quoy que fortifiée) entierement abandonnée.'

1p. *Copy.*

365(3). 1693, Aug. 3/13. Camp at Wemmel. 'The army came yesterday from Eppegem hither. Our right marches towards Releghem and our left is near Laecken fronting towards Brussels. In the march we were joyn'd by the detachment commanded by the Duke of Wirtemberg. The Spaniards and Bavarians which lay near the walls of Brussels have likewise joyn'd us this day.

'On Tuesday my Lord Lexington was dispatcht from the camp for Denmark as his Majesty's envoy extraordinary to that court, upon the occasion of that king's marching into Holstein with a design as is thought of entring into the territory of Saxe Lowenburgh and demolishing the fortifications of Ratzenburgh now in the possession of the Duke of Cell.

'We have already a supply of 30 pieces of cannon come to the camp for the English and Dutch trains, which joyn'd to what was brought off makes up near 60 pieces besides twenty pieces the Spanyards have with them.

'This day Monsieur Zuylesteyn, the Comte de Broué, Major Generall of the Spanish troops, and my Lord Aghrim, the Earle of Athlone's son returned hither from the French camp.

'It's just now said that the French are march't from their camp towards Genap, but there is no certainty in the information.

'His Majesty has received notice from England since the battle that severall regiments of horse, foot and dragoons were in readiness to embark upon the first orders from hence, but our loss being not so considerable as to need that reinforcement, his Majesty is pleas'd only to make a draught out of some of them for recruiting those regiments here that have suffered most, so that the forces now in England are left to be made use of against the French by sea as the success of the fleet or any other opportunity may make it most advisable and practicable.

'My Lord Athlone is return'd with the detachment under his command, the French being retired from the mairie of Boisleduc, where they received some contribution and carried away hostages for more.'

1½ pp.

366. PORTLAND TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693,] Aug. [3/]13. Du camp de Wemmel. 'Si mes blessures aus mains ne mavoit pas empechez, je vous assure que je naurois pas manqué de vous rendre conte de ce qui c'est passé à la bataille, dont je vous croys

suffisamment informé asteur. Je vous diray seulement que jamais bataille ne cest donnée où le parti battu a moins perdu à proportion et où le parti victorieux a plus de sujet de regretter sa victoire. Nostre armée est campée ici, tres forte et en bon estat, et ce que nous avons perdus de plus considerable dans la cavallerie c'est des chevaux que lon a laissé à une petite riviere derriere nostre camp, que lon avoit de la peine à passer, cela importe plus que ce que les ennemis nous ont tuez. Enfin j'espere que lon prendra courage en Angleterre, et que lon nous croye en estat de nous opposer aus desseins des ennemis, comme nous le croyons nous mesme, et une marque de cela c'est que le Roy soignant pour la seureté d l'Angleterre n'en veut pas tirer les troupes que la Reyne a fait tenir prestes pour passer de deca aus premiers ordres du Roy. Dieu voeuille que nostre flotte puisse obtenir quelque advantage contre nos ennemis, sans cela je ne vois pas comment ils pourront estre reduits a lestat ou nous croyons quils doivent estre, a lesgart de leurs forces par mer, devant que de pouvoir faire la paix avec quelque seureté pour l'Angleterre et son commerce. Le Roy se porte graces a Dieu fort bien. Je vous prie de me continuer vostre amitié.'

3pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 Aug.*

367. NOTTINGHAM TO VISCOUNT DURSLEY

1693, Aug. 4. Whitehall. 'I am extremely oblig'd to your Lordship for the care you took of my letter to Monsieur Jurieux, which prov'd a greater trouble to you then I intended it.' Your account of the posture of affairs where you are [The Hague] was so very good 'that I have read your letter more then once with great satisfaction, and wish that every week would afford you some new matter, that I might joine with you in the joy of it.'

1p. *Copy.*

368. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Aug. 4. Whitehall. 'I am extreemly glad to find by yours of the 6th N.S. that every day gives us a better account of the success of the late battle, and particularly that the Duke of Ormond is alive and in a way of recovery.

'I have nothing to send you from hence but the enclosed extract of a letter I received from Mr Methven; for you will hear from Mr Secretary the probability of Sir George Rook's arrivall at Kinsale, and the accounts we have from St. Malo of the French preparations which look like a design of a descent and what we have done thereupon and desired of his Majesty and the States about their Dunkirk squadron in case the French should proceed towards any attempt here while the fleet is out of the Channell.'

P.S. 'My Lord Bellomont came yesterday to the Councill and instead of

proceeding to charge the Lord Coningsby gave in a paper of which the substance and conclusion was that this matter was not proper for the Council but the Parliament where he intended to make his complaint.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King; extract from Methuen's letter to Nottingham.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book III, pp.218–19.

369. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Aug. 4. Whitehall. 'In answer to your other letter of [July 27/] Aug 6, N.S., I can only say that all men are agreed of the necessity of sending back the ships to Turkey and of securing them by a considerable squadron.' The time for this cannot be determined until we have a certain account of the motion of the French fleet and Comte d'Estrees' squadron, but my opinion is that upon news of their being come into these seas the merchant ships should be sent away under convoy of four or five men of war, and at the end of the campaign when the fleet comes in a squadron should be sent to the Mediterranean to join with the Spaniards, if they will keep the sea in the winter, and to protect the merchant ships out of the Straits on their return. This should be sufficient to oppose any strength of the French at Thoulon, as one or two of the most discreet and considerable merchants agree. I have not mentioned your letter to any of the Cabinet Council, but from former debates I am sure they all concluded that no resolution can be taken until we know how the French proceed. In the meantime, at the request of the merchants the Council has ordered that two men of war of Sir George Rooke's squadron should be sent back to Gibraltar to proceed with the ships there to Turkey, and orders have accordingly been despatched to Kinsale for him.

'The merchants would by no means consent that these men of war should call at Cadiz for the ships there, none of which were bound to Turkey and so this convoy would be no security to them, or if it went with them along the coast to the severall ports of Spayn and Italy the Turkey ships would be too long delayed on their voiage.

'But there are two Dutch and one English ships of war in Cadiz which may be directed by his Majesty (for ought I know and if he pleases) to proceed with those ships on their voyages when Tourvil comes away, if there be not a superiour strength left in the Mediterranean, which they may presently know at Cadiz.

'And as for a squadron to the Sound, you may conclude it impossible when I tell you that even for our defense against a descent in the absence of our main fleet we hope and desire that his Majesty will order the Dutch Dunkirke squadron to come westward, for we have in a manner no ships of our own upon our coast.'

2pp. *Copy.*

370. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO SIR
JOHN TRENCHARD

1693, Aug. 5. Admiralty Office. In accordance with the enclosed, desiring the Queen's directions to the Governor of Barbados 'to take care for the receiving and cure of such men as shalbe put sick on shoare there from their Majesties' ships.'

1p. *Signed (3 signatures).*

Enclosing:

370(1). Captain Thomas Sherman, commander of the *Tyger*, to the Secretary of the Admiralty. 1693, June 6. Off Dessiade. 'Sir Francis Wheeler has order'd me to tend upon the island of Berbadoes and since we arriv'd here first, we have buried most of our officers, and amongst the rest our chyrurgeon who had spent all his medicines before he died, and for want of medicines we have buried a great many men. When I arriv'd at Barbadoes from Martineco I put 50 men sick ashoare. The Governor order'd me to inquire if any body would quarter them and trust the King for their quarter, but no body would, and I buried most of them for want of subsistance, they haveing nothing but their allowance from the ship. The chyrurgeon wee have now has not medicines necessary for our men, and we bury some daily for want. We left 20 men very sick a shore the 3rd of this instant when we sayl'd, and one Captain Sturd promised to get them lodgings and pay for it; if he had done it before it might have saved a great manies [*sic*] lives. I humbly beg their honours would be pleas'd to order some person at Berbadoes to look after our sick men.'

1p. *Copy.*

371. EDWARD HARRIS [LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF JERSEY]
TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. 5. Jersey. 'I have taken on me (not having heard any thing from England for some tyme) to send two boats towards the coasts of France to gett from thence what intelligence they possibly could learne, and after foure or five dayes' absence on[e] of them brought me this enclosed account. My Lord, I could hartely wish (for their Majesties' service) that there were an allow[a]n[c]e settled here (for intelligence) as there was in Sir Thomas Morgan's tyme (when Governor), which would be an incouragement for people to undertake and expose themselves on such occasions, without which they will very hardly be brought to run the least hazard. I have bin severall tymes out of mony on these occasions, as well as for the supporte of English prisoners brought hither from France, which I hope will be allowed me. The want of my sallery makes me more then ordenary nesessitous, or I should not thus often trouble your Lordship consarning it.

'The yatch being not yett arrived from England makes me venture this by the way of Garnsey.'

1½ pp. *Endorsed by Nottingham as received 20 Aug.*

Enclosing:

371(1). 1693, Aug. 5. Jersey. 'That Mounsuer the King's brother lyes with an army of thirty thousand men incamped neere Concaule Beay, and that they much feare a dessent. The cuntrey people both in Normandy and Brittany lye under great murmurings and discontents. They talke high of a great victory they have obtained against our army in Flanders, which God forbid. Alsoe they say that Vice-Admirall Rooke is gote into Cadiz with his fleet, and that Mounsieur Turvill is before the place and sent word to the towne to diliver up the English fleet that weere in their harbour, or he would bumbarde the place. But they returned for answeare that they would defend them to the last, and vallewed not his threts.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In Harris's hand.*

372. VISCOUNT HATTON [GOVERNOR OF GUERNSEY] TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. 7. Kirby. I find from yours of the 5th that nothing can be settled in my Guernsey business until the King's return, but why should not Lord Monmouth in the meantime declare what security he intends to offer me, to give me more time to consider it than if it were 'huddled up in hast' after the King's return? The Lieutenant-Bailiff and Jurats of Guernsey tell me they have written to you, and desire me to intercede with you to obtain some commiseration of their present miserable condition and considerations of the privileges they have for some hundreds of yeares enjoyed under the goverment of England, to which they have allwaiese adhered, and upon that account have throu many severall reignes and revolutions been allwaiese treated with great tenderness, and their liberties and privileges some times enlarged but never deminished ... but of late the Commissioners of the Customs have sent over into that island a bussie turbulent officer who for his unquiett temper had been removed from other places where he had caused some disturbances, and this man has (probably by some false suggestions) obtained an order of Councell authorising him to breake open and search any man's house att his pleasure, all officers military and civill being required to assist him, and to highten this severity upon them he is impowred to bring over all such matters and causes as he shall thinke fitt to complaine of to be heard here in England, without distinction of such cases wherein by their lawes and privileges there lyes no applae [*sic*] from the Royall Court there, as in all criminall cases there does not, nor such restrictions and cautions as have been allwaiese required in such cases where in an appeale properly lyes.' Their petition is that before the order be put in execution they may have a hearing before the Lords of the Council, and I hope such alterations will be made in it as upon hearing will appear reasonable and just, 'because I cannot think that all their liberties and privileges will be taken away only to gratify the turbulent humour of a pragmaticall fellow. It might more reasonably be expected that att this time when that trade upon which much the greatest part of the inhabitants of that island subsisted is almost wholly lost by the

present warre some favour should be granted them more then what they formerly injoyed.' From personal experience of the island I must add that even if 'this order should be put into the most rigorous execution, soe much as to harasse, ruine and beggar the trading part of that island and consequently all the rest whose subsistance depends upon them, it will not adde one farthing in a yeare to the customes of England, nor tend in the least degree to the advantage of the trade of England but as much to the deminution as the conserne of that little island can in any sort contribute.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 9 Aug.* (For Nottingham's letter of 12 Aug. in reply to a letter from the Bailiff and Jurats of Guernsey on this subject see *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1693, p.263.)

373. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. 7/17. Camp at Lembecq near Hall. I have received your letter of the 1st and refer you to what I write by this post to Mr Secretary Trenchard for the reason why the French make such provisions on the coast of Algarbe. The King has received a duplicate of Mr Methuen's former letter, wherein you already know his pleasure. 'His Majesty would have the enclosed letter from the Councill of Scotland consider'd by the Committee that an answer may be returned.' [Probably no. 306(2), forwarded by Nottingham to the Commissioners of the Admiralty on 16 Aug. at the Queen's request. See *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1693, p.270, and no. 412 below.]

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 14 Aug.*

Enclosing:

373(1). 1693, Aug. 7/17. Camp at Lembecq near Hall. 'On Saturday last his Majesty reviewed the whole army at Wommel and was very well satisfied with the good condition he found it in. This day we march'd from thence hither; our right reaches to Hall and our left is near Tubise.

'Last night Lieutenant-Generall Scravemoer return'd from Namur where he was prisoner, and gives an account that after the battle there were brought into that garrison near 1200 French officers wounded, of which it was said 400 were dead of their wounds before he came away, and that he pass'd by part of the French army yesterday as they were on their march and saw many batallions of foot which had not 150 men in each.

'The French army is said to march this day to Nivelles, but we are since inform'd that the main body remains yet at Sombref and that there is no more than a detachment come to Nivelle.'

1p.

374. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Aug. 8. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of August 10th and 13th N.S., and have writt to Mr Methven his Majesty's orders, and shall prepare his powers in form against the next post. The Queen has had a letter from

the States desiring her Majesty to order Mr Stanhop to concurre with their minister in sending out ships to give notice to the Spanish West India flota of the French fleet's being on the coast, that they may avoid the danger of falling into the French hands. I have writt accordingly to Mr Stanhop and sent him an order from the Admiralty to the captain of the *Smyrna Factor* at Cadiz to follow his directions, that, if need be, he may make use of this ship upon this service.

'What you write concerning the guaranty proposed by Monsieur Heemskirke has been considered by the Queen at the Committee; upon which I am directed to say to you that the restraining this guaranty to the Emperor's acceptance and ratification of the terms agreed on is most reasonable, for if it extended to the execution of them also a thousand pretences would be taken upon all occasions from time to time to make them selves reparations of what they think they suffer out of the English and Dutch merchants' estates; and even this limited guaranty may be very dangerous unlesse the King be very well assured that the Emperour will make no difficulty or delay in ratifying the treaty when concluded. Monsieur Heemskirke says in his letter (as well as I can gett it translated) that his Imperiall Majesty has obliged himselfe in writing to the King that what shall be promised to the Ottomans in *conformity to his instructions* shall be punctually and without delay fulfilled. Now if the ambassador should in some little matter for the sake of so publick a good deviate from the strict letter of those instructions, and if the Emperour should not yet be sensible of the necessity of a peace with the Turk and should be too nice and scrupulous in ratifying it, the mischiefs to the merchants in Turkey would be very great and insupportable. But if his Majesty is well assured of the Emperour's compliance with the termes which the ambassadours will dare to agree to, or that such assurance can be obtained, the Committee think that his Majesty should enter into this guaranty so restrained as you propose it.'

Note of enclosure: Queen's letter.

1p. Letter Book III, pp.215–20.

375. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. 10/20. Lembecq. We have had no letters from England since those of the 1st, but the Spanish post has just arrived at the Elector's quarters, and we have received from there the enclosed extract [no. 375(2)] which the King has commanded me to send you for the Queen's information.

'We have now exactly calculated our losses which appear without disguise in the enclosed papers. And we are constantly assured that the killed and wounded of the French amount to 20,000 men.'

P.S. I send you Mr Methuen's letter, of which the King has received a duplicate.

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 14 Aug.*

Enclosing:

375(1). John Methuen to the King. 1693, June 13/23. Lisbon. Since coming here I have always corresponded with Lord Nottingham, and 'I should not presume to address my selfe directly to your Majesty but for fear the present posture of affairs in this court should not otherwise so soon come to your knowledg.

'In December last I perceived the generality of the people here were much incensed against France by the interruption of their trade and the great number of their ships taken by the French privateers, that the King was much pressed with the complaints of his subjects and had not been able after all the applycation possible to obtain any satisfaction or any change of the King of France's orders, even after the compliance of Holland whereby the pretence upon which their ships were first taken was wholly ceased. I thought this occasion very favorable and having desired an audience to complain of the French privateers who made use of these ports for the taking and keeping here English prizes contrary to the treaty, I did then and upon severall occasions since endeavour to represent to the King that it was the interest of Portugall rather to secure their trade by joyning with the present confederates then by seeking to obtain the permission of France by such means as would infallibly ruine the good correspondence with your Majesty and the allies, assuring the King that when he should be disposed to enter into an alliance that might prevent the King of France from giving laws to other princes your Majesty would propose such an alliance to him upon terms that should be for the honour, advantage and security of his Majesty and his kingdoms.

'I must acknowledge in this to have gone beyond your Majesty's commands, but the time necessary to have sent to England and expected orders from thence would have lost the occasion. Although I received no other answer from the King but that he desired to continue a perfect neutrality, not doubting but that he should receive satisfaction from France, yet I found he received very kindly the advances I made, and I having reason to beleive that he would never obtayn from France the freedom of trade he expected, I communicated all I had done to the Spanish and Dutch ministers here, who sometime after having received orders for that purpose did severally make applycation to this King and received only generall and irresolute answers. But as your Majesty is looked on here as the soul that gives life and motion to the present confederacy, I found this king for that reason gave me more liberty to entertain him and seemed to communicate his thoughts more freely to me then to any other. And therefore finding that nothing did move him more then the present condition of Spain and the resolution the King of France seemed to have taken of pressing more on the side of Cataluña, about a month since I adventured to propose as from my selfe only whether it would be agreeable to him to enter into a defensive league for the defence of the kingdoms of Spain only. The King seemed surprized and pressed me very much to know if really it was true I had no orders from your Majesty nor was desired by the Spanish minister to make that proposition. I assured him as the truth was that the proposition was only from my selfe and was not any ways likely to proceed from Spain but that your Majesty as garrantee of the peace between the two crowns probably might propose the thing both here and in Spain. The King then made no other answer then that he would consider of it and let me know his mind and ten days since desiring the King's answer he told me in a matter of that weight it was not fitt for him to declare

himself beforehand but that it would not be disagreeable to him and that when it should be proposed in the manner I spoke of he would take the resolution that should be thought best for his kingdom and withall gave me leave to propose it to one of his ministers in whom he confides entirely, with whom I have since had conferences almost every day, the result of which was that the King considering the present state of Spain was not unwilling such a proposition should be made to him but that in probability the consequence of such an alliance would be a warr from France and therefore that the King of Portugall would expect that at the same time I should have power to treat of the means for his defence and security in case France should declare a warr against him or that the King of Portugall should think fitt to declare against France. And in order to be able to inform your Majesty of this King's intentions with more certainty I procured this morning an opportunity of speaking to him, and doe find that the seige of Roses which is given for lost hath allarmed him so much that he will enter into any measures necessary for preserving Spain, and I have his leave to inform your Majesty that in order to be ready on his part he will immediately raise an army of twenty thousand foot, four thousand horse and a train of artillery, and that he will this very day publish his resolution and appoint a councill of warr for the speedy execution, hoping your Majesty will take such effective measures with the allies as the present extremity requires ...

'This small kingdom in the present conjuncture by the great number of people, the convenience of its ports, the number of ships and seamen and the nearness to Spain will be found of much more consideration then will be easily beleived, of which I cannot give your Majesty a better proof then that the King will be able to raise the whole number of his army before I can hope to receive your Majesty's commands.'

3pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Blathwayt. Endorsed as received 5/15 Aug.*

375(2). [1693, July 27/] Aug. 6. Madrid. 'L'armée navale de France après avoir fait quelques hostilités à Malaga avec l'artillerie et bombes, et brûlé 3 ou 4 navires qui estoient dans le mole, s'eloigna delà et prit la route du Levant avec 90 vaisseaux de ligne, dont 20 estoient de 3 ponts, 30 brûlots, 17 fregates, 6 brigantins, 10 vaisseaux de transport, sans que jusqu'à cette heure l'on ait peu penetrer leur dessein; quoiqu'un si grand armement ne laisse pas de causer dans ces pays maritimes beaucoup d'ombrages et d'inquietude. On doute que peuteestre ils sont intentionnez de se joindre avec leurs galeres pour ensuite entreprendre quelque importante operation.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Extract.*

375(3). 1693, Aug. 10/20. Camp at Lembeecq. 'On Tuesday the whole French army encamp'd near Nivelles where they yet continue, the headquarters being at that place.

'The excessive hott weather we have had for some days past has occasioned the falling of many of our officers and privat soldiers, so that the hospitalls are very full.

'The Duke of Ormond is expected at Brussels from Namur on Saturday next, his wounds being so farr heal'd that his Grace will be then able to travell.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p.

375(4). List of officers in the English forces taken prisoner at the battle of Landen. 41 named officers of horse (including one cornet who died subsequently and is omitted from the abstract), and 46 named officers of foot, arranged by regiment. Followed by:

Abstract of the aforesaid list

	Horse	Foot
General officer	1	0
Field officers	4	6
Captains	8	22
Lieutenants	3	7
Cornets or ensigns	17	10
Quartermasters	7	0
Cadet	0	1
	<u>40</u>	<u>46</u>

Abstract of the officers taken prisoner of the other forces

	Horse	Foot
Of the States troops and in their pay	31	2
Of the Spanish troops and in their pay	34	5
Of the Hanover troops	8	5
	<u>73</u>	<u>12</u>
Of the English forces as above	40	46
	<u>113</u>	<u>58</u>

3pp.

375(5). Abstract of officers and soldiers of the 'conferate' army killed and wounded in the battle of Landen.

Killed:	214 officers	Wounded:	296 officers
	5,791 soldiers		3,662 soldiers
	<u>6,005</u>		<u>3,958</u>

Standards and colours taken and lost.

Taken:	35 standards	Lost:	43 standards
	19 colours		18 colours
	<u>44</u>		<u>61</u>

1p.

376. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Aug. 11. Whitehall. 'The Queen has order'd my Lord Maior to summon a Common Councill on Tuesday, and the Lords of the Committee and Treasury to go thither and desire a loan, which I hear is likely to succeed notwithstanding our great misfortune in the Mediterranean squadron, which is encreased by the sinking of the ships in Gibraltar, which were of more value than all the other seven Turkey ships. The Queen intends to write to the King of Spain to require no customs for the goods which have been or shall be landed in the ports of Spain and particularly Gibraltar in order only to be washt from the salt water and put up again for Turkey and other places, and what further her Majesty has done to assist the merchants on this sad occasion you will have I suppose from Mr Secretary.

'The King of Portugall has been extraordinary kind to the merchants in

giving all possible orders to prevent imbesilments of the goods that floated to the shore and to assist the factors in taking them up; and her Majesty will also write to the King of Portugall to thank him for this favour.

'Monsieur Cambon is dead, and his lieutenant colonell spoke to me to day to write to you about his succeeding his colonell; his name is Boisrond and I suppose he may be unknown to his Majesty.

'The enclosed is from Mr Methven, to whom I shall send powers and instructions on Tuesday, and also copies of them to you, that if his Majesty will add [to] or alter them, his orders shall be obey'd.'

P.S. 'Dr Aglionby was at Alicant July 20th waiting a conveyance to Genoua or some part in Italy.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King; copy of letter from Methuen to Nottingham; copy of powers and instructions for Methuen.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book III, pp.220-1.

377. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. 14/24. Lembecq. On Mr Methuen's letter enclosed in yours of the 4th his Majesty refers you to the orders already given in relation to Portugal. I have signified his pleasure at large to Mr Secretary Trenchard touching sea affairs.

'His Majesty takes it for certain that the French will besiege Charleroy, their [*sic*] being great preparations making for it in all the neighboring places. The French are so early with those for the next campagne that they have already agreed with the Jews at Metz for *forty thousand* horses to be deliver'd to them in the spring at 30 pistoles a horse.

'The heats have occasioned a very great sickness in our army, both of officers and soldiers, but few of them dye. 'Tis the same among the French.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 24 Aug.*

Enclosing:

377(1). 1693, Aug. 14/24. Camp at Lembecq. 'The French army continues still at Nivelles, and preparations are making at Namur for a siege which 'tis believed will be of Charleroy.

'Yesterday the Duke of Berwick was sent back to Namur, and we now expect to hear that the Duke of Ormond has left that place in order to his return.

'The Duke of Wirtemberg succeeds the Comte de Solms as general of the Dutch infantry and colonel of the regiment of Dutch foot guards, whereupon the Prince of Berkenfelt, eldest lieutenant generall in the States service, has with his Majesty's leave withdrawn himself from the camp.'

1p. *Copy.*

378. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. [14/] 24. Lembecq. I have laid your other letter of the 4th before his Majesty, 'but all that is said in it is now quite out of doors by this last manœuvre of the French. The King would be very sorry not to have something of his own to make up the squadron for the Sound, in lieu of which the Dunkirk squadron will be ready against the descent from France.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 24 Aug.*

379. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Aug. 15. Whitehall. 'The Lords have been in the City and the Common Council have unanimously agreed to a loan and to use their utmost endeavours to promote it and in all appearance it will be effectuell.

'They have voted an addresse to her Majesty to congratulate the King's safety and thank her Majesty for the assurance (which my Lord Keeper in his speech gave them) of her Majesty's care to protect them in their trade, and they are to attende the Queene on Thursday.

'I have received yours of August 7/17 and 10/20. The Queen has had a letter from the Councill of Scotland complaining in like manner as that which you sent me directed to the King of the seizure of the ship *Fortune*. I writt to Sir Charles Hedges about it, who says the parties alledge it was not taken within the river but at sea, however that there must be a motion made in court against the jurisdiction of our Admiralty in this case, which is cognizable only in Scotland, which the Master of Staires has caused to be done.'

Note of enclosure: Queen's letter.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book III, p.221.

380. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. 17/27. Lembecq. On your letters of the 8th and 11th, his Majesty has considered what you write of the guarantee to be given to the Turks for the acceptance of the treaty of peace by the Emperor and his allies, and thinks fit that such a guarantee limited as the committee proposes be prepared and despatched to Lord Pagett. He approves of the powers and instructions intended for Mr Methuen.

'The King did take it for certain that the French would immediately besiege Charleroy, which now it seems they will not do so soon, having sent away all their pioneers that were drawn together for it, but 'tis rather to be feared they will undertake that siege in the latter season when his Majesty shall be gone or going from the camp.

'His Majesty has not yet appointed anyone to succeed Du Cambon; nor will,

I believe, declare his pleasure touching Captain Thornicroft's rank before his return.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 24 Aug.*

Enclosing:

380(1). 1693, Aug. 17/27. Camp at Lembecq. 'The French army continues still at Nivelles. It was thought they would have besieged Charleroy, but they have now sent back the pyoneers designed for that purpose.

'The Duke of Ormond returned yesterday to Brussels from Namur with the other English prisoners.

'The Prince of Nassau, Stadtholder of Friesland, took his leave yesterday of the King in order to his return home, having been for some time very much indisposed in his health.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

381. PORTLAND TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693,] Aug. [17/]27. Camp de Limbeck. '... Les bleseures que jay receues sont si favorables que cela ne vaut pas la peine den parler, j'espere den estre quitte bien tost avec peu d'incomodité et quelque patience. Nous ne saurions asses louer Dieu d'avoir guaranti et sauvé le Roy dans une journee aussi sanglante, et ou il c'est si fort exposé: cela nous doit faire esperer que sa Majesté est reservée pour un sort plus heureux par la providence divine. Je ne say ce que pourra faire nostre flotte, je ne suis pas marinier, mais si elle rentre dans les ports devant celle des ennemis et que celle la puisse prendre la flotte des Indes qui rapporte l'argent, je say que les marchants coutent quelle vaut cent millions d'Hollande ou dix millions sterlinge, qui suffiroit au Roy de France pour continuer la guerre deux ans. Je vous assure que ce qui me donne plus de chagrin que mes playes, c'est que messieurs du conseil ont ordonné de prendre 22 chevaus au lieu de 11 du regiment des gardes, ce qui est le ruyner.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 24 Aug.*

382. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Aug. 18. Whitehall. With regard to the *Fortune*, 'Sir Charles Hedges had order'd the sale of the goods which would otherwise have perisht, but upon my letter has stopt the sale of it till all parties concern'd consent, which it is their interest to do, and will determine the point of jurisdiction when the persons think themselves provided for a hearing.

'The ship *Hope* for which the Duke of Holsteyn concern'd himself was discharg'd before your letter came.

'As to the other part of the Councill of Scotland's letter to the King, I have read it at the Committee to the Admiralty; who say there is no ground for

some part of the complaint, for they never heard of such a commission to privateers as is there sett forth; but the Admiralty is to give an answer in writing to all of it, which shall be communicated to the Scotch Secretary so that he may frame an answer from her Majesty upon the whole matter.

'The Lord Bellomont gave in to the Councill another paper of the matters with which he pretended to charge the Lord Chancellour and Lord Coningsby; upon which the Lord Coningsby pray'd the pardon might be stopt, being ready to answer any accusation any where; and her Majesty thereupon dismiss the severall petitions.

'The City came yesterday with an addresse to the Queen, as I told you was voted on Tuesday; 'tis printed and you shall have a copy. This and the progresse in the loan, which is very considerable, are such marks of their good temper and disposition notwithstanding their late misfortune, that I hope it may have good effect abroad as well as at home for their Majestys' service and the interest of the kingdom.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's letter; copy of City's address to the Queen.

1p. Letter Book III, p.222.

383. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. [21/]31, N.S. Camp at St. Quintin Linnick. I have received yours of the 15th. The King has no commands other than those contained in my letter to Mr Secretary Trenchard.

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 Aug.*

Enclosing:

383(1). 1693, Aug. 21/31. Camp at St. Quintin Linnick. 'On Saturday last our common soldiers that were prisoners with the enemy rejoyn'd the army, many of them being in a very naked condition. The French army march'd the same day from Nivelles to Soignies, whereupon part of our baggage and train of artillery march'd towards this place, and yesterday the whole army follow'd, being about three hours from Lembecq and the like distance from Brussels. As soon as we were march'd out of our camp, the enemy came to Tubise, Lembecq and the adjacent villages, which they plunder'd of all their cattle and what else was worth carrying away, as they did likewise the abby of Cambron.

'This morning wee took a cornet with about 40 unmounted troopers of the garrison of Mons in a wood very near our camp. His Majesty was within 200 paces of them when they were taken.

'On Fryday His Majesty in person presented the Duke of Wirtemberg to the regiment of Dutch foot guards, telling the officers, who were all call'd to the head of the regiment, that he could not make choice of a worthier subject to command the regiment, and directed them to have all due regard and respect for him. Then his Majesty put the pike into the Duke's hands, who thereupon exercis'd the regiment before his Majesty.'

1½pp. *Copy.*

384. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Aug. 22. Whitehall. Covering note for the enclosures.

Note of enclosures: Queen's letter; extract from letter from Methuen of 8 Aug., N.S.; extracts from letters from Stanhope of 5 and 12 Aug., N.S.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book III, p.223.

385. VISCOUNT DURSLEY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. 22/Sept. 1. Hague. Since I received your letter of the 4th 'there is not much news nor so good as your Lordship and I doe wish. Wee had great hopes of the taking of Pignerole ... but now that the fort of St. Brigide is taken, and notwithstanding what is written from Paris with very little loss of our side, wee are still debating whither Pignerole shall bee besieged at present or no, for the last letters from the Duke of Savoy's camp say that the opinion of the greatest part of the generall officers was that it should bee lett alone now, and some thought it was better to march to Monsieur Cattinat and endeavour to engage him before the detachments from Catalogna and Germany came to reinforce his army.

'The Imperialists before Belgrade find that the place is better fortify'd and that there is a much stronger garrison in it then was expected; however, there is great hopes of taking of it if no Turkish army come to releive it.'

It is generally concluded that Monsieur de Luxembourg has given over all thought of besieging Charleroy, 'which shoves a great weaknesse in his army, either occasioned by sicknesse or the late battle for there is no question but that siedege was designed.

'There has happen'd an unlucky accident which may cause some misunderstanding betwixt the States and the Bishop of Munster. Count Benthem is dead, and for his succession the States support his children who are Protestants and the Bishop a nephew of the late Count's who is a Papist.

'It would bee off very ill consequence to the allys if the French design of making a quarrell amongst the northern princes should take effect, to which end there has bin great sums of French money scatter'd, but wee are still in hopes of an accomodation of the matter, since as yet wee donnot heare of any act of hostility that the King of Denmark has committed against Ratzebourg.'

3pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 Aug.*

386. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [Aug. 24/] Sept. 3, N.S. St. Quintin Linnick. I have received your letter of the 18th. Having repeated to Mr Trenchard the King's orders concerning the fleet, I have nothing to add.

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 31 Aug.*

Enclosing:

386(1). 1693, [Aug. 24/] Sept. 3. Camp at St. Quintin Linnick. 'On Tuesday the Duke of Ormond came from Brussels to wait on his Majesty, by whom he was very kindly received. His Grace return'd back again in the morning, not being yet perfectly cured of his wounds.

'The Duke of Holstein Ploen is arrived at Brussels from Denmark, and tomorrow is expected in the camp to succeed the Prince of Waldeck in the command of the forces.

'Several deserters come in to us dayly, and many prisoners have been taken within these two or three days.

'The French army is stil at Soignies.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Copy.*

387. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, Aug. 24 (*received*).] 'As no man living retains a greater honour, or owes a stricter duty to your Lordship than my self, so none can be more concern'd to hear any calumny, that either by secret innuendo's or publick discourses reflect upon your Lordship's integrity; which I hope your honour beleives, and will therefore pardon this trouble.

'There are a sort of men that meete at Canning's Coffee House, which take a greate liberty in arraigning the public management. Nothing is more common with them than to say the Tirky fleete were bought and sold at Whitehall, nay are growne so impudent as to make rymes and leave them upon the coffee house table for every medler to view and descant upon. One (of more) repeated to me last night was: That the Tirky fleet was sold is true, and not a sham; you may finde it out by searching as farre as Nottingham. The author of the rymes was one Right in the same streete, and if Sir John Trenchard pleaseth to send for the coffee man and examine him, he can discover the whole knot of them, and produce the paper. I have told the whole story to Mr Keate, and if your Lordship pleases to give him credit with Mr Secretary (because he is a stranger to him) it wil be an additionall favour to' etc.

P.S. 'South is return'd to London. Good my Lord, think upon him.'

1p. *Holograph but unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 24 Aug. 1693.*

388. DR RICHARD KINGSTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[?1693, cAug. 24.] Asks urgently for an appointment, 'I having somthing of importance to communicate before your Honour writes into Holland'.

1p. *Holograph but unsigned. Seal of arms* ('the seale at this time is borrowed'). [Previously calendared in *Finch IV*, p.537.]

389. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Aug. 25. Whitehall. I have received yours of 14/24 and 17/27 August only yesterday, so the guarantee for you to forward to Lord Paget cannot be despatched till the next post.

'I wish wee could be as early in our own preparations as you say the French are who are beginning already to make them; but you know the difficulties we have to struggle with. It is a shame that the French should be supply'd every year in so vast a number from the countries of the allies, which a due care might easily prevent. But since the Jews are the factors in this case for France, and that they always corrispond with those of their own nation, if the Jews of Francfort, etc., were threatned with confiscation of their estates in case they or any of their tribe furnisht houses to the enemy, I believe it would in a great measure cure this evil.

'Severall merchants have been extreamly pressing for men to be sent to Barbados and the Leeward Islands, and I believe there is great reason for it; the late distemper and expedition against the French has destroy'd very many of the inhabitants to that degree that they are apprehensive of their own slaves as well as of the attempts of the enemy upon them; so that I believe there cannot be sent lesse than a regiment and 400 recruits for those regiments which are there, and the rather because I foresee there cannot be spared such number of ships to attend those places as will be a sufficient security for them. I mention this now because there must be time for the necessary preparations.

'My Lord Bellomont and Colonel Hamilton have presented another petition to the Queen in Councill setting forth that the order the Queen lately made being [*sic*] at their request and in order to their prosecution of the Lord Chancellor Porter and Lord Coningsby in Parliament, and therefore praying her Majesty to direct that they may have the inspection into all the books, etc., in Ireland and copies of what they think fitt for the better carrying their intended accusation ... You may easily believe there was nothing done upon it.

'My Lord Chancellor upon the news of the former petition and the prospect of the matter being heard at Councill wrote to me to know whether he might have leave to come over to vindicate himself. That reason is now at an end, but 'tis probable there may be occasion for his being here at the Parliament, whereof he is a member and will do his Majesty service in that station least otherwise he should be turn'd out of the House, which would not be very decent with respect to the post he holds in Ireland, or that this accusation should be so far prosecuted as that he should be sent to answer it as a criminall, which probably he might prevent by giving an account of his proceedings before things are carry'd to too great an height. There is some difficulty how to supply his place in his absence, from which it would be very

hard to remove him upon a supposition of a guilt; but if I am not much mistaken the Archbishop of Armagh has been in England while he was Chancellor in Ireland, and then the method is known and may be taken again if his Majesty will allow my Lord Chancellor Porter to come over.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King.

2pp. Letter Book III, pp.223–5.

390. LORD BERKELEY OF STRATTON TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. 26. Exeter. 'Knowing that I am suspected to have favoured a faction in the fleet jestingly called grums against the three admirals, nay to have headed it, this is to beg your Lordship if I should be accused in this matter not to believe it till I have the honour of waiting upon you where I may make my defence. Indeed the joynt admirals have not used me well, but God knows have little reason to suspect me for heading a faction against them, for, to tell your Lordship plainly my opinion, I think them not great enough for a party to me [*sic*] made against them. Till within this fortnight [*sic*] I never suffered a word to be spoke of them, and since have barely heard some people's complaints. As to the difference between them and me, I have writt to the Admiralty about it and referred it wholly to them, and if I be in the wrong in poynt of discipline I will be content to loose much more then my employment ...'

1½ pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 Aug.*

391. NOTTINGHAM TO LORD PAGET

1693, Aug. 29. Whitehall. I send you a commission under the signet empowering you to deliver to the Turks a guarantee of the peace or truce with the Emperor, if you succeed in your negotiation, but I am to say 'that your power is limited to a guarantee of the ratification of it by the Emperor, without engaging their Majestys in being responsible for the execution of it, which is too nice a point and might be of very dangerous consequence to the nation. For if the Turks should conceive the treaty to be any ways infringed by the Germans, they may be apt to require satisfaction of our merchants as the speediest and most certaine method to right themselves, and tho' this should not happen, yet it could not be justified to expose our merchants to so great a hazard, who, on the other side, might be unwilling to venture their fortunes on those terms; and then the loss would be certain, whatever the event might be, by discouraging that trade.'

¾ p. Letter Book II, p.224.

Enclosing:

391(1). 1693, Aug. 29. Kensington Palace. Commission for Lord Paget as above, in the names of the King and Queen.

2½ pp. *Latin.* Letter Book II, pp.222–4.

392. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Aug. 29. Whitehall. 'I have received yours of the 21/31 instant and now send you the instrument to authorize my Lord Ambassador Paget to give the guaranty which the King order'd, which with my letter you will please to forward if his Majesty approves thereof; and I must again remind you of what I wrote in mine of August 8th, for this is so tender a point that there cannot be too great caution taken in it; and if there should be occasion for my Lord to deliver such an act of guaranty, it is humbly submitted to his Majesty's consideration whether my Lord Pagett should not be warned not to exceed the limits prescrib'd by the Emperour least he should be tempted by the great advantage which will accrue to the allies by a peace to exceed his orders, and the Emperor thereupon scruple or delay a ratification and so expose the merchants to irreparable mischiefs. And therefore I think he should be directed not to deliver such a guaranty without there be a necessity for so doing so great as that without it the Turks will not either treat or conclude a peace, and then he may be the freer in transacting it.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's letter; powers to be sent to Lord Paget; Nottingham's letter to Paget.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book III, p.225.

393. SIR RALPH DELAVALL TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. 30. Portsmouth. 'I had owned the favour yow did me in your last long ere this, but that my arme continues so virry laime, and indeed it is with great difficulty I now write to your Lordship, but the obligation I have withnot lett me be longer silent ... Such is the staite or rather badd condition of the fleet in generall that unless there be a considerabl repaire given to them all, wee shall be but in an ill condition in the spring. And it is farther my opinion that there ought not to be one hour lost in going about this greet worke; and since your docks aire few, yow ought to mayke youse of the oppertunity which in all probability your enemy will give you this winter, nor can you resonably hope for so much time hereafter. This I say as a trew lover of the interest of my country, though it's possible I am not so carractered. I am farther to tell your Lordship that I virry well foresaw the mallis wee should be prosecuted with in our tayking this commission; and trewly it was much against my inclination. However, wee have acted with integrity to the King, and though things have not succeded so well as from my soule I could [have] wished, yett I doubt not but it will appear wee aire not so guilty as implacable mallis of som would have us; and as for that part of parting with the merchantmen, it was sore against my will, of which more when I have the honour of seing yow. And as to the meeting or forcing your enemy to fight, I looke upon it as morally impossible if hee will not tayke as much

paines to meet and fight us as wee do him; and I do believe hee will niver do that but when he has som apparant advantage. And such is the misfortune of a sea admirall, that hee must fight how disadvantageous so ever it be or appears to him, which I pray God may not prove fatall to England, especially when I consider the enemy wee have to do with; who is able to follow such a blow (which God prevent).

‘I must farther tell your Lordshipp that I thinke our caise is virry bad, since wee have more resons to suspect an injury from those who should support us than any other person. But of this when I have the happyness to see you, which I hope may be suddenly. For unless I have the oppertunity of going to the Bath, I shall loose my arme; which I pray at proper time you will do me the favour to move.’

P.S. ‘Wee have reports of greet alterations intended both at sea and court. For my owne part I can redelly submitt to anything that the King shall think fitt. Yet I must tell you that I am virry sorry to hear that any other person is named to fill up your Lordshipp’s plaice, and should be virry gladd to be convinsed that is not so by a line from your selfe.

‘The wether has bin, and does continue, so virry badd, ever since wee caime last to Torbay, that had wee bin at sea I fear severall of our shippes would [have] foundered and sunke. Therefor I againe pray your Lordshipp to move her Majesty that the fleet may be thurrowly repaired, that they may be able to ceep the sea when service shall require it, and indeed this worke has bin to long omitted.’

3pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 31 Aug.*

394. LORD CUTTS TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. 30. Newport, Isle of Wight. ‘Yesterday between twelve and one I arriv’d at Cows. The men of war that lay in that road did me the honour to salute me with their guns as I pass’d. At my landing I was receiv’d by Sir William Stephens the Deputy Governour attended by the gentlemen of the island and all the officers military and civill, the militia, and such of the standing troops as are quarter’d here, being under arms, and the great guns firing from the castle. When I arriv’d at Newport the Mayor and Aldermen met me at the town’s end in their formalitys, and made me their compliments upon my arrivall; after which they attended me to my lodging and offer’d me the freedom of their corporation, which I am to receive to-morrow. This ceremony ended, severall of the gentlemen of the island din’d with me, where their Majesty’s health was drank with volly’s of shot, ringing of bells, etc. I give your Lordship this account, because (as I told the corporation and gentlemen of the island, when they complimented me) I look upon it as their approving of their Majesty’s choise in sending me hither, and a marke of their loyalty.

'I endeavour'd to kiss your Lordship's hands when I came from London, but had the misfortune to miss you.'

4pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 1 Sept.*

395. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [Aug. 31/]Sept. 10, N.S. St Quintin Linnick. I have received your letters of the 22nd and 25th. 'His Majesty has not yet resolved any thing about sending the regiment of foot to the Charibby Islands, nor concerning my Lord Chancellor Porter's coming over. His Majesty was intending to order a convoy for his return into England, but the siege of Charleroy which is designed by the French will putt off that consideration for some time.'

P.S. 'His Majesty is pleased to order me to send your Lordship the enclosed letter from my Lord Dursley [missing] that the opinion of the Committee may be had thereupon.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham. Also on the back:* 'The Queen orders me to insert that Mr Blathwaitte has not in his last said anny thing of the King's pleasure (which he here mention [*sic*] of the last peticular): that letter she has kept and that before this burnt because there was nothing in it; and these three of news she bid me send you.' [Nottingham must have been in the country when Blathwayt's letter arrived at Whitehall (see no. 405 below), and it was presumably forwarded to him with this as a covering note.]

Enclosing:

395(1). 1693, [Aug. 28/]Sept. 7. Camp at St Quintin Linnick. 'The distribution of the winter quarters for the forces being made, and some of the relays that are to attend the King on the road to Loo gone that way, it is expected His Majesty will soon leave the camp. The Duke of Holstein Ploen came to the camp on Fryday, as my Lord Sidney did yesterday morning.

'The French have summon'd a great number of pioneers in the province of Haynaut and parts adjacent, which gives some thoughts of the design they may have against Charleroy.

'The French continue stil encamp't at Soignies.

'The Prince of Nassau Sarbrugh is gone from the camp upon the arrival of the Duke of Holstein Ploen, by reason of the competition.'

1p. *Copy.*

395(2). 1693, [Aug. 31/]Sept. 10, N.S. Camp at St Quintins Linnick. 'The French march't yesterday from their camp at Soignies to Estinnes near Mons. They have made their dispositions in order to the investing of Charleroy, and we now hourly expect to hear they have done it, which will keep his Majesty sometime longer in the field.

'The Duke of Holstein Ploen has agreed to raise a regiment of 1000 dragoons in his own country for the service of the States the next year and the Marquis de la Forest is to raise another regiment of dragoons for their service.

'His Majesty has been pleased to give the Lord Fitzharding's regiment of dragoons to the Earle of Essex.'

1p. *Copy.*

396. JOHN SHALES TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. 31. The enclosed 'states the case about tickets plainly and truly', and if the Council will cause all these women to be examined 'it will discover the whole affaire and mend it for the future. For as it is, the Commissioners of the Navy are become such advocates for the traders in tickets as gives suspicions on their sides, and their clerkes who have alone influenc'd and inspir'd the present clamours.'

1p. *Holograph.*

Enclosing:

396(1). In answer to the complaints of the Commissioners of the Navy occasioned by a direction from the Treasury for closing the books of ships paid in 1691 and before, and recalling those of ships paid this year by £2,000 a week, paying first the widows and orphans, next the masters and dames of servants, and lastly the attorneys in general:

1. The books of all ships paid in 1691 and before have been already recalled, and money paid on each book, as appears by a list from the Navy Board, and it is but reasonable that the ships last paid should be recalled too.

2. The claims upon ships' books paid in 1691 are no farther off for the books being closed, this being for the sake only of passing the Treasurer of the Navy's accounts; for when the Commissioners of the Treasury shall be enabled to give money for farther payments upon those books, such payments may be brought into a list of arrears as has ever been used in the Navy.

3. In the Commissioners of the Navy's return of ships recalled, and money paid thereon since Midsummer 1691, they have certified some of the said ships' books to be closed, upon which there remain claims to several, who are not in any worse condition on that account.

4. 'It would be a great hardship upon the widdowes, orphans, etc., of persons who actually serv'd in ships paid this yeare, to be made to stay for their money untill the ships' bookes of the former yeares' payment should have a second, third or fourth recalling.'

5. When money is not to be had to pay off all claims presently, the best that can be done is to satisfy out of what is to be had : 1st, the men who appear and actually served; 2ndly, their widows, orphans and other administrators; 3rdly, the masters and dames of servants; 4thly, attorneys, vizt. 1st, creditors for provisions and necessaries, 2ndly, buyers of tickets.

'The tickett buyers ought to be the last paid, for they buy noe ticketts under 6s. in the pound loss to the seamen, and some have taken 7s. and 8s. in the pound, and soe may stay for their money and yet be gainers if paid three yeares hence.

'6thly. To prevent the clamour of the Wapping solicitrrix's, and to know the truth of their claymes how they arise, and who has set them to worke, it may be a fit expedient to appoint three qualified persons to examine them one by one upon such interrogatory's as shall conduce to a full discovery of the reasonableness of their present addresses.

'This may shew how ungrounded the complaints are, and how unlike this proceeding is to praejudice their Majesties' service; it does only give some checque to the traders in ticketts, and noe body else has the least colour of reason to

complaine, but on the contrary to be thankfull. Nor does the Commissioners of the Navy use to be soe zealous for such traders as they have lately been observ'd to bee, by making soe many dismall consequences of their being last consider'd.

'I can have noe other end but doing my duty faithfully and plainly with the best of my judgement, notwithstanding the opposition and enmity's I must encounter while I doe soe.'

1½ pp. *Copy, initialled by James Sotherne.*

397. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Sept. 1. Whitehall. I have received yours of the 3rd N.S. The Queen yesterday ordered a proclamation of her intentions to prorogue the Parliament from 19 Sept. to 3 Oct., and it is 'the opinion of the committee that if it could possibly consist with his Majesty's affairs abroad to returne into England speedily so as that he may have time to ripen and prepare matters against that day, the Parliament should not be further put off but sitt to do businesse. The reasons are so obvious both in respect of the present carrying on of his service, the Treasury growing very low, and also in order to the making of timely precautions against the next year, that I need not enlarge upon this subject, but pray you to remind his Majesty of it that his pleasure may be known speedily, because another proclamation is necessary to signify to the members that their presence is then expected, and this must be issued so early as that they may have time to prepare for their journey and come to towne.'

Notes of enclosures: Queen's letter; copy of address from the Assembly of Jamaica.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book III, p.226.

398. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR RALPH DELAVALL

1693, September 1. Whitehall. I have received yours of 30 August and shall be very glad to be informed of the matters you mention when I see you. This is not likely to be very soon, for though the season of the year and the great want of repairs may require the great ships to be called in speedily, the rest will probably be kept abroad for the public service, and they together with the Dutch will make so considerable a fleet that it will be thought proper for the admirals to remain at the head of it. But I am very sorry that this is likely to prove so inconvenient to you as to endanger your arm.

I have as much experience of the malice of the town as yourself and your brethren, but innocence is so good a security against all the effects of it except the clamour that we must and may very well have patience. Rumour has made a great many places vacant, and among the rest mine, but I do not believe they have any ground for such reports more than the contrivance of

some men and the wishes of others. Nor do I concern myself to enquire, for as I came into my post by his Majesty's command, so I shall readily quit it when it is for his service that I should do so, and in the meantime shall discharge my duty as becomes a faithful servant. Thank you for the concern you express for me.

1p. *Holograph copy (many abbreviations).*

399. GILBERT DOLBEN TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693.] Sept. 3. Thingdon. 'Having a few days since received some information of a matter which concerns your Lordship, I take the confidence to lay it before you ...

'On Wednesday last I waited on my Lord of Mountague at Boughton, four miles from this place. There I found Mr Hampden the younger with whom I have been for some years well acquainted. He told me, had I come two days sooner, I should have seen much company there, and nam'd Lords Marlborough and Godolphin, Mr Russell and Mr Felton; that they came from Allthorp (my Lord Sunderland's) on Saturday night, and left Boughton on Munday afternoon to go to Mr Wharton's in Buckinghamshire. This gave me curiosity to ask whether it were a progress of diversion or of buisness? He said, of extraordinary buisness. That a scheme was form'd at Allthorp of severall considerable alterations in the ministry, but the principal and most immediate endeavor was to remove your Lordship and place Lord Sunderland in your station, who (said Hampden) is infinitely desirous of the preferment and has gain'd many sollicitors (particularly the house of Bedford) by professing himselfe to be a very good Whig, to which party his courtship is so universal and incessant that he leaves not the most minute member of either house unapply'd to, whose inclinations bend that way, and whom he can possibly reach by himselfe or his agents. That the visit to Boughton was to work upon Lord Mountague, and that the finishing stroke will be at the Comptroller's, where the final measures in order to the effecting this grand design will be concluded and establish'd. Much more to the same purpose fell from this gentleman, wherewith I dare not presume upon your Lordship's patience; I confess I am in doubt whether every particular he says may be rely'd on as a true report, probably your Lordship may know the carактер of the man, his violence in discourse, and his proneness to affirm at random. My distrust of him prompted me to get what I could out of Lord Mountague, who told me very frankly that the buisness of this itinerant cabal was to contrive in favor of Lord Sunderland. Some of them shew'd great zeal and promis'd to themselves success, others, particularly Lord Godolphin, were cold in the matter, and if I would know his own opinion, 'twas in plain terms, that Lord Sunderland deserv'd rather to be impeach'd than to be preferr'd. I

fear the frivolousness of this accompt may tempt your Lordship to condemn the liberty I assume in troubling you with it. The faithfullness of my respects to your Lordship is the only motive which putts me upon it and my only excuse for doing it. Your Lordship's eminent affection to the Church of England makes the services of all its true members to be your due ...'

2½ pp. *Holograph.*

400. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. [4/] 14, N.S. St. Quintin Linnick. I have received your letter of 29 Aug. with the letter and instrument for Lord Pagett, which will be despatched with those from the States to Monsieur Heemskerck.

His Majesty thinks the proper day for the sitting of the Parliament may be 19 or 20 Oct., O.S., and accordingly directs that time to be appointed, if the Queen or the Committee have nothing against it.

P.S. 'The enclosed paper [the following item] is worthy your Lordship's perusal.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 9 Sept.*

Enclosing:

400(1). 1693, Aug. [20/] 30. Rochefort. 'Monsieur mon cousin, je suis arrivé dans cette rade dans le navire de Monsieur de St. Marcq Colbert depuis 4 jours pour conduire 4 navire suédois et un danois que nous avons pris proche de Malgue qui avoit chargé à Genne et Livorne diverse chose de marchandize du Levant qu'ils disent appartenir à leurs bourgeois. Se sont navire de 24 jusque à 36 canons. Nous les avons toujours conduits en cette rade attendant les ordres de la cour si seront libre ou non et ordre aussi sur nostre destinée si nous desarmerons. Nous avons aussi amené un navire anglois de 26 canons pris sous la forteresse de Malgue avecq nos chaloupe qui nous a tué ou blessé plus de 80 homme avant de se rendre. Il est chargé d'huiles. Nous nous sommes séparé de Monsieur de Tourville à la hauteur de Malgue y a 36 jours qui joint avecq Monsieur le comte Destré faisoit la route de Barcelonne pour la siegée par mer pendant que Monsieur le Duc de Noaille la siegera par terre et nous ne faisons pas d'estat que nostre flottée retourne que vers la fin de novembre que lon sora [saura] les Anglois en leurs ports desarmés; faut bien que nostre flottée aille prendre des vivres à Toulon car il commandoit dans manquer quand nous les avons lessés. Je ne puis comprendre la manœuvre qu'a fait Roocke, car il est venu sur nous vant arriere à la coste de Portugal comme si heu heu 200 navires de ligne et la mesintelligence entre nos généraux est cause que les navires sauez nont pas esté pris, car il estoit mêlé parmi nous. Ceux de Gibraltar [sic] se sont aussi bien mal défendu car si avoit heu du courage il auroit fait pery tous les gens de nos galiottes et chaloupe qui les attaquèrent, mais la consternation estoit si grande partout qu'il ne sçavoit ce qu'il faisoit. Dabord que Roocke parut avecq sa contenance nous crumes que c'estoit toute vostre armée navale qui a manqué son coup, car si elle feut venue avecq les autres elle nous auroit détruit par le mauvais estat où nous estions et la moitié de nos équipages malade par les meschantes vitailles et mauvais pain que nous avions. Une escadre de 20 navires de guerre à prezant aura bon marché de tout le nesgosse du Ponant. Nous avons grande crainte d'en rencontrer sur nostre route. C'est pourquoy nous avons fait

routte toujours plus sur la coste d'Espagne que sur celle de France. Despuis nostre arrivée icy je me suis fort informé de vostre armée de mer mais personne na peu man rien dire, on diroit quelle a fondu. Que fait elle dont depuis 3 mois qu'elle est prette et en mer, à quoy cest elle apliquée, car on ne comprend du tout rien en un samblable procedé apres de sy grande despance que des gasconnades de dessantes que jay toujours regardée avec pitié, car 20 à 30 gros navire de guerre a croiser continuellement a la hauteur de Belille nous auteroit toute communication de cette ville et prandroit tous les jours des navires pour payé la despance de vostre armement soit de guerre et autre. Il nous couste pas 10 navire de guerre en cette mer, en voilla deux pret a partir pour les illes St. Dominge, et ont parle de 3 autre pour partir apres la vandange, car nous nan avons plus que 3 aux illes dont nous navons nulle nouvelle depuis 4 mois quy en chassere les Anglois. Un Anglois sorty de Bristock quy aloit à la Virginne pris par un navire venant de St. Domingue nous asur que 2 jours avant son depart Roocke estoit arrivé a Kinsel avec 15 navire de guerre et 40 navire marchant sauvez de la flotte de Smirne et na scu nous dire le reste. Cest une belle flutte de 250 thonnes et est contre. Le mesme navire a pris un autre petit vesseau anglois quy alloit a Boston et un venant de la Virginne chargez de toubacq, quy la ransonné et tiend les mestre prizonniers a son bord. Nous navons plus de troupe depuis Nantes jusque a Bourdeaux a ce que jay apris a mon arrivée icy et quelle marchoit toute en Piemont dont ont a heu la nouvelle de la prize du fort de Ste. Brigatte et quond assiegeoit Pignerol dans les formes ou larmée du Duc de Scavoy pouroy bien seschouer par les grand secours quond envoy de tous costez a Monsieur de Catinat auquel on ne donne que 10 mille homme a prezant de son corps darmée à Fenestrelle où ils sest mis à couvert a 6 lieux de celle du Duc de Scavoy quy se risque partout dans les place avec les Prin[c]es Ugennes [Eugene] et de Commerse. Il ont perdu de braves gans devant cette petite place. Les Vaudois sy sont battus en enragé contre les Suisses quy avoit sorty de Pignerol pour secoury la place. Un amy me donna hier à diné ou nous bume vostre santé et me fit voir la liste de tous les genereaux officiers genereau et autre des morts et blessé du dernier combat de Flandres de nostre costé; cest une choze de douleur avoir tant de honeste gans et de qualitté morts dont le nombre passe 1200. Jamais bataille na tant couté a la France que celle la. On assure que le Roy en a une douleur extreme car un autre samblable nous dezoleroit et cest ce quy a obligé sa Majesté de deffandre à Monsieur le Dauffin dattaquer le Prince de Badde en ces retranchemans. Il y a aussy de mouillé contre nous un navire quy vient de la Cadix quy y avoit porté des munitions et provitions pour le Roy quy dit que tout est en bon estat. Vous auray bien seu que deux navire englay ont esté a Gorrar et Senegal ou il ont enlevé tous les effets de la compagnie quil ont trouvé dans les magazins ... Il a esté aussy mené en la riviere de Nante une prize de 250 thonnes chargée dhuille dolif. Un cossaire de St. Mallo de 40 cannon avoit pris un anglois sortant de la Jamayque avec 400 boucaud de sucre rafinez que 2 navires englois de 60 cannons luy ont osté et ses sauvé par sa voille dans la riviere de Nantes ayant esté poursuiivy jusque dans lille Dieu. Sy nos navires mette en mer pour aller a Brest je vous escriray dudit lieu systost mon arrivée. A deffaut sy je reste icy je continueray de temps a autre. Je mestonne comme 5 a 6 de vos frigatte ne vont pas vers Bilbaud chercher les coursaire de Bayonne et St. Jean de Leux quy sont immanable à destruire sy lon sen vouloit donné la peine mais tout est traison depuis la teste jusque au pied.'

3½ pp.

400(2). 1693, Sept [4/14], N.S. Camp at St. Quintin Linnick. 'The French have now invaded Charleroy, and 'tis not doubted but they intend to besiege it. They were to break ground to day, and they have already begun to raise their batteries.

'It was given out in orders on Saturday night to the army, to obey the Duke of Holstein Ploen in the same manner as they did the late Prince Waldeck.

'The differences between the King of Denmark and the house of Lunenburg about the fortifications of Ratzburg are in a fair way of accommodation, whereupon the Danish forces will withdraw out of the country of Saxe Lowenburgh.

'Sir William Colt, his Majesty's envoy extraordinary to the house of Lunenburg and Elector of Saxony, is lately dead at Heilbron of the flux contracted in the Imperial camp.

'We had advice last night that the recruits from England were come safe to Willemstadt.

'The great rains and cold weather we have had these two or three days is very inconvenient to the army.

'The Comte de Reusch, who was attending his Majesty the whole campagne as envoy extraordinary from the Elector of Saxony, has this day had his audience of congé.'

1½ pp. *Copy.*

401. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. 7/17. St. Quintin Linnick. I have laid your letter of the 1st inst. before the King, who took particular notice of the opinion of the Committee relating to his speedy return and meeting of the Parliament, but does not now think it possible, 'with respect to the state of affairs in these parts', to return in time for a sitting on 3 October as desired by the Committee, or on the 19th or 20th as in my last.

He is well pleased to find the Assembly of Jamaica, by their address, 'so sensible of the care their Majesties had taken in settling the government to their satisfaction'.

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 16 Sept.*

Enclosing:

401(1). 1693, Sept. [7/] 17, N.S. Camp at St. Quintin Linnick. 'His Majesty has held a great council of warr where it has been agreed that considering the French have possess'd themselves of all the avenues to Charleroy, and taken all the strongest posts about the town, it may be most adviseable to make a diversion into Flanders: and accordingly this morning a great detachment of the army, consisting of 30 battalions and 40 squadrons, most of the English and Scotch foot and of the Spanish and Hanover horse, march'd that way. The Elector of Bavaria commands in chief, and under him the Duke of Wirtemberg and Lieutenant Generall Talmash. The English train marches likewise with this detachment, which will be strengthned by such artillery from Sas van Ghent by water as may be wanting for the intended enterprises, which are like to be the forcing of the lines and possessing ourselves of Furnes and Dixmude as necessary to secure Newport and Ostend.

'The French having finish't their batteries before Charleroy have begun to attack the town.'

1p. *Copy.*

402. LORD CUTTS TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. 8. Newport, Isle of Wight. '... As I gave your Lordship an account of my landing here, so I think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship with the hearty expressions I have met with since: and the more because I promis'd severall of the principall persons in the island, as well as the corporations, that their Majestys should not be unacquainted with those markes of duty and loyalty which they show them.

'I have spent most of my time since my arrivall in viewing the forts and severall other parts of the island, and in receiving the compliments as well of the respective corporations as of particular persons of all sorts. On Saturday the 2nd instant I went to Yarmouth, where I was met at the town's end by the commander of the fort and the Mayor and Aldermen in their formalities; the guns firing from the castle, and the garrison being at their arms. After having view'd the place I was entertain'd very handsomely by the corporation, and after dinner receiv'd the compliment of being made a burgesse of the same. On Tuesday the 5th I din'd with the Mayor and corporation of Newport, who gave me a very splendid entertainment; there were also invited my Lord Paston (eldest son to the Earl of Yarmouth) and all such gentlemen and officers as had accompany'd me into the island. Yesterday I was to view Sandown fort, where I was receiv'd with the usuall ceremonys. I have met with so hearty a reception from all sorts of people, as shows this island in generall to be very loyall and well-affected to their present Majestys. Tomorrow I shall view Cows castle; and when the harvest is ended I design to make an exact review of all the militia of the island, and to settle the commissions.'

'P.S. The Mayor of Newtown has been to compliment me from that corporation.'

4pp. *Holograph.*

403. THE BAILIFF AND JURATS OF GUERNSEY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. 9. Guernezey. We received on 6 Sept. your letter of 12 Aug. informing us that the registration of Mr Hely's order against our privileges has been suspended so that we may be heard. The States of this island are to meet next Saturday to choose the persons who are to uphold our privileges before the King and his Council, that they may be in England if possible next month.

We thank you for your protection and beg you to continue it.

1p. *French. Signed (6 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 18 Sept.*

404. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. 11/21. Ninove. No letters having come from England since those of the 1st, I have only to let you know that his Majesty gives leave to Sir Charles Porter to come into England, provided his absence from Ireland is not prejudicial to his Majesty's service.

P.S. I send you a copy of what the Elector of Bavaria received last from Charleroy.

1p. *Holograph.*

Enclosing:

404(1). Castillo to the Elector of Bavaria. 1693, Sept. [6/]16. 7 p.m. Charleroy. 'Les ennemis se sont avancez cette nuit avec un grand corps d'infanterie et ont attaqué ceux qui se trouvoient dans la Garenne qui ont quitté ce poste apres avoir perdu quelques gens, entre lesquels il y a un capitaine de regiment de Potbosch qui ne paroît pas, de sorte qu'on ne sçait s'il est tué ou pris prisonnier. Apres celà ils ont commencé à ouvrir les tranchées, et comme le terrain leur est favorable, ils les ont avancées du costé de la porte de Brusselles jusques à 150 pas du chemin couvert du bastion detaché de cette porte, et du costé de la porte d'Orme jusques à près de 200 pas du chemin couvert du bastion detaché de la porte de Tatarde. On a fait une sortie avec 200 fantassins et quatre capitaines dont l'un estoit Espagnol avec 150 de la même nation et le reste des allies, outre un lieutenant de dragons avec tous les dragons qui sont montez, tous sous l'ordre du lieutenant colonel du Colonel Deder.

'On a attaqué ceux qui se trouvoient dans les tranchées et on en a fait des prisonniers et entre autres un colonel d'infanterie appellé Monsieur de Cruy, lequel nous a dit que nous serons attaquez avec 70 pieces de batterie and 30 mortiers dont deux a 700 livres, et qu'on a fait provision de mille bombes pour brûler les magazins. Nous autres n'avons point fait de perte sinon de deux ou trois hommes. Dieu merci tout se dispose le mieux du monde et tous paroissent de bon courage et dans une grande union. Ce matin il est entré en cette place le Lieutenant Colonel de Finston, lequel est le seul qui y est entré depuis que les ennemis ont paru. Les quartiers qu'ils ont sont peu forts.'

1½ pp. *French. Copy.*

404(2). 1693, Sept. [11/]21, N.S. Camp at Ninove. 'His Majesty came with the army to this place last night where we find great plenty of forrage.

'The great detachment under the command of the Elector of Bavaria advanc'd as farr as Gavre, but finding the ways in Flanders unpassable by reason of the late rains, and that the country near Furness and Dixmude is all under water, it has been thought fit that that detachment do rejoin the main army, to which purpose intervals are left in our camp.

'The French opened the trenches before Charleroy on the 16th instant and have made several attacks wherein they have been repulsed; and a sally has been made from the town with good success, the French having lost a great many men in it without doing yet anything considerable against the town, but as the besieged are not to expect any relief, we cannot hope that they will hold out long.'

1p. *Copy.*

405. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Sept. 15. Whitehall. 'I have been in the country these ten days last past by the Queen's leave ... and coming home but last night I have but little to trouble you with ... I cannot yet give you an account of what my Lord Durseley writes about the Portugall ships more than that upon perusal of the list I believe the envoyés here have made heretofore demands of them, to some of which an answer has been return'd and as to the others they have had satisfaction by restoring them; but I suppose the Portugall envoyé in Holland may expect an answer in forme to the whole number reclaimed in like manner as the Swedes have had, which shall be prepared as soon as may be. But I believe it will not be so proper to be given to the envoyé in Holland as to this who resides here and then it will not be requisite to take notice in such answer of more ships than are now in dispute and reclaim'd by the envoyé here. But if the King will have it otherwise he shall be obey'd.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book III, pp. 226–7.

406. LORD CUTTS TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. 18. Newport, Isle of Wight. 'The Church of England clergy of this island having all of them (excepting one or 2 that were sick) been together in a body to assure me of their dutyfull inclinations to their Majesty's and government, I promis'd them the court should be acquainted with it; and have order'd my secretary to write Mr Yard a copy of their speech, with such an answer as I thought most to their Majesty's service to make them ...'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 20 Sept.*

407. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. 19. Admiralty Office. We enclose a copy of a letter from Captain Desbrough, whom we have appointed to command a prize ship some time since brought in to Ireland by their Majesties' ship *Dover*, informing us that the Commissioners for Prizes have given orders for the sale of the prize ship.

1p. *Signed (5 signatures).*

Enclosing:

407(1). Captain Desbrough to the Secretary of the Admiralty. 1693, Sept. 1. Kinsale. 'This day is come orders to Captain James Waller, agent for prizes here, to expose by inch of candle the *Dover* prize for which I have a commission from ... the Lords of the Admiralty.' The day of the sale will be 15 September. I have had no directions in the matter and await instructions from their Lordships.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

408. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Sept. 19. Whitehall. I have received yours of 7/17 and 11/21 September. 'The Parliament was prorogued to day to the 3rd of October and will be further prorogued as his Majesty directs ... and I hope nothing will happen to prevent the King's coming over so long before the day he has appointed as may be necessary to ripen and prepare matters against the session, for otherwise you know the inconveniencies will be very great, and it will be as great or greater inconvenience in some other respects to prorogue it to a longer time or to adjourn it from the day fixt to another.

'The Committee does not apprehend any inconvenience in permitting my Lord Chancellor Porter to come over', rather the contrary, but I am commanded to write to the Lords Justices to know whether they have any objections.

Note of enclosure: Queen's letter.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book III, p.227.

409. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR CHARLES PORTER, LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND

1693, Sept. 19. Whitehall. 'The King is willing to permit your Lordship to come into England if your absence from Ireland will be no prejudice to his service there, and tho' the Queen and the committee do not apprehend that it can be any, and that t'will be for their Majesties' service here as well as your owne advantage, yet the Queen thought it most proper to know the Lords Justices' opinion of it before shee sent any orders for your coming hither, and I have writ accordingly to them this night, and desired their speedy answer, so that your Lordship must informe them of the proper method of doing it, and of executing your place during your absence.

'I have writ the enclosed to Mr Duncombe to assist you in it.'

1p. *Holograph copy.* (For Porter's letter of 30 Aug. to which this is in answer see *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, p. 295, and for Nottingham's letter to the Lords Justices see *ibid.*, p. 332.)

Enclosing:

409(1). Nottingham to William Duncombe, Lord Justice of Ireland. 1693, Sept. 19. Whitehall. I have received yours of the 9th and have written to the Lords Justices. The Lord Chancellor desires to come into England, 'and indeed the malice of his enemies makes it very expedient, if not necessary, for him so to do, and it may be usefull to the King's affairs too, for tho' the clamour may be upon him yet in consequence it will prejudice the King and will be an imediate obstruction to his business if not prevented by such an account of his proceedings as may be satisfactory to the House of Commons, as I hope and believe he will be able to do. I must pray your Lordship therefore to make this matter easy to him, and to give such dispatch to what I have writ to the Lords Justices about it as that he may be here as speedily as is possible.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Copy.*

410. JAMES CRESSET TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. [19/] 29. The Hague. ‘... It was a mortification to me to come out of England without kissing those handes from which (I very well know) I receive the honour of being employ’d in his Majesty’s service ... I shall labour not to disgrace your Lordship’s recommendation ... Mr Blathwayt has order’d me to wait on the King at Loo this next Thursday, and (probably) I may goe on from thence towards Germany ...’

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Oct.*

411. EDWARD HARRIS TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. [c19]. Jersey. ‘I am sorry that I should att any tyme have an occasion to give your Lordship the least trouble, and now quite contrary to my enclenation and temper I am obblidged to doe it, by the opposetion I have mett withall conserning the executing a sentance of a court martiall which I caused to be sommoned by the consent and approbation (of Lieutenant Colonel Johnson) for the punishment of some souldiers (under his command) for breaking into their Majesties’ stores of provetions and taking from thence som quantetyes of cheese. Some of them being found out, I thought my selfe obblidged to caule a court martiall for their punishment, as I am impowred so to to [*sic*] doe by his Majesties order to me. To that end, I desired the lieutenant colonel to be present att it, but he plainly tould me that noe lieutenant governor in Christendome should obblidge him to sett with his lieutenants and ensigns, yett to avoide disputes, and that the men might not lye long under confinement (with his owne approbation) I summoned those officers (he refeused to sett withall) in order to trye the offenders. Accordingly the court sate, and after examination, and debate of the whole matter, the sentance was concluded on, and passed, and ordered to be put in execution, notwithstanding which after he had bin acquainted with it, without ever taking notice to me of his excepting against the proseedings of the court, att the tyme that the sentance was to be executed he came to the head of the battallion and put a stope to what had bin ordered, and obblidged the officers (contrary to their sentance in the court martiall) to have the execution performed his owne way. My Lord, this is the reall truth of what has bin acted here in this matter.

‘I humbly address this therefore to know whither such arbitary [*sic*] wayes of proceedings in contempt of court martialls, and in defiance of goverment, telling me (when I asked what he ment by it) to complayne, that he would justefye what he had don. Indeed (my Lord) this matter touching soe neerly att my powre, I hope I cannot be blamed in representing the thing as really it is, to prevent malitious reports, and humbly to beg their Majesties’

countenance and protection against such violances, hoping that I have not bin faulty in only indeavoring to have offenders punished, as by his Majesties' orders I am required to doe ...'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 29 Sept.*

Enclosing:

411(1). Harris to Nottingham. [1693, Sept.] 'It is humbly offered to your Lordship's consideration that some speedy expediant may be found out to bring our present disorders into a more easy method of government then at present it is, or can possibly be, whilst wee lye under our present sercumstances. For formerly these poore islands had independant companies for their security, when the poore inhabitants, and indeed all in genrall, [enjoyed] a most serene quiate, and afterwards, when there was occasion for more assistance, it was thought for his Majesties service to send hither detached companies out of severall regiments. And indeed these methods were taken to prevent the heats and disputes might happen between lieutenant governors and feilde officers, who generally think it a little too much that any lieutenant governors should have any thing to doe with their souldiers aither in punishing of them or any thing els, tho impowred soe to do by his Majesties order to them for caulng court martialls, and to inflict punishments, according to the rules and discipline of warr. There is an other great inconveaney, for besides the expence their Majesties are att in transporting regiments to these islands, because when any on[e] regiment is continued long long [*sic*] in on[e] quarter, the sergeants and corporalls commonly make intemate acquaintance, and gett wives, which feorses them to keepe ale houses (for their better mentainance) quite contrary to their Majesties orders in that case. Private souldiers (by example) often doe the like, which doe but make receptacles for stolen goods, and all in genrall grow into factions and disorders by long ease and quiate, soe that to prevent the like disquiates for the future, tis humbly offer'd (that if possable) things might be brought into our old methods, or that one[e] regiment might not continue long amongst us all will ever be bound to pray. This being only a private entemation for your Lordship's vew, tis earnestly requested that it may not be made publique, or from whence it comes.'

1½ pp. *Holograph but unsigned.*

412. THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. 20. Admiralty Office. We have considered the copy of the letter from the Council of Scotland enclosed in your letter of 16 August concerning the ship *Fortune* of Flensburgh, and enclose a copy of the report on the matter by the Judge of the Admiralty of which we sent you a copy in our letter of 13 July. We have nothing further to add.

1p. *Signed (5 signatures). Endorsed by Nottingham as received 21 Sept.*

Enclosing:

412(1). Another copy of no. 326(1).

1½ pp. *Copy (signed by James Sotherne).*

413. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. 21/Oct. 1. Loo. 'His Majesty has been made acquainted with what your Lordship writes about the Portugall ships but is nevertheless willing that my Lord Dursley be enabled to return a full answer to the envoy in Holland who presses for it very much and seems to deserve that satisfaction.

'I have by this post writt to Mr Clark by his Majesty's command to take care for the laying of guards both upon the Harwich and the Margett road to attend the King upon his landing.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Oct.*

Enclosing:

413(1): 1693, Sept. 21/Oct. 1. Loo. 'His Majesty arrived on Tuesday night at this place where his stay will be short, the convoy being expected in few days.

'Wee have yet no news of the surrender of Charleroy, but it is not possible the place should make any long resistance.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

414. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Sept. 22. Whitehall. Enclosing papers for Mr Stroude, Lieutenant in the Guards, about succeeding Captain Eaton.

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to King; Mr Stroude's case.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book III, p.228.

415. NOTTINGHAM TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

1693, Sept. 22. Whitehall. I send the enclosed paper by the Queen's command, that you and Mr Solicitor may consider what can be done by law for prohibiting the exportation of corn; and if it cannot be wholly forbidden, how it may be restrained as much as possible. Her Majesty would also have you consider whether the form of the bonds given in this case at the Custom House cannot be altered 'so as to put the partys to more difficultys and trouble in the exportation of corne in case it cannot be wholly forbidden, that so they may be discouraged from it by all the means that the law will allow.'

Note of enclosure: report from the Commissioners of the Customs.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.115.

416. NOTTINGHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE CUSTOMS

1693, Sept. 22. Whitehall. You are to send the Attorney General copies of the bonds taken at the Custom House 'for preventing the carrying any merchandize to France or any ports but those of her Majesty's allys'.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.115. (Calendared in *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1693*, p.337.)

417. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE

1693, Sept. 22. Whitehall. 'There is so great a scarcity of all sorts of corne in France, and the consequences of it would be so very prejudiciall to France if any means could be used to prevent the carrying of it thither, especially from her Majesty's dominions, from whence it may more easily be transported unless some extraordinary care be taken to hinder so great a mischief: her Majesty therefore has given the strictest orders possible, both here and in Ireland, to stop the exportation of it, and has commanded me to acquaint you that she would have you prepare a letter to the Council of Scotland in the most pressing terms, recommending to them to take all such methods as are agreeable to the laws and may be most effectuell for this purpose, and give her Majesty an account of their proceedings herein.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book IV, pp.115–16.

418. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [Sept. 25/] Oct. 5, N.S. Loo. Upon learning from your letter of the 19th that directions would soon be given for the meeting of the Parliament at the time appointed by his Majesty, he does not think fit to order any alteration.

P.S. I send you a copy of my former letter concerning Major Fitzharris, who will furnish you with O'Donnel's proposal mentioned in it.

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Oct.*

Enclosing:

418(1). Blathwayt to Nottingham. 1693, [June 29/] July 9. Parck. I send you by his Majesty's command a memorial of Balderrick O'Donnel which contains a proposal for establishing two Irish regiments of foot in the Spanish service, one in Milan, the other in Spain for the fleet. Upon the application of one Major Fitzharris, who is to solicit this affair at Madrid, you are to give him a letter of recommendation to Mr Stanhop, 'and send instructions to him for his countenancing, in that court, this proposall, and using upon occasion the King's name for the settling the regiments and encouraging by it, and other means which shall be found proper, the desertion of the Irish either in Catalonia, Savoy or Germany, as a very good service to the Crown of Spain and the allies.'

1p. *Copy.*

418(2). 1693, [Sept. 25/] Oct. 5, N.S. Loo. 'Several expresses have been sent from the camp to his Majesty, who all agree that Charleroy holds out stil and is like to do so for some days longer; and my Lord Galway arrived here yesterday to give his Majesty an account of the state of the army, and is returned this afternoon.

'His Majesty has appointed Mr Cresset to succeed Sir William Colt as envoy extraordinary to the courts of Lunenburg, who having upon his arrival here kiss'd the King's hand for that employment, left this place on Saturday last in order to his going thither, and is to call at Hambourg in his way.

'By letters from my Lord Lexington there appears great hopes of an

accommodation of the differences between the King of Denmark and the house of Lunenburg relating to the fortifications of Ratzburg, which those princes now offer to demolish.

'Captain Nevil with the *Breda*, *Dreadnought* and other vessels under his command is come into the Texel, where he has joyned the Dutch ships that are to make up the squadron for the Sound if it be found necessary.

'His Majesty will be going from hence the latter end of this week for the Hague, and from thence to England as soon as the convoy shall arrive.'

1½ pp. *Copy*.

419. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Sept. 26. Whitehall. Enclosing extracts of letters from Stanhope and Methuen. 'Mr Stanhope writes also that he had not order'd Captain Littleton at Cadiz to go out and cruise so as to meet the Spanish gallions to prevent their falling into the French hands as I formerly told you he was directed; the reason he gives for not doing it is that upon discourse with Monsieur Schoneberg he finds the Spaniards would not like it but suspect some design of defrauding the King of Spayn by meeting the gallions before they came into port. But the Queen has commanded me to repeat the orders, which I have done; but that he should send out that ship with such secret orders as that the Spaniards may have no occasion of jealousy and to charge the captain strictly not to receive any silver or other thing whatsoever out of them, that there may be no reason for Spayn to complain but rather to be pleased with the care that is taken of their concerns.

'I have also by the Queene's command given Mr Stanhope an account of the squadron designed for Cadiz, etc., that he might impart it to the ministers there and to presse them to joyn their fleet with ours that we may the better oppose the French and be able to attempt something considerable against them.

'The Queen has been a little indisposed to day with a cold, but I hope 'tis nothing that will in the least be dangerous or of any continuance.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's letter; extract from Methuen's letter of 5 Sept. and Stanhope's of 9 and 16 Sept., N.S.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Letter Book III, pp. 228–9.

420. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [Sept. 28/] Oct. 8, N.S. Loo. As I acknowledged yours of the 19th in mine of the 25th/5th, this serves only to convey the Queen's letter.

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 5/15 Oct.*

Enclosing:

420(1). 1693, Sept. 28/Oct. 8. Loo. 'His Majesty intending to hunt to morrow for the last time, will be going the next day to the Hague, and from thence to England upon the first arrival of the convoy.

'Just now we have news from the army that Charleroy defends itself very well, the French having not yet made themselves masters of any considerable work.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

421. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Sept. 29. Whitehall. 'No letters yet from Flanders and I fear you have been almost as long without any from hence, for all the pacquett boats are on your side, so that the *Centurion* is order'd to sayl with the mails.

'The Parliament is to be prorogued to the 26 of October, and a proclamation is issued to give notice that it is then to sitt.

'The Queen has given orders as strict as is possible to prevent the exportation of corne to France either from England, Scotland or Ireland, and has commanded Mr Secretary to write to my Lord Durseley to presse that the like utmost care may be taken by the States that none be carried from their ports directly or indirectly to France without with [*sic*] concurrence on their part all precautions used there will be ineffectuall and to no purpose. I am also directed to acquaint you with these proceedings that ... his Majesty ... if he pleases ... may recommend this to the States.

'The Queen is very well again.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book III, p.229.

422. EDWARD HARRIS TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. 29. Jersey. 'Since my last the master of the boate I formerly acquainted your Lordship of is returned, and brought the enclosed account, which your Lordship mought have had neere a mounth since, had not on[e] Steephens, commanding a privateere of Gaurnsey, seased [him] in his retorne (neere the island of Sarke) on the pretence of having French goods on board, tho when vallew'd did not amount to twenty shillings. The boate has bin stoped att Gaurnsey, and the captain of the privateer has sent my pass, or a copy of it, to the Admiralty Office, as he pretends his instructions order him to doe. The person I imploy in this affaire is a very suffetiant man of this island, and is very ready to expose himselfe to the utmost hazard for their Majesties service, yett sayes that if he must be subject to the affronts of every privateere that meets him (notwithstanding his pass) he desires to be excused from acting any farther in the affaire.

'And indeed (my Lord) hardly any will be perswaded to undertake the like for the future, without greater security then (they say) my pass can give them.' I beseech your protection in this as all other affairs wherein I may act.

P.S. The yacht being in England I am forced to send this by way of Gaurnsey.

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 9 Oct.*

Enclosing:

422(1). *In Harris's hand on a separate slip.* 'The French fleet are att Toulouone and only stay till they heire of our fleet's being cauled in, when they are to returne to Brest.

'And that the scouts they continually have on the English coasts, to attend the motions of our fleet, constantly give an account of it to theires.

'Alsoe that they never want intelligence from England, there being certain women employed to that end, and convaie it to Parris by the way of Holland.

'And that all the feorses are drawne of from the coasts of Normandy and Brittany, and that for 8 or 10 leagues in the cuntry there are few men to be seín, by reason all that are servisable are feorsed away to the army.

'There is alsoe great scaresety of corne in Normandy, a bushell of wheat of 8 gallons being already sould there for 5 livers and 2 sous, and for their blacke corne there is hardly any to be found, which is most of their winter food. The like scarcety is of all other sortes of provetions, they being all bought up and sent to Parris.'

423. EDWARD FINCH TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. 1, Sunday. Winwick. 'The least thing I have to own to you is that you are and always have been my best and greatest benefactor. Doubly so, while to your kindness I owe the greatest part both of my past and present fortune, and in your service have by experience gain'd opinions which I would not quit to be cheife minister of state during life, were I never so well qualified for it. I need not tell you what these thoughts are, further than that they will always keep me just to all mankind, gratefull to you, and I hope easy to my selfe. I could promise more for them were they such as were possible to make me either rich or powerfull. In the mean time I onely desire liberty to enjoy them and a little fresh breath, without lowering my humor with the infectious heat and ferment which attends evry sessions of Parliament, or injuring my lungs by London air.

'With a thousand thanks to your Lordship I desire the £150 may be paid to Mr Fowle. I was forced to draw a note upon him some time ago for £100 which he paid by my order. If you please to employ Mr Isham in this affair (who is my factor) I would have him take up that note of mine for £100, and when he has reimbursed himselfe some small summs he has laid out for me, I will take up the remainder at Liverpool and draw a bill of the like value upon Mr Fowle, whose note payable to me or order Mr Isham will procure as well as send me back my own note of £100 cancelled.

'The enclosed copys of letters one from Lord Derby the other the Governour of Man (both to my brother Harry) will let you know the state of the case,

the assurance Harry has, the reason of the delay, and the probable end of his expectations; which considering he is not 30 till June next, is never the worse for the [torn].'

1p. *Holograph. Edges frayed.*

424. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Oct. 3. Whitehall. 'We have now five posts due from Flanders, and the wind is yet so contrary that I believe the pacquet boats can't stir from the Brill; but tho' we can't hear from you yet it is probable that the King may be ready to come away the first opportunity, and therefore care is taking to send some men of war to conduct him; for his presence will be necessary here some time before the meeting of the Parliament, which is prorogued this day to the 26th instant.'

Note of enclosure: Queen's letter.

½ p. Letter Book III, p.230.

425. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. 3/13. Hague. The King has seen your letters of 22, 26 and 29 Sept. He does not intend to dispose of any place vacant either in the Guards or by the death of Lord Lovelace before his return, 'for which we are only expecting a fair wind.

'His Majesty has taken notice of the orders given in England to prevent the exportation of corn to France and will recommend the same thing to the States.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 6/16 Oct.*

Enclosing:

425(1). 1693, 3/13 Oct. Hague. 'On Saturday last the King arrived here from Loo, and if the wind be fair his Majesty will embark the latter end of the week for England, making use of the ships designed for the Sound to convoy him over, if those expected from England do not come time enough.

'The letters we receive this day from Flanders tell us that Charleroy continues to make a vigorous defence, and that the enemy has gain'd very little upon the place.

'The difference between the King of Denmark and the house of Lunenburg about Ratzburg is adjusted, it being agreed that the fortifications of that place should be forthwith demolished.

'Our army continues stil encampt at Ninove, but severall regiments of foot are marcht into winter quarters.'

1p. *Copy.*

425(2). Undated. Letters from Piedmont inform us that the bombardment of Pignerol began on the 27th, was continuing on the 28th, and would probably end on the 29th.

'Les troupes de S.A.R. marchoient pour aller au devant du Mareschal de Catinat qui descendoit dans la plaine de Suze avec 60 bataillons et 80 escadrons. On paroissoit determiné des deux côtés à se battre. La bataille ne peut estre que sanglante et decisive.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy. French. In the same hand as the preceding item.*

426. RICHARD HOLLAND TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693,] Oct. 5. Since I saw you last 'I have bin in the cuntrey thinking to fiend an imploy sutable to my calling, but these times have prevented me, and in my journeys I thought my self bound in duty to take notice of aney thing that was speaking or acting against there Magesties and there government. Dureing my time in Sussex, which was a bought a mounth, I was admitted into severall great men's companys that held a club which I found to be disaffected to this presant gouvernement, and had my pocket a bin longer that I had spent more time with them I am sertaine I had dun as great a peece of service as has bin dun a great while. But returning back againe into Essex I found a rude companey and a lybill; the cotype of it your Lordship may command from' etc.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph.*

427. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Oct. 6. Whitehall. I have received your letters of 1, 5 and 8 Oct., N.S. 'His Majesty's commands shall be obey'd in sending to my Lord Durseley a copy of the answer to the Portuguese demand of the ships mentioned in their list so soon as it can be prepared, which will be very speedily, and also in writing to Mr Stanhop in recommendation of Major Fitzharris and his designe.

'You will hear from Mr Secretary that some ships are order'd from hence to attend his Majesty, who I hope will prevent them by making use of Captain Nevill and some of the Dutch ships in the Texell, of which I am glad to hear there will be no occasion for the use for which they were intended.'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book III, p.230.

428. NOTTINGHAM TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

1693, Oct. 6. Whitehall. Since the King may very probably be here before Wednesday next, the Queen would have you give directions for preventing the observation of the fast within the City of London and as far about it as time will permit.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph copy.*

429. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. 6/16. Hague. My last of 3/13 Oct. acknowledged yours of the 22nd, 26th and 29th. The King will embark for England 'with the very first fair wind that shall present after the arrivall of the convoy from the Texel.

'We have by the way of Paris the ill news of the defeat of the Duke of Savoy's army by Monsieur Catinat and of the Duke of Schonberg's being wounded and taken prisoner in the battle. The truth of all the particulars wee are expecting by the German post. The French say the Duke of Savoy is retreated with part of his army to Turin and that the Prince of Commercy is killed.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 Oct.*

Enclosing:

429(1). 1693, Oct. 6/16. Hague. 'The letters from Flanders tell us that the French had made a general assault on Saturday last upon the town of Charleroy and were beaten off with great bravery, but that the enemy having prepared for another assault the next day, which the garrison not being able to sustain, the governors had been obliged to capitulate, which they did on Sunday, and had very honourable conditions.

'Hereupon 'tis believed the enemy will put their troops into winter quarters, having been very much fatigued by this long siege which has cost them a great number of men.

'Our army continues at Ninove to observe the motions of the enemy.

'The letters from Paris speak of a battle in Piemont wherein that Duke (of Savoy) had had the disadvantage and the Duke of Schonberg been taken prisoner, but as there are yet no letters from thence by the way of Germany, it is hoped things are not so bad as the Paris letters make them.

'His Majesty only waits a fair wind to embark.'

1p. *Copy.*

430. DEPOSITION OF RICHARD HOLLAND

1693, Oct. 6. 'September the 19 I was rideing into Essex. That night I staid at Epping at the King's Armes where I found one Chanter, Cumbers, Hill, Russe and the man of the house a drinkin King Jamesis health, his ristoration, his Queen's and the Prince of Waylesis health. The next day I left them. September the 25 I came to the same place, where we was in company againe, Chanter not being there. The same healths were drank and after sum time Hill pulled out of his pockett a paper and red it saying he had it of Mr Cumbers. Cumbers said he had it sent him from London. They crying them up for such true liens I desired a coppe of them the which was granted. The next morning whilst Hill was righting the verses came in a man asking for Hill. Hill said to me, if I was in London and a righting these liens and a cunstable should cum in he would make worke with us but our cunstable here is an honest fellow. Said I, is this a cunstable. Yes indeed said he, this is

our high cunstable. The cunstable answered I know not what you are righting. Yes, said Hill, you have seene them severall times. Sune after we went to dinner and after dinner the afforesaid healths was abought. Com said Edward Dace the cunstable, here is a full glace, here is King James's health and to his ristoration and God damme they are all rogues in the rume that will not pledg me a full glace. In the evening we went to his house, where he uttered severall such like exprechons. Russe and the inkeeper were not so violent in there expreshons as the others.'

1p. *In Holland's hand and signed by him. Sworn before and signed by Richard Warre.*

431. INFORMATION FROM RICHARD HOLLAND

1693, Oct. 8–16. Sunday, Oct. 8. 'John Capel and I was speaking of the Earl of Nottingham and he told me that this Parliment the Earl of Nottingham would pay for all or to that purpose. I being desireous to know what he had against the Earl of Nottingham went on with him and we was sune of one oppinnion. He said he had too friends that would stick by me or any one else with there lives and fortunes that would com in against my Lord Nottingham, and he funder said there will be a good reward and present money for I have had money of them allredy. I pressing of him to know his too friends, he told me they were the Lord Whorton's too sooners, the Controwler and Mr Goodwin Whorton. I told him to morrow we would speak funder about it.'

Oct. 9. 'I met with him and he was much presing for me to se Mr Whorton. I told him when I understud the buisnes I would. He said, doe not you go and disscover what I say to trick the Parliment, if you doo I shall be undon. I told him I was a strainger to Parliment affaires ... We parted with a promise to se one an nother the next morning.'

Oct. 10. 'We met againe and he much desired me to se Mr Goodwin Whorton and told me he and his brother were the only men in the kingdom against the Earl of Nottingham, and that they had prommised a salre [salary] and a good reward for those that would com in against him, and you may have money of them but not at furst becase you are a stranger, but he said he had money of them oft times. Said I, go to Mr Whorton and tell him that if he will let me have money you and I will joyne together and we will gitt a nuf a gainst my Lord Nottingham. Said he, it is new matters that they want but I dare not speak so plaine as for money but I will speak that he will understand me. Go, said I, and lett me here what he sais tomorrow by twelve a clock.'

Oct. 11. 'Capel came to me about 4 in the after nune and told me Mr Whorton stayed for to speak with me him self at a coffee house. I told him

I was in compney with friends and could not go with him. I desired him to make an appologe for me as he thought fitt.'

Oct. 14. '... Capel ... told me I must needs go to Mr Whorton. He said the Controwler was in the cuntrey and if he had not bin sick the last Parliment they had moved against him then, speaking of the Earl of Nottingham; for, said he, my Lord Nottingham has too hundred and fifty at least against him in the Parliment House. I asked Capel how he knew those things; he told me he yoused to go of errons for them and he knew there party. Well what must I say when I com to Mr Whorton, what have you told him of me. 'Tis no matter what you say so that you downe with Nottingham. We went both to Mr Goodwin Whorton's lodgings and after sum time he speak with me in private. I said Mr Capel told me you would procecute the Earl of Nottingham this Parliment with a great deal of viger and after sum few words he told me the Lord Nottingham he beleived was not a just man in his place and he supposed it would be found so. Then he asked me abought one Morris, he heard that he had went to the Earl of Nottingham to tell him of one that had counterfetted his seale. I told him I had heard sumthing of it. Said Mr Whorton, I doo not onely beleve it was counterfetted in his one office but I am shure he counterfetted it him self for he delivered out the passes. He said, doo you know this Morris. Yes, I said, I went to him and he told me he had a friend that had the Queen's eare. Pray go with all hast and put him off[f] of that for if he dus doo so we are all spoyled for that is the rong way to worke. Here what he sais and tell me as sune as you can and bring your friend or any one elce. I had told him of a friend that had sumthing against my Lord Nottingham. He told me that I would have mani thanks for my servic and sumthing beside.'

Oct. 15. 'I went to Richard Morris from Mr Whorton and after sum reflections against the Earl of Nottingham he told me that he had imployd one to go to my Lord Nottingham with an information against one that had counterfetted his seale and my Lord Nottingham would take no notice of it, and here, said Morris, here is the information: show it to Mr Whorton and tell him that I have many things against my Lord Nottingham that I intend this Parliment and if he will give me leave to waight on him I will satisfie him in them. Morris said he had gitten the information ritt otherwaise and the bill was found against the man this seshons and he did expect the Parliment would give him the money.'

Oct. 16. 'I went to Mr Whorton with the affore said message from Morris. Mr Whorton desired Morris would meet him at a coffee house the next day. This day I met with Capel and he told me that Sir Francis Blake and Sg. Arnel had delivered there papers to Mr Goodwin Whorton that they had against my Lord Nottingham; he told me also that my Lord Nottingham had

sent the same order into France that our fleet had for saleing this summer, and Capel said he had gave in [to] Mr Whorton the name of the captin and the witness that were carriing it for France.'

2pp. *In Holland's hand. Endorsed as received from Holland 18 Oct.*

432. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. [10/] 20. Hague. 'We have been very unfortunate of late in our correspondencies between these parts and England; your Lordship's letters are of the 3rd instant. We have no news as yet of the ships that were designed from the Gunfleet for his Majesties convoy, nor is the *Breda* and *Dreadnought* come from the Texel. However, his Majesty is resolved with the first fair wind to embark for England under the convoy of the *Centurion* and four or five Dutch ships that lye in or before the Mase.

'The enclosed will inform your Lordship of the resolutions of the States for the sea and land service and of the event of the battle in Savoy. Letters from Paris own a very great loss on the French side and say that among a great many other officers of note three Irish colonels, viz. Maxwell, Wachop and Sir Charles Carney, were killed in the engagement.'

P.S. 'The States have agreed to sett out so many ships for the line as shall be manned with 24,000 men, which is one fourth part more than the last summer.

'I open my packet to acquaint your Lordship that at midnight I receive ... your letter of the 6th inst. It requires no answer and the King being gone to bed and to sleep I keep the enclosed from the Queen untill tomorrow morning.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 14 Oct.*

Enclosing:

432(1). 1693, Oct. [10/] 20, N.S. Hague. 'The States have agreed to the raising of fifteen thousand men to be added to the forces they had the last year, and likewise to the addition of a considerable number of ships of their fleet.

'Our army in Flanders will soon go into winter quarters, and in the mean time are canton'd in several adjacent parts.

'The States have received a relation of the battle in Piemont which is sent herewith in print.

'The garrison of Charleroy, consisting of 1100 men, march't into Brussels on Thursday last, being 3900 at the begining of the seige.

'His Majesty is still detain'd here by contrary winds.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

432(2). Albert van der Meer to the States General. 1693, [Sept. 25/] Oct. 5. Turin. Description of the battle between the troops of the Duke of Savoy and Monsieur de Catinat. Printed at the Hague by Jaques Scheltus [the government printer. Van der Meer was the States' agent in Savoy].

2 $\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Printed. French.*

433. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Oct. 10. Whitehall. Acknowledging his letter of 3/13 Oct. 'I wish you a good and speedy voiage.'

Note of enclosure: Queen's letter.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book III, p.231.

434. MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM DORRINGTON TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. 12. The Tower. 'If your Lordship will please but to consider the necessity that constrains me to give you this trouble, I cannot question your pardon ... for my request is only to be ... relieved from the hard usage I receive here, which I am perswaded is much worse then is ordered, or design'd me by theire Majesties, for I believe in Christendom no such prisnor as I am has harder usage, and in Algiers I always heard their slaves had bread given them; but my condition is not only to be kept a closer prisnor then my fellow prisnors, but they haveing som weekly allowances punctually from the Treasury yet I, tho' a souldier of fortune, am not allow'd a morsell of bread, and such as would out of common goodness help mee in this distress are not without some reason shy of coming to me, for tho' there were directions from court that any freinds might be admited freely to see us, I have the hard fate to be distinguish't as to the benifit of that common favor, for not long since an honest, quiet, and inoffensive gentleman that came to see me, being brought before your Lordship, was afterwards severely dealt with a long time in Newgat, and then tryed for his life, on a groundles suspicion of being a Jesuit, tho' really no more such then I am; and now I hope your Lordship will judge it excuseable I complaine, that being impayreing in my health by the hardships I indure, a physitian who is of long time acquainted with my constitution, and otherwise helping to me, is not allow'd by my keepers to come to me; if all this be not in som respects harder measure, both as to soul and body, then most Turkish slaves generall[y] meet with, and that your Lordship dos not find it, as I am fond to believe it is, much contrary to their Majesties' intentions, I must endeavor to improve the patience of what I cannot avoyd, to a vertue.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 20 Oct.*

435. RICHARD HOLLAND TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693,] Oct. 12. 'A mallishous enemy of your Lordship's that makes it his buisnes to gitt new matters as he calls it a gainst the Parlliment sits, told me that there was great incoragements for aney person that would com in a gainst your Lordship, as a sallerre and a good reward beside. I seemingly

acquess'd with him although I know nothing to accuse your Lordship of and I inquired into the buisnes. He told me he had sum friends that was Parliment men that would stand by me or any one elce with there lives and fortunes and, said he, there may be presant money too for I have had money of them allredy, and after sum further disscorce he told me his too frinds was Sir Thomas Whorton and Mr Goodwin Whorton, the Lord Whorton's too soon. My Lord, I know it dus not becum me to medle in any such matters but seing that unreasonabable way of practise I could not chuse but take notice and acquaint your Lordship of it.'

1p. *Holograph.*

436. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. 13/23. Hague. 'Your Lordship will see by the enclosed paper that the King seeks all opportunities of getting to sea but that the winds have not yet been favorable. Rear Admirall Mitchel is arrived but not Captain Nevil from the Texel. However, with the assistance of the Dutch frigats that lye before the Goeree, I hope his Majesty will be sufficiently attended ... He does not write to the Queen by this post because he hopes to be assoon as these letters in England.

'The Dutch are setting out a squadron of ten ships in pursuit of John Bart who is gone, as 'tis thought, towards the Sound to favor the carrying of corn to France.'

P.S. 'My Lord Dursley comes over with us but will leave his secretary to dispatch the business.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 23 Oct.*

Enclosing:

436(1). 1693, Oct. [13/] 23. Hague. 'Last night the wind was easterly, whereupon his Majesty resolved to be going on board very early this morning when the wind came about again to the N.W., which did not hinder his Majesty however from going to the water side over against the Brill, where he gave orders that the ships should gett out of the Goree with the first opportunity and that all things should be in a readyness for his Majesty's embarking with the first slatch of winde.'

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Copy.*

437. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Oct. 13. Whitehall. Acknowledging letter of 6/16 Oct. and lamenting 'the misfortune of the duke of Savoy ... The wind begins to change here and makes us hope the King will be here very speedily'.

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book III, p.231.

438. SIR FRANCIS WHELER TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. 13. *Resolution* at Spithead. 'My last to your Lordship was by the *Quaker* ketch, dated the 4th June, which I heare is safely arrived. After she went from us the contagion continued to that degree that 4 dayes before wee arrived at Boston my ship threw over board eight men.

'On the 12th of June wee arrived in that port, all the ships were in a most miserable condition. I writ to Sir William Phyps ... and desired him to appoint us the small islands that were in the harbour, to land our sick and well men, and that he would please to give order to the country not to communicate with us, for that our distemper had all the infectious mallady in the world. Sir William Phyps presently very civilly complied with my request. I got the ships safe moored in a good place, and strook all our yards and top masts, and landed all the seamen and soldiers, and pitch[ed] tents, and built huts, and tarr'd all the ships within and without board. Many dyed, and the rest recovered but slowly. Our distemper was of two kinds, a feather [*sic*] or rather a violent plague, and a flux. Of the feaver not above one in a hundred recovered. Of the flux very many dyed too, but this kept the other of, and soe coming into a northerne sweet aire by time and care the rest recovered. If they had not the ships must have been layd up there. The seamen of New England are most aversed [*sic*] to serve in the men of warr, and with the terror of our condition not a man to be got. Such care was taken by their friends to shun us, that they had rather have gone into slavery.

'I went ashoare sick myself into one of the islands, where Sir William Phyps came to visset me, when I shewed him his Majesties orders for our coming there, in order to goe to Quebeck. His answer was that he had not received one word of notice and directions from his Majesty of this expedition, that he ought to have had at least four months notice to have raised his men, and that it was absolutely necessary to sayle from Boston by the first of July at furthest. And that that expedition required at least four thousand men. But considering our contagious condition, with neare two thirds of our men dead, if his Majesties orders had come to him it would not be possible to get a man to joyne us, and soe that affair sunck.

'About the 13th of July, our men getting strong wee began to imbarke and prepare to sayle, which could not possibly have been done but by the helpe of the soldiers, and one hundred and thirty French prisoners, which the *Nonsuch* took. I believe wee prest about sixteen or eighteen men, and in returne the country weedled above fifty of ours to desert, the West Indyees havinge soe destroyed their seamen as that wages is very high.

'The 3rd of August I left Boston, and was very desirous, in our weake condition, to doe something against the enemy, and soe wee stear'd for New Found Land. Wee took a small French barke on the coast, where was one Mr

Griffin an English master of a ship a prisoner, who had been at Platientia two months this summer, who piloted us to that place, where wee arrived the 18th of August.

'He gave the inclosed [missing] information upon oath, wherein he saies the enemy had twenty odd sayle of stout ships, most with letters of mart, who come out full manned and armed, upon shares of makeing fish, cleane tallowed. In their passage they are privateers, in the country they are fishermen, and when they come home they are privateers againe.

'The lowest computation that he could make [was] that they were upwards of two thousand men with soldiers and inhabitants well armed, the harbour's mouth a ship's length broad, with three cables across, guarded by a strong fort of upwards of thirty large cannon, that came out of a man of warr lost the last yeare, pallisaded to the landward, and the hills that lyes just over the fort well pallisadoed; to one of them, with mighty industry, they had halled up cannon.

'Notwithstanding these difficulty [*sic*], I called a councill of warr of all the land feild officers and captains and sea captains, by whose advice my instructions lead me to act.

'I earnestly prest them for their assent, first to attempt this place by land, while the ships battred it by sea, and strove to cutt the cables; secondly to take all the soldiers from the merchant ships and man the men of warr, for of our selvs wee could not man above one teere of guns (besides securing our prisoners); and lastly, I would land two hundred musketeers and joyne with the soldiers, and fix scaling ladders and storne the forts on the hills. If it succeeded I would order the ships to warp in and cannonade the great fort, while the forces attacked it by land.

'If our attack did not succeed, then wee would get off as well as wee could; I reckon wee could [have] landed about five hundred soldiers, severall of the officers say but four. The two first proposalls all the land officers rejected as one man, and to the latter the councill of land and sea divided, six joyned with me for goeing ashore, and eleaven against me, soe that I took the first occassion and warped out of the sound and came away, haveing at the same time ordered the *Dunkirk*, Captain Hawkins, the *Ruby*, Captain Deane, and the *Experiment*, Captain Greenway, under the command of the first, with the soldiers that were aboard their respective ships, under the command of Major Rabesneiresd, to goe to St Peters, a place of note, and destroy the French settlement and fishery.

'The 28th of August I arrived at the Bay of Bulls, in New Found Land, and imployed our selvs to water and wood.

'The 3rd September the *Dunkirk*, *Ruby* and *Experiment* arrived, haveing in

every respect performed their buisness very well, and the little booty of fish was devided amongst the seamen and soldiers according to his Majesties royall donative. The *Advice* and *Mermaide* was supplied with provissions and stores, but extreame weak in men, and sent to the West Indies: the first to tend on Jamaica in the roome of the *Mordant*, ordered home with the convoy, and the latter to Barbados, while the *Wild* prize went down to the Leward Island.

'Wee met with very ill weather, which stopt us some time. But the 22nd of September wee set sayle for England, with the *Dunkirk*, *Ruby*, *Dragon*, *Pembroke*, *Hawk* and *Owners Love* fire ships, *Phenix* bomb, *Canterbury* store ship, *London Merchant* hospitall, two English retaken prizes, and five merchant transport ships that went out with us, viz *William and Mary*, *Martin's Delight*, *Success*, *Bird*, *Mary Catt* and one West Country man.

'When wee were at Boston the *Experiment* and *London Merchant* came to us from St Christophers, with all the sick men that wee left behinde that were alive, which were very few.

'The *Experiment*, Captain Greenway, I left at New Found Land, to stay after me twenty dayes to convoy home twenty saile of merchant men.

'In the lattitude of 47° 46' wee met with very bad weather, and lost company with all the ships but the *Ruby*, *Dragon*, *Pembroke*, two fire ships, hospitall and *Success*.

'In the Channell wee met with the *Bird*, who told us he lost company with the *Dunkirk* and *Canterbury* store ship the night before in the fogg.

'Out of his Majesties ships that went out with us wee have lost eight captaines, eight lieutenants and fifty eight warrant officers and ninteen hundred odd men that came out of England, including the *Faulcon* that went to Jamaica; I can't find by the musters above seven hundred and fifty.

'Of the two regiments that went out with us, which were about thirteene hundred men, I don't reckon wee have above five hundred and odd. I did not fill up the vacant officers, as I write your Lordship I intended, because the colonel[s] finding I had no power were very uneasy, and soe they stand open ...'

[Various officers recommended for promotion.]

'I have writ to the Lords of the Admiralty to know their pleasure whether the ships I brought in are to continue here or goe to the Downes, and I humbly desire to know her Majesties pleasure how the soldiers are to be disposed of, for that they now continue on board the ships.

'I appointed the rendevouz of our ships in case of separation to meet in the Downes, but the weather being fair I called in here for orders ...

'Mr George Trenchard will deliver you this letter; he went out with me a

volunteere and in our callamity rise by succession to be my lieutenant; he served very honorably as an officer amongst the seamen at Martineco, and is a pretty gentleman and a good officer. I humbly recomend him to your Lordship for your favour.

‘Both seamen and soldiers are I thank God in perfect health. What is a feavour in England is mallignant in 32° and a plague in the lattitude of 13°, and soe abates as one comes north.

‘Yet notwithstanding I believe it perfectly necessary that strick orders be given to the soldiers to wash and scrub their coats and other cloathes before they land, for infection is very apt to lye in the cloaths, and the same caution I will order amongst the seamen before they lye ashoare.’

6 pp. *Signed. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 15 Oct.*

439. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, [Oct.] 17. Whitehall. ‘I have received yours of the 10/20th and am much pleased with the vigorous resolutions of the States. I wish we may do so too, and repair all our misfortunes and have some prospect of an happy issue of this war. Sir Francis Wheeler is arrived at Spithead. I do not now send you any account of his proceedings because I hope you will be quickly here.’

Note of enclosure: Queen’s letter.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Letter Book III, p.231.

440. NOTTINGHAM TO SIR FRANCIS WHELER

1693, Oct. 17. Whitehall. ‘I have read your letter of the 13th to the Queen, who approves your care to prevent any infection from the cloaths of the men on board of your ships, and I believe it will be fitt to hinder as much as is possible the communication of your men with others.

‘Her Majesty will have the soldiers remaine on board till the ships go into harbour, they being necessary to navigate the ships. The Admiralty will speedily send directions where the ships shall be disposed, and then the land officers will have orders too about the soldiers ...

‘The Queen will not dispose of the vacancies in those regiments, but upon his Majesties returne I will not faile to recommend the persons you name, as I have already spoke to the Admiralty for Mr Trenchard.

‘I am heartily glad you are returned in safety, for no man wishes you better.’

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. Letter Book IV, p.116 (*last entry*).

441. INFORMATION FROM RICHARD HOLLAND

[1693,] Oct. 17–22. Oct. 17. ‘I went to Mr Whortons lodgings to tel him that Morris could not se him tel seshons was over ...’

Oct. 19. ‘I went to Mr Whortons lodgings to tell him Morris would see him the next morning, he tuck Morrisis name and where he lived.’

Oct. 20. ‘I went to Mr Whorton’s lodgings againe to tell him that Morris desired to know where he should waight on him. Mr Whorton cased me to sitt downe by his beedside and after sum discourse he told me Shippside that was a messenger would com in against my Lord Nottingham, and desired me to go to one Davis a messenger to here what he would say against my Lord, and desired Morris would meet him at St. Anns Coffe House in a litel more then an our. Morris and I staid for his coming at the coffe house. When he came he had us up into an upper roome, and after sum few words a bought the late seshons at the Old Baly, Mr Whorton said, what doe you to say to him that has certainly the worst name of manciend and trully dus deserve as much as the worst of men, my Lord Nottingham. Morris said, there is thousands of youre miend, and I suppose my Lord Nottingham would be glad to loose his place with all his hart if he could save his head. What doo you here in the citty, said Mr Whorton. Morris said they intended to bring him in concerning the Smurna fleet. I suppose, said Mr Whorton, that is coffe house newes, he will gitt of[f] of that well a nuf; but I shall certainly impeach him the begining of this Parliment. I had impeached him the last seshons of Parliment but it was towards the eand before sum came to towne that I expected. I shall have perhaps as good evedence as most in the kingdom against him. Mr Whorton said to Morris, what have you against my Lord Nottingham. Said Morris I have manie things against him, but here is one thing fallen out lately, I have convicted the docter that counterfetted his seale and I intend to gitt a messengers place and my Lord is a proud houghty man and a person that if he owes a spight to a man he will never forgitt it and if he should gitt of[f] of this triol he would think on me. Said Mr Whorton, he is houghty a nuf but I take him to be an imprudent foole to act as he has acted, it will be proved that he set the docter aworke. Speaking of my Lord Nottingham, pressing of Morris funder for his information Morris prommised to bring it him the Sunday following after sermon in the after nune to the same coffe house. Morris said he heard the Earl of Nottingham went often times to the Lord Peterborros. Yes said Mr Whorton, he has given one of his preestes a pass to go into France and out againe as oft as he will, which will be proved against him. Both Mr Whorton and Morris said that Mr Bridgman knew a great deale against my Lord Nottingham.’

Oct. 22. ‘Morris and I met Mr Whorton at St. Anns Coffe House. Morris gave Mr Whorton 4 informations that he said my Lord Nottingham had

neglected and Morris said he had torne and burnt a great many ver[i]e consederable things that my Lord had neglected. The first information he gave was against Captain Crofts, captain of the *Charles* [*recte James*] galle, the second was of armes that was in Lankashire, [the] third of a cheest of plate that belonged to the Crowne, the forth of persons that did meet nere the Queens gardins which was thought to have a desine against his person. Mr Whorton said they was ver[i]e meterial to be inquired into. Morris said he could prove that persons had bin kept six months and twelve months in the messengers hands and was not exammined but kept a purpose to wast the Kings money. Morris furder said that he had spent a great deale of money in the governments servic and my Lord Nottingham had promised him a messengers place but he could gitt nither place nor his one expencis againe, and much such railing disscource he yoused. Mr Whorton said there is a time commeing sune that all those that serve the government should be rewarded, and after he had railed as much as tother he said in short my Lord Nottingham is not for this government for he held a debate six ours in the day that King James did not abducate, and after the House voted he did, when he could not help it, he gave his vote so too; and he furder said my Lord Nottingham had cheated this King of a hundred thousand pound and he did believe he had cheated the government of as much.'

2pp. *In Holland's hand. Endorsed as received from Holland 24 Oct. 1693.* (Morris did get a messenger's place under the Whigs: *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1694–5, pp. 268, 331.)

442. INFORMATION OF MRS FRANCES JONES, OF THE PARISH OF ST. MARTIN IN THE FIELDS

[1693, Oct. 17.*] About a twelvemonth since she was at Mrs Ann Merriweather's house, in the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, and there came in Dr Cooke, who is now in custody. At between 10 and 12 a.m. Dr Cooke 'asked Mrs Merriweather for a candle, which being lighted he did pull out a seale, a paper and a broad piece of wax or wafer; he held it against the paper and sealed it with a seale, which this informant says 'twas as near as she can guesse like to the seale in the margin of the proclamation, and when he had done he gave it into Mrs Merriweather's hand, and said Madam it is done, and went away in haste, and she laid it downe upon the table. And this informant took it up in her hand and read it, and it was a printed blank filled up with writing', a pass for one Thomas Davison and his servants and baggage. 'And this informant said Madam, this is a passe sealed with the

*In no. 446 below this testimony is described as having been given at the Old Bailey 'last Tuesday', i.e. 17 Oct., as confirmed in *The Tryal of Mr Shadrach Cook, late Curate of Islington, at the Old-Baily ... the 17th. Day of October, 1693.*

King's seale, and Mrs Merriweather said, No, you are a fool; it is but my Lord Nottingham's seale ... Then this informant asked what poor gentleman the passe was for, and Mrs Merriweather answered it was an officer come out of France, and had been incognito and could not gett thither againe, but I hope this passe will carry him over. This informant reply'd she hoped in God he would not miscarry, and Mrs Merriweather answered No, if he did he will loose his life ... There was Nottingham writt at the bottom of the passe.'

1½ pp. *Copy.*

443. SIR FRANCIS WHELER TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. 19. Portsmouth. I have received yours of the 17th. 'I have given all necessary orders to cleane and air the men'[s] clothes that came in our ships from the West Indys. And since I am honored with the Rear Admirall of the Red flag I intend to goe on board another ship to prevent too much communication.

'I have not yet received any orders from the Admiralty to send the West India ships into harbour, soe that the soldiers are still aboard. I expect it dayly, for the sooner the better. And I humbly moove that orders may come to some body here to nurse up any of the crazy soldiers if wee meete any drooping. For I fancy that willbe better than for them to goe into the country ...'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 21 Oct.*

444. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Oct. 20. Whitehall. 'I presume the King is very impatient of his long delay by contrary winds, and I need not tell you how much his Majesty's presence is wanted here now the meeting of the Parliament draws so near, which I believe must of necessity be putt off a little longer, though it is not positively determined; and if it be by adjournment, as most think the best way, some things may be done, as issuing of writts, etc., which will a little forward their businesse when they sitt, and the members will be come to town, and so a delay by adjournment upon that account, as has been usuall, will be avoided ...'

Note of enclosures: Queen's and Treasury's letters to the King.

½ p. Letter Book III, p.232.

445. EDWARD SOUTHWELL TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. 20. Enclosing information about Monsieur Tourville's movements brought by a ship newly arrived in Bristol and forwarded by the Mayor of Bristol.

1p. *Holograph.*

Enclosing:

445(1). Statement by Samuell Weston, master of the *Flying Horse*. [1693,] Oct. 18. Arrived here [Bristol] today in the *Flying Horse*, having sailed from Oporto the 9th

instant. 'Thes are to give notice to whome itt may consearne that the French fleet or part consisting of 46 shippes was about of 2 leags westward from Oporto the 3rd of October mackeing thear way whome for Brist as fast as thay could, which account we had thay lost 9000 men by sicknes and 5000 thay putt one shore being very weacke of the same distemper att Tollone and Mercelis, which account I had from emminant merchants of the sity of Oporto the 9th of October 1693.'

1p. *Endorsed (in another hand)*: 'Yesterday by a vessell from Waterford itt was advised that the *Swift* was there and was goeing to call in all the cruziers on the coast of Ireland.'

446. SHADRACH COOKE

1693, Oct. 22. Newgate. It having been witnessed against me at the Old Bailey last Tuesday that I forged a passport to France in Lord Nottingham's name, I, Shadrach Cooke (priest of the Church of England), upon receiving the Blessed Sacrament, solemnly declare that I am altogether ignorant and innocent of the matter and am not conscious of anything concerning the counterfeiting of Lord Nottingham's hand or seal. I also declare that I forgive those that raised this scandal or occasioned my suffering upon it.

1p. *Printed. Endorsed*: 'For my Lord Nottingham.' (Another copy is at BL Cup. 645. e. 1 (24).)

447. NOTTINGHAM TO BLATHWAYT

1693, Oct. 24. Whitehall. Yesterday I received yours of the 13/23rd 'and should have writt to you no more but to enclose the Queene's letter. Her Majesty held a Councill this afternoon and has order'd a Commission for proroguing the Parliament to Tuesday the 7th of November.'

Note of enclosure: Queen's letter.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Letter Book III, p.232 (*last entry*).

448. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. 23, O.S. Hague. Your letters of the 17th and 20th need no answer, the King having left to the Queen the direction of what may relate to the adjournment or prorogation of the Parliament by reason of his absence. 'The wind seems to incline to the N.E. which gives us some hopes of such a change as we wish for, the weather having for the last week been exceeding tempestuous to the endangering of the men of warr that lay upon the coast but they are now all of them gott into the Goeree. I fear we have lost the Duke of Schonberg by the account the enclosed extract gives of the desperate condition he was in.'

1p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 27 Oct.*

Enclosing:

448(1). Albert van der Meer to Blathwayt. Turin, Oct. 17, a.m. 'Monsieur de Schonberg est agonisant et abandonné des medecins, la gangrene a pries à sa playe.' [He had in fact died that night.]

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Extract. French.*

449. CAPTAIN AUGUSTUS DE RABAR

1693, Oct. 25. Portsmouth. I took the liberty of writing to your Lordship as we were making sail from St. Cristophle to Baston [*sic*] to ask you to take me under your protection as the senior captain in the West Indies, Colonel Goodwin, my colonel, and Major Abrahall having died at St. Cristopher. Sir Francis Wehler, our admiral, and Colonel Colt ordered me to act as major which I have done and am doing, I believe to their satisfaction. I am therefore asking for the post of lieutenant-colonel, or if the King disposes of it otherwise, at least for confirmation in my present post, whose duties I have carried out for six months. 'Jay la langue angloize asses pour toute sortes dordres de detail et de comptes.'

2pp. *Holograph. French.* (He was commissioned as lieutenant-colonel on 31 Oct.)

450. CAPTAIN THOMAS PHILLIPS TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. 25. *Norwich.* 'It hath pleas'd God to send us a wind at last althoe it is very scant for our purpose. Not withstanding we intend to try our fortunes. We are now under saile on our way for the coast of France. Your Lordship is sencible of the difficulties we ly under as a bad season of the year and a difficult navigation and long nights and by our dillatory proceeding in provision rendering all things to the worst advantage and gives light to the enemie. Not withstanding all this noe man ever went with a better will to serve his cuntry but as the least of those reason[s] were excuses for its not being attempted before I humbly begg there may be as faverable a construction as may be of what ever happens in this service we are commanded upon.' Please intercede with the Queen for one of my children to be put into the Charterhouse. 'I have left a wife and 5 small ones.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 27 Oct.* (Phillips died on 22 November on his way back from the bombardment of St. Malo. His son Thomas received a pension to train as an engineer.)

451. MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM DORRINGTON TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. 25. The Tower. 'The obligation on mee by your Lordship's [*sic*] in representing my case with that dispatch and generous designe to relieve me, as related to me by the bearer, must proceed from a courtious temper of

more worth and honour then I happen usually to meet with in such cases since my misfortunes, which should divert me from being farther troublesome ... yet this second trouble to your Lordship shewes how any countenance makes prisnors as importunate and troublesome as beggers are, tho' in the point as to the allowance, that I am so partially dealt with in, is as I take it with some justice due to me by the custome and law of nations, and previlige likewise of this first prison, yet I shall most willingly acquiese to her Majesties directions by your Lordship in it, and endeavour to please my daily duning vissitors who have trusted me here for necessaryes almost two yeares and a halfe upon the creditte of such allowance, with hopes of payeing them, as my fellow prisnors have, by the helpe of their allowances, when I have received mine, I being now destituted of other meanes to doe it. But your Lordship haveing given me encouragement of easing me in such restrictions as I judged impos'd on me, my request to your Lordship is (seeing this officer here, the Deputy Governor, has without orders shew'd himselfe so spleenitickly exceptionous and severe to a souldier in my condition) that your Lordship will be pleas'd not to leave me, that have once had some command and reputation, exposed to cringe in so simple a matter to his morross humour, but to doe me the favor of leting me have a line from any of your Lordship's comies or clarks to this effect (that the bearer Mr Daniell Cowley my phisitiane may freely come to vissit me).'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 26 Oct.*

452. EDWARD FINCH TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. 27, Friday. Winwick. 'Dear brother, having received a letter this post from Mr Isham by your order concerning my coming up to this sessions, I write this to you as the shortest cut. For 'tis with very great reluctance that I endure to think of ever engaging again in politicks, or so much as once troubling my head with those matters any more, tho' but whilst I am answering those arguments by which you would perswade me to it.

'I must confess I never yet thought it necessary to acquaint you that by the help of fresh air, gentle exercise, freedom from anxiety and care, I have ever since I came hither ow'd the crazy health I possess to goat's milk, and that without these helps I had not for ought I know been alive now, because I thought the price I have paid for so small a privelege was sufficient to convince all which knew me of the necessity of what I have done as to this matter. And how good a judge so ever your Lordship may be of the stock of health I have laid up by this meanes, I can't but let you know that in this matter I am a better judge than all mankind besides. But were the stock of my remaining life never so large, 'tis too little to make amends for the faults of that which is past, too short to let me fling any part of it away upon

matters that least concern me; much less upon such things as the very care and concern which necessarily attends them will prejudice the health I have so little reason to brag of, interrupt, disturb if not overturn the whole design as well as shorten the continuance of that life which I onely desire and endeavour to be prepared to part with. For care fear anxiety anger impatience fasting together with the heats and ferment of evry sessions, which no philosophy no reason nor religion can secure me from partaking of if I come there, are things more prejudiciall and esteem'd so by all phisitians to any one that is consumptive than even bad air it selfe. And therefore I need not come up to make a fruitless experiment of London air, since these other things can never agree with my body; less with my mind.

'But my absence will be scandalous at a juncture when all men ought to lend a helping hand.

'If all men ought and will not, my hand may be stretched forth in vain, but neglect can never be scandalous, especially while want of health can make so good an apology, because more can't be expected from me than from others upon whom this duty is equally incumbent and who for their neglect perhaps have less excuse. Besides my bare votes perhaps may prove a greater hindrance than help in your opinion. They have done so formerly, and have this likelihood of doing so again, that I find my selfe very inclinable to go along with those men that dare speak plain open truth, in which they discover all they would be at, and for what reasons, without keeping a concealed argument in their sleeve, to be taken upon their authority, or fetch'd from the difficulty such things may put his Majesty upon, the hazard of his refusall of the bill, and the likelihood of his so doing.

'But to be quiet at Winwick long after you are in confusion at London is what I never hoped for. I onely desire to preserve my peace here till such time as I can have it no longer. After that, if I can reap no instruction from the measures you take in such a publick calamity, or the rest of my good freinds, who have both more wit to guide them and more money to loose than I have, I doubt not nevertheless while I keep my honesty, to find that support from Providence which may be sufficient for me; who can then be content with as little as any man living. This I may surely find, if not at Winwick, in some little forgotten hole in this world or other.

'But knowing what freinds you have in Parliament, you know not what occasion you may have for me as to your own particular. It is at least then but reasonable I should stay 'till you do know some occasion for me as to this particular. Great men are not so soon ruined by a House of Commons but I may have sufficient warning to come up with my mite towards your redemption.

'Now for the reasons I have given you I can't come up, and therefore since I

hear my brother Hen[eage] and Lord Elland and the rest of my freinds in our House do not think of making my excuse and procuring me leave to be absent, I shall be forced to write to the Speaker to procure me such leave upon the first call of the House as being absolutely necessary for my health, which if the House do not grant I shall desire him to communicate the rest of my letter to them in which I shall desire that the House would issue out a new writ to fill up my burrough. If for this they want praecedent or for any other reason they will not do it neither, I shall stay 'till I am fetch'd up by the Serjeant, which when I am, as I shall have but a just occasion so to do, so I shall accordingly contrive if possible to do, or say, whatsoever may qualifie me for the happy disgrace the former House put upon my brother burgess Sir Robert Sawyer, in turning him out as one not fitt to serve there. I hate both the subject and this long letter as well as the occasion I had to write it, all which I desire you to forgive.'

2pp. *Holograph.*

453. BLATHWAYT TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693,] Oct. 29. 3 p.m. On board the *Mary* yacht. 'The King sail'd yesterday morning from the Mase and is just now arrived before Harwich and going on shoar.' He writes to the Queen by the same messenger. He will lie at Sir Isaac Rebow's at Colchester tonight, and at London tomorrow night.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph but unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 30 Oct.*

454. SIR RALPH DELAVALL TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693, Oct. 31.] Tuesday morning. 'Being still under the misfortune of my paines occasioned by my fall is the cause of my giveing your Lordshipp this trouble; and I pray you will move the King wee may wayt on him so sounne as he comes to towne, to the ende wee may acquitt our selves to him of the unjust aspersions layd to our charge by the baisest and most unworthy of men.

'For my owne part I am onely a criminall as one of the thre; for boath as to that of not sending in to Brest, and other matters, it was directly contrary to my opinion; though at the same time the other gentlemen hadd good resons on their side, and [I] am resolved to suffer with them, if they do.

'If the King refuses us to see him imediately, I resolve to give up my commission, niver to serve more, being well satisfyed in myselfe my servise to my country and him has deserved much better yousage than hitherto I have mett with. I earnestly pray your Lordshipp you will press the King in this matter, for wee have alredy suffered too much, and if the Counsell expects my attending them any more as hitherto I will not do it, for I see no justice is to be expected from them. I earnestly pray your Lordshipp's answer to this somtime this day.'

P.S. 'Wee had yesterday a summons to attend the Counsell, which I believe none of us did. What the occasion was, I know not.

'Since I wrote this, I understand the King is com.'

2pp. *Holograph. Endorsed by Nottingham with date.*

455. [JOHN ROBINSON] TO [?NOTTINGHAM]

[1693, Nov. 1. Stockholm.] 'In my last of the 25th past I gave account of a conference that the Baron de Heeckeren had had with these ministers about the satisfaction demanded of the States for the Suedish ships, wherein an additional account was given him, which together with the former given him two months ago makes their present demands amount to about 165,000 crowns, besides a reservation of six ships the accounts of which were not then finish'd, but will in a few days, and then the whole will come at least to 200,000 crowns. Yet the Baron de Heeckeren thinks it will be necessary to comply even thus farr, if the succours from this crown can thereby be obtain'd for the next year; tho' tis hardly to be hop'd they will, unless Sueden be contented allso by England. For the Suedes think themselves in the right to expect that what they have suffer'd on occasion of the treaty for prohibiting all trade with France, which the States made with England contrary to their prior engagements with Sueden, shall be made good by both partys, and that till the same be done the States have no right to the effect of their treatys with Sueden.

'What I mention'd of a yet greater motive, the apprehension of a new third party, which makes the said Baron think a speedy satisfaction highly necessary, has dayly more and more appearance. For to promote that work, besides the French and Danes, here is an envoy from Wolfembuttel, a minister from the Duke of Wirtemberg, who publicly talks of the necessity of a peace; an envoy is allso expected from the Bishop of Munster, and Moreau, who was the Polish envoy at the Hague, is allready arriv'd at Copenhagen in order to come hither in the same quality, tho' there is hope this last will be refused on account of his haveing been in Grandvall's plott. But nevertheless the rest will in all probability be sufficient to carry that point, unless speedy means be employ'd to prevent their designs. For this king's ministers do allso incessantly press him with the necessity of his present care and concern for the security of Europe, and tell him that since the allys by their stiffness have frustrated his mediation, and declin'd it so long, that now it can hardly be usefull; his Majesty must take such vigorous measures as may force a peace before that opportunity be allso lost. There are some of them better intentioned and more cautious in this matter; yet they allso conclude that one way or other this king must at this time take upon him the work of a peace; and I can well observe they much apprehend that if the allys do not concurr thereunto, it will be undertaken the other way. They are allso fully persuaded that Sueden can at

this time obtain the Peace of Westphalia for Germany; Luxembourg, Mons, Namur, etc., for Spain; the restitution of Lorain and Savoy, and that little or no difficulty will occur in relation to England and Holland. Which matters tho' they be of too great moment for me to meddle with, yet I hear of them so oft that I could not forbear to say this much, being fully persuaded that the negotiations here this winter will highly concern all Europe.

'Mr Prior writes me from the Hague that he had offer'd to Monsieur Lillierode his Majesty's answer to a memorial presented some time ago by Count Oxenstiern, and that Lillierode had refused to charge himself with it; yet Secretary Akerhielm tells me that he has transmitted hither a copy of it, and that he findes it exactly the same that was given above a year ago, which for its generality was scarcely acceptable then, and will be less so now that they here suspect England intends only to amuse them with specious promises, without intending them any satisfaction at all; in which suspicion they could never be more unseasonably confirm'd than at this time, when the ill-intention'd have such prejudicial designes, and they that mean well have little else to keep themselves and their counsels in credit but the hopes and prospect of a good agreement in these matters.

'Yesterday the meeting of the States of this kingdom was publish'd by sound of trumpett to begin on the 3rd instant.* The King has chosen for Land Marshall, or Speaker of the Nobility, Monsieur Gyldenburg, who has been long employ'd in the reunion of the crown lands, in which he has proceeded in such manner as has highly recommended him to his Majesty.'

2½ pp. *Copy, without date, signature or address.*

456. SIR RALPH DELAVALL TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Nov. 3. 'I have bin in expectation to here from you all this day, and to knowne [*sic*] the King's plesure, for in all truth I am in greet paine till I do. For my owne part I am prepaired for the worst, and am reddy to give up my commission this moment. I earnestly pray your Lordshipp's answer this night. I see no stone is left unturned to ruine us, and I onely pray my good Lord Nottingham to be virry free in teling me the worst.'

1p. *Holograph.*

*Sweden and England both followed the Julian calendar at this time, so Robinson must have been writing on Wed. 1 or Thurs. 2 Nov. If the latter, he would presumably have described the 3rd as 'tomorrow', and in any case normally wrote to Nottingham on a Wednesday. Nottingham may have received the original shortly after his dismissal on Mon. 6th and passed it on to Trenchard but retained this copy.

Robinson wrote similarly to Blathwayt on 4 Nov. that William's answer to Oxenstierna's memorial had reached Stockholm, and from what he heard of its contents, was unlikely to be acceptable (BL Add. MS. 35105, ff. 123-4).

457. NOTTINGHAM SURRENDERS HIS SEALS

[1693, Nov. 6.] 'Whitehall. Monday the 6th. The Earl of Nottingham having bin acquainted by Mr Secretary Trenchard that his Majesty requir'd from him the seals of the office of Secretary of State, his Lordship attended the King this day at Kensington and in obedience to his Majesty's command deliver'd the same to his Majesty, who was pleas'd to declare himselfe entirely satisfyd of his Lordship's fidelity and zeal to his service.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In Nottingham's hand.*

458. SIR PAUL RYCAUT TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Nov. 17. Hamburg. 'I was much surprized to understand by a letter from Mr Warre of the 7th instant that your Lordship had by order of the King delivered up the seales of the Secretary's office into the hands of his Majestie. But when I farther reflected on the circumstances with which they were received and the gracious testimony and eulogy which his Majestie passed on your Lordship at their delivery, I looked on the same as a cleare evidence and irrefragable sentence in favour of your fidelitie and conduct thro' the whole course of your Lordship's administration.

'Your Lordship hath the blessing not only to be endued with the goods of Fortune, but with those of Nature, and with such a stock of wisdom, and vertues which are derived from it, that as to yourself, my Lord, nothing can be wanting to make you happy in a private condition. But then what will become of our country, unlesse in pitty thereunto you labour to reassume your office, the losse of which will be much more to the publick then to your Lordship in a private capacitie; and I dare say that it is one great signe of the distracted state of our nation, that they are not sensible of the losse of so good and great a minister.

'I shall only conclude that as to myself I shall want a patron and a director, having for the space of four yeares and a half in this publick character exierenced the benefit of your Lordship's protection; so that I may say, as was once of a great minister in the reigne of Tiberius, *utrumque nobis, et reipublicae parum, sibi certe satis suaeque gloriae vixisse videbitur.*'*

2 $\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Holograph.*

459. JAMES CRESSET TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, [Nov. 25/] Dec. 5. Zell. 'Your Lordship's retirement from publick businesse cannot altogether secure you from trouble of this nature ... I have something besides my own inclinations to excuse my sending this letter ...

*'He will be seen to have lived long enough for his own fame, but too briefly for ourselves and the state.'

Both these princes, the Duke of Zell and Elector of Brunswick, have each of 'em strictly charg'd me to assure your Lordship of their esteem in the most obliging termes imaginable, and indeed I ought to acquaint your honour that upon hearing of your Lordship's delivering up the seals (I was then at Hannover) the Elector declar'd he was much concern'd at it, and was pleas'd to ask me what I thought of that change; whether it would generally please? And when I took the liberty to say that I presum'd your Lordship your selfe was the only person that was wel contented in it, his Highnesse say'd he beleiv'd the best Englishmen of that opinion, and that he hop'd his Majesty would not be long without having your Lordship in publick employment.'

I have nothing to add to Sir William Colt's account of the present state of this country. 'I found the Dukes of Wolfenbuttle with the same disposition of revenge which they have own'd since the new electorate, tho' the elder duke's, Duke Rudolf's meeting with his son in law, the Duke of Holstein Ploen, gives some small hopes of an accommodation in this family.

'All those books of letters and transactions which Sir William Colt had kept with great care are in the handes of an intriguing merchant, one Stratford, at Hambourg, who refuses me the perusall of 'em for my better light into these courts. I have complain'd so long in vain of that man's way of proceeding with me that I am forc'd to be quiet, because I see no remedy. Sir Paul Ricaut has been us'd yet worse by him then I am, but neither of us can help our selves.'

3pp. *Holograph.*

460. PHILIBERT D'HERVART, BARON DE HEUNINGUEN, TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Nov. 30/Dec. 9 [*sic*]. Bern. Mr Warre informs me that you have resigned the seals, which 'me surprend et m'afflige egualement'. But as there is no point in entering into the reasons which may have obliged your Lordship to do this, 'je dois me borner aluy marquer le sensible déplaisir que j'en ay en mon particulié.'

1p. *Holograph. French. Signed: D'Hervart Bar. D Huninguen.*

461. LORD BERKELEY OF STRATTON TO NOTTINGHAM

[1693.] Monday afternoon. 'Sir Ralph Delavall acquaints me your Lordship has discoursed with him about the paper the Queen gave you, and that you do not think it will be proper for her Majesty to sighn an order that excludes any body from supplying the fleet with wines etc. I have since spoke with the merchants named in the paper, that is with Mr Cornelius Denny and Michael Fallet partners and with Mr Joseph Jackson, and they are

content to have the Queen's order tho it excludes no other, but having the order they say will be an incouragement to them. What these people have to sell is very good of its kind and will really be a service to the fleet, therefore I beg your Lordship will offer it to the Queen to sighn this night or to morrow morning because time presses.'

1p. *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

Enclosing:

461(1). 'That her Majesty would be pleased to give an order that Mr Cornelius Dennys and Mr Michael Fallet, merchants and owners, and no other (except Mr Joseph Jackson merchant) may have liberty to supply the fleet with wine and brandy for this summer's expedition, selling the brandy at seven or eight shillings per gallon and the wines also at reasonable rates; and that Mr Joseph Jackson merchant and owner may have another order of the like nature, in his order only excepting the foresayd Mr Cornelius Dennys and Mr Michael Fallet.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In Berkeley's hand. Endorsed by Nottingham: 'Lord Berkeley's proposall'.*

462. THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO NOTTINGHAM

[?1693.] Saturday morning. Requests (if Nottingham thinks it proper) a pass for a Popish gentlewoman who once served a relation of his, and now wishes to enter a nunnery at Calais.

2pp. *Holograph.*

463. CHARLES WITHER TO NOTTINGHAM

[?1693.] Suffolk Street, Monday morning. Concerning a project for raising money (apparently on land) which he has already mentioned to Nottingham.

4pp. *Holograph.*

464. — TO THE KING

[?1693.] 'I hope your Majestie in the presence of the lords spiritual and temporal in this parlement assembled will pardon me the libertie I take to give your Majesty an account of mylord Duke or [*sic*] Ormont's troop which is now in Holland.

'It is certain that there is none of the guards butt has been very glad to be there the last campagne because they all thought that their courage, fidelitie or obedience was to be try'd before your Majesty would trust them his owne person, butt believing now all that to be knowne to your Majesty whom they love with all their hearts, they desire earnestly to be recall'd and to take again their antient post as well as the three other companies.

'They, being your Majesty's guardes, are of a small or no service there; besides some are of opinion here that they shall be kept out of this kingdome for some unknowne reason, which others call crime; it turns to their family's

infamie. In a word there is ne'r one of 'em butt languishes there and would by all meanes be call'd home again, that he might spend the last drop of his blood where soever it be for butt about your Majesty's person.

'They have been always the faithfulllest and the most readie to obey of all your Majesty's subjects, and so, what grief would it be to them if they did dy farr from your Majesty and without having enjoy'd his glorious and delightfull sight.

'It is true that my Lord Duke doth incite them as much as he can to stay there, butt they, I am sure on't, won't, tho' they don't show to his Grace the least thing to the contrary, because they love him and so would not willingly displease him in the least, which should be seen if they were putt to their oth.

'One thing, besides their inconsiderable service there, is that their familys perish here, for their pay being hardly sufficient to maintaine 'em there, they cannot helpe them.

'Which if your Majesty takes into a just consideration, I don't dout butt [that they] [torn] shall be recall'd and by the same meane[s] increase the number of your Majesty's most trusty servants, oblidging them besides to ever pray for your Majesty's good success.'

2½ pp. *Endorsed by Nottingham:* 'Letter to the King from—'.

465. JACOBITE ACTIVITIES

[?1693–5.] 'At Captain Wahup's house a Scotts man that married the Lady Carterett behind the Ridd Lyon near Brentford meets a knott of King James's freinds that interest themselves in the Scotts affaires. Lord Forbese there almost ev'ry night, is mighty desirous to get into the High-lands of Scotland or into France. Captain Bingham his great confident is a mighty sollicitous agent for the cause, receives and brings all the paquetts to and from Mr James Craggs in the Haymarkett that come or goe to France. Donelan an Irishman. Adam Colclough. Lord Ross of Ireland. Colonel Walter Burke, desires now to steale away for France. Bingham aforesaid. Craggs aforesaid.

'The knott all meete late in the night att the Raine Deer in Suffolke Street almost ev'ry night.

'There is one Lane (brother to the dancing master) an inveterate agent; he absconds att present, hath a great influence over Lord Salisbury.'

1½ pp. *Endorsed by Nottingham:* 'Received from Mr Fielding.'

466. QUEEN MARY OF MODENA

[?1693–6.] 'This is to lett all my friends know that I trust this bearer intirely and they may do so to, for to my knoledge he is extremly honest and

zealous in his master's service. If any can help him to hide himself or to get back safe to me, they will do me a great peece of service. Maria R.'

Holograph, on a slip of paper two inches by three, on the back of which is written: 'For yourself'. Seal: M.R. surmounted by a crown. On a covering sheet, slightly larger, is written: 'Taken by Kitson July 15 among papers seald up and thrown out of a window in Lady Mon[t]g[omery]'s house'. The whole has been folded into a tiny packet and from the marks upon it would appear to have been stitched into some article of clothing. Both papers are printed in Pearl Finch's History of Burley-on-the-Hill (Vol. I, p.188) but with several errors.*

*Pearl Finch believed that 'Lady Montgomery' referred to Lady Margaret Johnstone (1654–1726), wife of the conspirator Sir James Montgomery or Montgomerie, 4th Bt. (d. 26 Sept. 1694), which would date the interception of the letter c1693. However, it is perhaps more likely to be July 1696 and to refer to Mary Preston (d. 1724), wife of William Herbert, 2nd Marquess of Powis, who was styled Viscount Montgomery until his succession in July 1696 (and so described by contemporaries for some time afterwards). A warrant was issued in August for his arrest, whilst Lady Montgomery's cook was released at the same time after arrest and interrogation on suspicion of sending letters to Scotland (*Cal.S.P.Dom.* 1696, pp.340, 354). James Kitson was active 1689–97 as a King's messenger employed against Jacobites, so the reference to him does not help to date the letter.

Nottingham was under some pressure during his next term of office to let the House of Lords see (among other secret papers) a letter in his possession 'written by the proper hand of the late Queen at St. Germans to some person in Scotland', but he told the House that the papers 'could not be then properly communicated without prejudice to the publick service' (Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch Hatton MSS., Lords' address 15 Feb. 1703 [-04]).

PART II. SECRET SERVICE PAPERS 1691–1693

A1. MEMORIAL FROM FRANÇOIS DE GAULTIER, SIEUR DE ST. BLANCARD

[1691, ? May.] 'Mylord Nottingham trouvera deux lettres jointes à ce mémoire. [These letters are missing.]

'I. L'une est une lettre dattée de Paris et signée St. Aubin, qui est un nom supposé, dans laquelle celui qui l'a écrite, et qui avoit proposé auparavant de lier une correspondance avec les ministres du Roi, et en particulier avec Monsieur Coxe en Suisse, promet, sous des termes enveloppez, des avis tres-importans de la cour de France, si l'on veut lier cette correspondance et faire quelque petite dépense pour cela. J'en parlai à sa Majesté dans l'audience qu'elle me fit l'honneur de me donner le dernier jour de février, et je lui fis voir cette lettre. Sa Majesté jugea à-propos de ne pas négliger cette intelligence; mais elle me fit l'honneur de me dire que si les avis qu'on donneroit passaient par la Suisse, ce long détour pourroit les rendre inutiles; et qu'ainsi il faudroit qu'on les envoyât ici directement, et qu'on pourroit les adresser au Sieur Clignet, maistre des postes de Leyden.

'J'écrivis en même tems en Suisse, comme sa Majesté me l'avoit commandé, afin qu'on tâchât de lier la correspondance avec ledit Sieur Clignet. Mais lorsque j'ai voulu lui en parler, avant que de me retirer, il m'a opposé deux difficultez, qui l'empêchent de se charger de cela. L'une, qu'il doit partir dans peu de jours pour l'Allemagne, où il fera un assez long séjour. Et l'autre, que toutes les lettres qui lui sont adressées de France sont ouvertes. A quoi ledit Sieur Clignet a ajouté que pour faire que les avis qui viendront de la cour de France arrivent en sûreté, et sans que les lettres soient ouvertes, il est nécessaire qu'elles soient adressées à des marchands d'Amsterdam ou de Rotterdam, à cause du grand commerce de ces deux villes.

'Je supplie tres-humblement, Mylord, d'en informer sa Majesté, et de me faire savoir les ordres qu'il lui plaira de donner là-dessus, afin que je puisse en donner avis en Suisse. Si l'on est en peine d'un marchand à qui l'on puisse confier ces avis, et que sa Majesté agréé qu'ils tombent entre les mains de Monsieur Jurieu, j'écrirai qu'on les adresse à un marchand de Rotterdam qui reçoit pour lui fort sûrement toutes les lettres qui lui viennent de France.

'II. L'autre lettre que je joins à ce mémoire est dattée de Geneve et contient un nouvel avis contre l'homme dont je me donnai l'honneur de parler à Mylord la veille du départ de la cour. Je fis voir à Mylord la copie d'un [*sic*] autre lettre qui venoit d'une autre personne sur le même sujet, et que j'avois fait rendre à Mylord Portland. Celle-ci est de Monsieur Pictet, pasteur et

professeur en théologie à Geneve. Mylord peut se souvenir que je lui dis que cet homme étoit ici et qu'il étoit logé avec Monsieur Dubourdieu. En cas que Mylord juge à-propos de lui en parler, je le supplie de ne pas faire connoître que ces avis aient passé par mes mains.'

III. My brother Barthelemy Gaultier is serving the King in Piedmont as a reformed captain of dragoons in Balthazar's regiment by virtue of a commission from Mr Coxe, who has promised him one from the King. Another officer, Pierre Fonton, is serving on the same footing in the same regiment. Should the King be intending to augment that regiment, which is only four companies strong, I beg that my brother may be given a commission to form one of the new companies; if not, that he may have one to raise a company of dragoons in due course, while retaining his position in Balthazar's regiment meanwhile.

IV. I have already spoken to you of the suggestion made by several people that the King should send a colony of French refugees to Ireland. 'Cela tireroit une infinité de réfugiés qui sont en divers endroits, et sur-tout en Suisse, où l'on ne veut plus les souffrir, de la nécessité où ils seront réduits de mourir de faim ou de retourner en France, comme plusieurs l'ont déjà fait.' It would have the further advantage that Ireland would be peopled and the Protestant party strengthened there. You promised to write to Lord Sydney on the matter and at your own suggestion I spoke of it to the Bishop of London, who promised his support on his return to England.

V. I enclose a *placet* from Monsieur Théodore Ducros, refugee minister in Switzerland and brother-in-law of Monsieur Madronnet, who was a captain in the King's forces in Ireland and died there, which represents that Ducros provided Madronnet with five or six hundred pounds to help him raise his company, and prays the King to reimburse him out of what was due to Madronnet. You promised to send this *placet* to Lord Sydney and to let me know the response.

3 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French. Unsigned and unaddressed. In the same hand as that of letters signed by Gaultier in SP 96/7.*

B. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN NOTTINGHAM AND JURIEU

B1. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691, June 16. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu la vostre du 2/12 de ce mois [*missing*] avec les nouvelles y jointes, dont je vous remercie. Je serois bien aise si vous pouviez trouver le moyen de faire venir directement a Rotterdam les avis de France que pourra donner cet homme ['St. Aubin'] dont Monsieur Gautier vous a parlé, sans faire le tour de Suisse, car quoique les lettres que Monsieur Coxe m'a envoyées de sa part ne contiennent pour la plus part que ce qui n'est de fort grande importance, neantmoins il seroit a propos d'avoir ces nouvelles le plus promptement qu'il est possible; c'est pourquoi je vous prie de songer a un plus court chemin que celuy de la Suisse, et qui soit seur.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Letter Book II, p.63.

B2. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691, June 23. Whitehall. I received a letter from you last Saturday [17 June] and your letter of the 19th yesterday. 'Je feray payer les 220 escus dont vous m'escrivez et aussi les quatre pistolles que le marchand françois a Rotterdam a deboursé pour le port des lettres qu'il a receues de son correspondent a Rochelle, et comme je vous ay desja mandé que pour eviter les delays en envoyant ces lettres par la Suisse, qui feront perdre tout l'avantage qu'on pourra tirer de ces nouvelles toutes importantes qu'elles puissent estre, il seroit a propos de les depescher par le plus court chemini [*sic*] en Hollande. Je crois aussi qu'il sera necessaire de payer la pension dont on est demeure d'accord a celuy qui par vostre ordre aura le soin de ces lettres en Hollande, selon ce que je vous en ay escrit dans une precedente, afin qu'il fasse tenir l'argent a son ami a Rochelle, qui luy sera remis ponctuellement.

'Monsieur le Chevalier Herne s'est charge de vous faire payer les 220 escus et les 4 pistolles par Monsieur Poulle d'Amsterdam; et ce qui sera deu a l'avenir sera rendu a celuy que vous choisiez pendant tout le temps que le gentilhomme de Paris donnera des avis qui soient assez importants pour meriter une telle gratification.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *French*. Letter Book II, pp.69–70.

B3. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1691, Aug. [11/]21. 'Dans les deux lettres que je vous envoie, il y a deux papiers coupés. Pour en avoir le sens il faut avoir un troisieme qui doit estre au milieu; on le recevra sans doute vendredi prochain.'

1p. *Holograph. French*. (Enclosing nos. C1 and C2 and parts of no. C4(1).)

B4. DE PIERREFRITTE TO NOTTINGHAM

1691, Aug. 14/24. Rotterdam. 'Ce matin Monsieur Jurieu, partant pour aller au synode a Naerden, m'a recommandé de vous adresser cette lettre, ainsy que celles qui viendront de même part pendant son absence, ce que je ne manqueray de faire.'

2pp. *Holograph. French.* (Enclosing no. C4 and part of no. C4(1).)

B5. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1691, Aug. 28/Sept. 7. La Haye. 'Une absence de quinze jours que j'ay esté obligé de faire est cause qu'en envoyant les lettres qui sont venues des correspondants de Paris je n'ay pu les accompagner des miennes. Je voy par les dernieres qu'on vous a envoyées qu'outre le correspondant a qui j'ay fait toucher 220 escus par vostre ordre il y en a un autre qui espere de plus grandes recompenses et qui a fait de grandes depenses pour le service du Roy et de la cause commune. Monsieur Coxe luy a fait entendre que c'est a moy qu'il se faut adresser pour estre payé, et que j'ay vos ordres là dessus. Vous scavés, Milord, que cela n'est pas; cependant je suis pressé et importuné. Ayés la bonté, Milord, de me dire ce que je dois repondre. Si vous me permetté de vous dire ma pensée, je vous diray avec liberté qu'on ne devroit pas epargner sept ou huit cents pieces par an pour entretenir des amis et des espions en France. C'est par ce moyen que la France est si bien servie et si bien instruite de tout ce qui se passe ches ses ennemis. La personne dont on vous a envoyé la lettre par le dernier ordinaire et qui demande de l'argent me paroist avoir des intelligences tres considerables, puisque ce sont ceux la mesmes par les mains desquels passent les affaires. Je ne croy donc pas qu'on le puisse ni qu'on le doive negliger. J'attendray vos ordres la dessus.'

P.S. 'Je vous envoie, Milord, une lettre de ces messieurs par ou vous verres la somme qu'ils demandent.'

3pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 3 Sept.*

B6. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691, Sept. 4/14. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu par le dernière [*sic*] ordinaire la lettre que vous m'avez envoyée du 7e. Sept., S.N., avec celle qui y estoit jointe, et quoy que je n'en aye receu que fort peu, et que la somme d'argent soit assez grande, j'en ay ordonné le payement a cause que les nouvelles qu'on m'y communiquoit estoient fort considerables, et j'espere qu'elles sont aussy veritables. Je vous envoie donc cy-joint une lettre d'échangé pour la somme que vous desirez. Je vous prie de luy mander par le premier ordinaire qu'il vous donne en toute diligence des avis asseurez pour m'estre communiquez sur les particularitez suivantes:

'1. Quels ordres on donne a la flotte pour sortir en mer, ou pour revenir, les noms des vaisseaux desarmez, et les havres ou ils doivent demeurer.

'2. Combien de vaisseaux on va bastir, en quel havire [*sic*], combien de navires en chacun, de quelle grandeur, et quand chacun sera achevé.

'3. Combien de vaisseaux on doit envoyer aux Indes Occidentales, de quelle grandeur, qui les doit commander, et quand ils seront prests a mettre a la voile.

'4. Le contenu des ordres qu'on enverra aux vaisseaux de Dunkircke, le nombre de ceux qui doivent sortir en mer, leur grandeur, desseins, et le tems quand ils pourront se mettre a la voile.

'Voila les choses principales dont je souhaite d'estre informé, mais je vous prie d'employer votre credit que ce soit au plustost et qu'on ne me mandé rien qui ne soit tres-certaine et asseuré.'

1½ pp. *French*. Letter Book II, pp.90–1.

B7. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1691, Sept. 4/14. Rotterdam. 'J'espere que vous aurés receu par l'ordinaire de vendredy de la semaine passée lettres que je me donnois l'honneur de vous escrire par ou vous aurés vu que l'on presse fort pour avoir de l'argent, et celles cy pareillement. Je vous supplie, Milord, de m'apprendre ce que je dois repondre, car ces messieurs ne me donnent pas de repos.'

1½ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed as received 8 Sept.*

B8. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1691, Sept. 8/18. Rotterdam. 'J'ay receu la lettre de change de 3500 livres. J'en procureray le payement a Amsterdam, et ne manqueray de les faire tenir a Paris selon vôtres ordre. J'y enverray aussi le memoire et en solliciteray la réponse.'

1p. *Signed. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 11 Sept.*

B9. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691, Oct. 23. Whitehall. 'Je serois bien aise qu'un des correspondents me fasse une reponse aux questions que je vous ay envoyées pour luy estre communiqués, et cela d'autant plus que je luy ay déjà avancé une somme d'argent assez considerable, sans avoir recue de luy qu'une lettre d'importance, si les nouvelles eussent esté veritables. Et il n'y a rien dans les lettres que l'autre correspondent envoie que merite la recompense qu'il pretend. Neantmoins je suis content d'attendre encore pour quelque temps l'effet de ses promesses, et je laisse entierement a vous de menager l'affaire ainsi que vous le trouverez le plus à propos.' Thank you for yours of 23 Oct., N.S. [*missing*].

¾ p. *French*. Letter Book II, p.99.

B10. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691, Nov. 13. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu votre lettre du 6/16 de ce mois [*missing*] et je suis de votre avis que les nouvelles de ce correspondant sont tirées d'une gazette assez mediocre, de sorte que je le payeray pour le quartier dans lequel nous sommes entrez, mais apres cela je ne desireray plus de ses lettres a moins qu'il ne veut me les envoyer a trois cens livres par an, et a ce priz je seray content de les avoir telles qu'elles sont. Pour la confidante de l'autre correspondant, il n'y a qu'une lettre de consequence que j'ay receue de sa part et les nouvelles de celle la n'ont pas été veritables. Vous remarquez tres bien qu'il n'a rien repondu au sujet des quatre questions, et les delays qu'il y apporte sont d'autant plus inexcusables que le profit qu'on en pourra tirer consiste principalement en donnant des avis asseurez de bonne heure, dont le prix diminuera a mesure qu'ils tarderont a venir.

'J'embrasse tres volontiers la proposition que vous me faites de trouver des personnes de fidelité et d'intelligence, qui me donneront des avis d'importance sur lesquels le Roy se puisse fonder, et je me remets en cela entierement a vous, estant persuadé que vous menagerez l'affaire au plus grand avantage de sa Majesté et de la cause commune. Vous aurez la bonté de regler ce qu'il faut payer et m'avertir quand vous l'aurez ajusté.'

1p. *French*. Letter Book II, pp.105-6.

B11. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691, Dec. [Nov. *in error*] 4. Whitehall. 'Je suis tres satisfait de ce que vous m'avez escrit dans la votre du 27 Nov./7 Dec. [*missing*] me remettant entierement a vous de menager cette affaire au plus grand service au Roy. Je vous prie de congédier ce premier correspondant et d'asseurer le nouveau qu'il luy sera payé les deux cens guinées par an qu'il desire. Je ne puis pas vous envoyer par la poste d'aujourd'hui les deux cens escus et les mille livres dont vous faites mention dans votre lettre, mais vous aurez ces deux sommes par la prochaine, ainsi que vous pouvez escrire au premier correspondant de ne se donner plus de peine, et au nouveau de commencer a nous donner de ses nouvelles. Je ne manqueray pas aussy de vous fournir de l'argent pour les despenses qu'il faudra faire pour les voyages a Brest et aux autres ports, afin de recevoir des avis certaines de ces lieux la; et je vous diray par la prochaine les faits dont je souhaite le plus d'estre instruit. Au reste je vous laisse la conduite de cette affaire, et vous aurez l'argent qu'il faudra pour les services que vous marquez dans votre lettre. Je vous remercie de la peine que vous prenez et du zele que vous montrez pour le service du Roy.'

1p. *French*. Letter Book II, pp.107-8.

B12. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691, Dec. 8. Whitehall. 'Je vous envoie icy les deux lettres de change que je vous ay promises par la poste derniere.

'Les faits dont je serois bien aise d'estre esclairci, outre ceux dont je vous ay deja informé, sont les suivans.

'1. Dans quels ports la flotte francoise est desarmée, et combien de vaisseaux en chacun.

'2. Combien de nouveaux sont deja bastis, ou seront bastis avant le printemps, en quels ports, et de quelle grandeur.

'3. S'ils seront prests a servir l'année prochaine.

'4. Combien de vaisseaux qui pourront entrer en ligne de bataille seront dans la flotte, et si les equipages sont complets ou non.

'5. Si leurs galeres doivent estre employes dans nos mers l'esté prochaine, et a quoy ils doivent servir.

'6. Si on tiendra un escadre dans la Mediterranée l'esté prochaine, combien, et de quelle grandeur.

'7. Si l'on a envoyé un escadre aux Indes Occidentales, combien de vaisseaux, et de quelle grandeur; si l'on y a mis des soldats ou des provisions et combien.'

Noted in margin in Nottingham's hand: 'Enclosed 2 bills drawne by Sir Joseph Herne upon Mr Poulle of Amsterdam (1) 2000 livres Dutch money, (2) 200 crowns.'

1p. *French*. Letter Book II, pp.108–9.

B13. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1691, Dec. 8/18. 'Jay cru qu'il ne seroit pas mauvais de vous faire voir un eschantillon [sample] de nostre nouveau correspondant. Ce n'est point encore des nouvelles de commande destinées pour vous, mais elles serviront a vous faire cognoistre l'esprit de l'homme et a vous faire juger de quoy il sera capable quand il agira avec dessein.'

2pp. *Holograph. French*.

B14. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1691, Dec. 15/25. 'Selon vos ordres et la permission que vous m'en avés donnée j'ay congedié nostre correspondant de Paris. Et j'ay reçu reponse de celuy qui doit travailler qui se dispose a faire tout ce qu'il pourra pour vous donner satisfaction. C'est un homme d'aage [*sic*] et de consideration fort affectionné a la religion et au bon parti. J'attens les lettres de change que vous

me promettés, et disposeray de l'argent selon le projet que je vous ay communiqué pour le service du Roy et pour la satisfaction de vostre grandeur.

'Je vous envoie copie de diverses lettres qui nous sont venues de Paris et de Geneve qui ne vous seront pas inutiles. Il y a sur tout un avis qui vient de bon lieu touchant un nommé de Marelle, officier que je cognois fort bien, et qui est allé en Piemont pour avoir de l'employ sous Monsieur le Duc de Schomberg en qualité d'officier réfugié de France et qui est un espion. Je ne manqueray pas d'en donner avis à Monsieur de Schomberg.'

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 22 Dec.*

B15. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1691, Dec. 21/[1692,] Jan. 12 [*sic*]. 'Ce mot est seulement pour vous donner avis de la reception de vos lettres de change afin que vous n'en soyés pas en peine; le vent contraire est cause qu'elles ont tardé douze jours. J'ay aussi envoyé des hyer vos chefs sur lesquels vous souhaitez qu'on s'instruise et j'ay mandé qu'on fit le plus de diligence, et que sil faloit pour cela quelque depense extraordinaire qu'on la fourniroit. J'ay appris, Milord, la douloureuse perte que vous aves faite de Milord vostre fils aîné.* J'ay pris une tres grande part a vostre douleur, et prie Dieu qu'il conserve vostre personne et toutes celles de vostre illustre maison.'

1p. *Holograph. French.*

B16. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691–2, Jan. 5. Whitehall. I have received your letter of 28 Dec., O.S., with the accompanying papers. 'Je ne manqueray pas de recompenser l'homme qui escrit de nouvelles de Xantonge et Poitou, mais je seray bien aise que les lettres fussent adressées a moy et non pas a des marchands, qui ne peuvent pas me donner ces lettres sitost qu'elles me seroient rendues si elles ne faisoient pas ce tour. C'est pourquoy je vous prie de faire en sorte que je les puisse recevoir par la voye la plus courte. Je vous prie de me dire ce que vous croyes qu'il faudra donner a ce gentilhomme.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, pp.110–11.*

B17. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, Jan. 5/15. Rotterdam. 'Outre les nouvelles ordinaires je vous envoie une lettre qui est tombée entre nos mains; elle est adressée a de Gennes, le capitaine de vaisseau françois qui l'année passee vint espionner les flottes

*John, Lord Finch, who had died on 12 December.

d'Angleterre et de ce pays. Celuy qui luy escrit est le second Duquesne appellé le Comte Moraut.* Il parast par cette lettre qu'ils ont ensemble une grande liaison et que la friponnerie que fit l'année passée de Gennes ne les a pas brouillés. Le dit Duquesne l'accompagna en Angleterre et luy ayda à visiter les flottes; et aujourd'hui le mesme Duquesne est parti depuis deux jours pour aller en Angleterre dans le yacht de Monsieur le Chevalier Trumball. Cela joint avec les mysteres de cette lettre que je vous envoie me persuade quil y a de la friponnerie, et quoyquil en soit il y en a plus quil n'en faut pour faire observer le dit Duquesne nommé Comte Moraut qui est à present à Londre. C'est un avis que jay cru vous devoir donner. Vous en userez selon vostre prudence consommée.'

P.S. 'On vous envoie aussi un extrait de la lettre que le Sieur Duquesne escrit a son frere; doù vous conclurrés ce que vous pourrés. Mais ces manieres mysterieuses sont suspectes. On vous supplie qu'on ne sache pas par quelle voye vous avés appris des nouvelles du dit Duquesne et les lettres interceptées qu'on vous envoie.

'Malheureusement le memoire des choses sur lesquelles vous vouliés estre instruit et que nous avions envoyé a Paris a esté perdu, et nous en renvoyons une autre. Je vous ay mandé, Milord, que j'en ay aussi envoyé un a Rochefort mesme, a un correspondant qui pourra peuestre nous en donner de plus seures nouvelles que de Paris.'

2½ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 9 Jan.*

B18. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691-2, Jan. 8. Whitehall. I have received yours of 2/12 Jan. [*missing*] with a paper concerning one Baile, which I have shown to the King, and I believe he will himself give what orders he deems necessary.

'Dans une des lettres de Paris que vous m'avez envoyées on parle de trois edits fort remarquables; le premier porte creation de notoires apostoliques en titre d'office, le second regarde toutes les societéz religieuses et les hospitaux, et porte creation de 400 greffiers des domaines des gens de mortmain, et le troisieme porte creation d'un conseiller du Roy, œconome sequestre dans chaque diocese du royaume.' Please send me these, if you can.

½ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.111.*

B19. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, Jan. 12/22. Rotterdam. 'Pour executer vos ordres je ne manqueray pas de faire en sorte autant qu'il me sera possible que les lettres qui viendront

*For de Gennes and the Duquesnes see *Finch III*, pp.xviii-xix, lviii, *Finch IV*, pp.22-3, and introduction above.

des costes de Poytou et de Xaintonge vous soyent envoyées par la plus courte voye. Je ne croy pas qu'il soit necessaire de faire encore aucune offre a ce correspondant parcequil faut scavoir au paravant quel service il vous rendra. Je luy ay fait dire seulement quil pouvoit s'assurer d'estre remboursé de tout les frays quil ferat pour la visite des flottes, et que pour la recompense il la pouvoit esperer proportionnée au service quil pourra rendre. Peutestre que cet homme pourroit bien vous instruire de la situation des costes, en cas que le Roy pensât a quelque descente. Ayés la bonté de m'apprendre ce que vous souhaités ladessus.'

1½ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 16 Jan.*

B20. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1691–2, Jan. 19/29. Rotterdam. 'Voicy la premiere lettre de nouvelles de nostre nouveau correspondant. L'affaire a esté retardée par la perte de quelques lettres. Mais enfin la partie est liée et commencée. Le commencement vous satisfera sans doute; les nouvelles sont bonnes, et avec le temps nous en aurons encore de meilleures. Cest un homme de sens, d'esprit et de merite. Je croy que vous ne trouverez pas mauvais que jaye delivré le premier quartier de cinquante guinées. On ne vous envoie pas l'original parceque cela est escrit partie en chiffre, partie en lettres blanches, mais les copies sont fideles, vous pouvés vous y assurer.'

P.S. 'Je croy, Milord, que vous avés receu presentement les arrets que vous m'avés demandés. Vous devies mesme l'avoir receu, au moins le premier, le 8/18 qui est la datte de vostre derniere, et je ne scay comment mon paquet a esté retardé a la poste. J'espere que vous l'aurès receu depuis.'

2½ pp. *Holograph. French.*

B21. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1691–2, Jan. 21/ Feb. 1 [*sic*]. 'Nos trois mille cinq cents livres monnoye de France ne sont pas perdus comme je l'ay cru, et comme j'ay eu raison de le croire; l'homme qui les a touchées est arrivé en cette ville, et m'a rendu un conte exact de sa conduite, et jay trouvé qu'il y a de l'imprudence, et des mesures malprises, mais point d'infidelité a mon sens. Voicy comme la chose va: sa grande intelligence et qu'il appelle sa confidente est un nommé Latouche, commis dans le bureau de Monsieur de Segnelay pour la marine, aujourdhuy de Monsieur de Pontchartrain. Ce commis a soin de toutes les affaires de la marine, elles passent par ses mains, et outre cela il a grande intelligence avec tous les autres commis des autres bureaux pour scavoir les affaires. Il peut donc assurément rendre de grands services. Mais il n'a pas voulu rien faire quil ne vit de l'argent. Quand nostre homme eut receu les 3500 livres que je luy ay envoyés de vostre part, il en porta deux cents louis

d'or au commis, et cet argent luy fit cognoistre qu'on ne le trompoit pas comme il avoit cru, et promit alors toute sorte de service moyennant recompense. Mais il obligea sur l'heure nostre homme a partir pour venir s'abboucher avec le Roy et ses ministres d'estat, pour scavoir quelle recompense il pourroit esperer pour ses services. Il partit donc, mais n'osant risquer de passer par la Flandres a cause des villes et des grosses garnisons qui courent tousjours, il a pris le tour de la Suisse et de l'Allemagne, et il a employé deux mois à son voyage. C'est ce retardement qui nous a deconcertés. Il estoit desja parti et à mi chemin de Suisse quand il a reçu le memoire de 15 questions que je luy avois envoyé pour l'éprouver. On les luy envoya en Suisse, d'où il les a renvoyées au commis son correspondant, lequel luy a envoyé ses reponces lesquelles je vous envoie. Quant aux quatre faits que vous m'aviés envoyés vous mesmes, il les a envoyés aussi au commis, mais il n'en a pas reçu de reponse. Aujourd'hui il les renvoie et pressera son correspondant de donner prompte reponse sur les quatre faits, et autres que j'ajousteray, surtout quelle place les Francois ont dessein d'assiéger en Flandres et s'il est vray, comme il le dit dans les reponces que je vous envoie, que les Francois ayent desseins d'assiéger Yvrée [Ivrea] en Piemont, ce qu'il seroit important de scavoir. J'ay exhorté cet homme a passer en Angleterre pour avoir l'honneur de vous entretenir. Mais a cause que le Roy est sur son depart pour venir icy il en fait difficulté, et espere avoir l'honneur de vous voir icy et de prendre des mesures pour l'avenir. En attendant il écrira a son correspondant, luy promettant toute recompense s'il sert utilement, et nous en tirerons par nos questions toutes les lumieres que nous pourrons. Vous mesmes, Milord, ayés la bonté de penser aux faits nouveaux sur lesquels vous voudriés estre instruit, et ayés la bonté de scavoir du Roy ce qu'il souhaiteroit scavoir touchant les affaires de la guerre par terre et nous envoyer promptement ces faits, que nous enverrons a Paris. Je croy que nous pourrons tirer bon service de ce commis, mais il faudra faire de la depense; car ces commis des bureaux de France sont riches, et on ne les peut remuer que pour de l'argent. Vous aurés la bonté de nous faire scavoir, Milord, si vous passerez avec le Roy. Et en cas qu'un autre vienne, vous prendrés la peine de bien informer le Roy de tout et aussi le Secrétaire d'Estat qui l'accompagnera. J'attens vos ordres la dessus, Milord, et vous aurés la bonté de ne me les pas retarder.

'Je ne scaurois finir sans vous rendre mes tres humbles actions de gra[c]e de la bonté que vous avés eu de parler au Roy de ce malhonneste homme nommé Bayle. Cest uniquement pour l'interest du Roy que j'ay entrepris de pousser ce fripon qui est traistre au Roy et a la religion: et je ne me propose pas d'autre but que de servir le public et le Roy. Je vous prie de l'en faire ressouvenir avant qu'il parte. Je vous rends aussi, Milord, de tres humbles actions de grace des marques de vostre bonté pour moy que vous avés données a Monsieur Blancart mon amy.'

P.S. 'Depuis ma lettre escrite j'ay fort entretenu nostre homme, et plus je le manie et plus je me persuade qu'on ne nous trompe pas. Tout au moins est il clair que l'on ne risque rien.

'Je luy ay fait expliquer nettement le sujet de son voyage et sa commission. Il m'a declaré qu'il venoit icy par un ordre expres du commis du bureau de la marine pour traiter avec le Roy.

'Je luy ay demandé quelles sont les conditions que l'homme de Paris demande. Il m'a repondu qu'il avoit commission de dire que cet homme se fie entirement a la parole du Roy Guillaume, parce qu'il scait que ce prince est religieux observateur de ses paroles; qu'il ne demande rien plus que les deux cents louis d'or qu'il a receu, jusqu'à ce qu'on l'ait mis a l'épreuve et qu'il ait donné des avis tres utiles.

'Mais il requiert deux choses qui me paroissent raisonnables, la premiere que quand il aura donné de bons avis, et a temps, mais dont on n'aura pas profité a cause de la negligence des alliés ou pour ce que leurs ordres n'auront pas esté fidelement executés, on ne laisse pas de luy en tenir conte. Et la dessus je vous diray, Milord, qu'afin qu'on puisse profiter des avis que cet homme donnera, et que le profit n'en soit pas retardé, il est necessaire qu'on face part de ces avis a cet estat. Car il y a telle occasion où la promptitude sera absolument necessaire, et le voyage de la mer pour aller et revenir en Angleterre apporte presque tousjours un retardement de plusieurs semaines, ce qui peut empescher l'execution d'un dessein et faire manquer une occasion. Ainsi je croy que vous jugerés l'à propos de communiquer par de ca la mer á cet estat les avis qui demanderont prompte execution; on ne laissera pas de vous tenir les avis avec le plus de diligence que faire se pourra.

'L'autre condition qu'il pose, c'est qu'on luy face part du profit qui reviendra des vaisseaux marchands qu'il fera prendre. Car comme c'est par ses mains que passent les passeports, rien ne scauroit partir sans qu'il le sache, et il en avertira.

'Nous avons envoyé par la poste d'hyer ce que j'ay pu imaginer de faits sur lesquels le Roy a interest d'estre instruit. Mais je vous reitere encore la priere d'en conferer avec le Roy, et de scavoir de luy sur quels faits il souhaite particulierement d'estre informé, tant pour la mer que pour la terre et de me les envoyer.'

6½ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 31 Jan.*
(Enclosing nos. D5 and O5.)

B22. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1691–2, Jan. 27/Feb. 8. 'L'homme duquel je vous ay escrit est encore icy et y sera en attendant la venue du Roy et vos ordres. J'ay jugé a propos d'envoyer a son correspondant un memoire des faits dont il vous sera utile d'estre instruit. Quand celuy que nous attendons de vostre part sera arrivé nous l'enverrons; en

attendant on apprendra peutestre quelquechose de ce que vous souhaitez scavoir. Je vous envoie, Milord, une copie du memoire qu'on a envoyé a Paris. Vous nous ferés scavoir s'il vous agrée, et si vous souhaitez qu'on reponde autrement au sujet des conditions qu'il veut establir pour son commerce.

'Je vous envoie aussi, Milord, la derniere lettre du correspondant de Paris que l'on a congedié. Vous verres quil a reçu ses deux cents escus. Mais vous verrés aussi quil n'est pas content, et pretend qu'on le doit rembourser de cent escus de frays que luy et ses camarades ont fait. Il ne me donne aucun repos ladessus. Vous aurés la bonté, Milord, de me faire scavoir ce que je dois luy repondre definitivement. Pour moy je le croy bien payé de ses peines par l'argent qu'il a reçu. Cependant, Milord, si vous jugés a propos de faire cesser ses importunités en luy accordant les cent escus il m'en reviendra du repos, et vous n'en aurés pas la teste rompue.

'Je n'ay point encore reçu reponse des costes de Xaintonge, mais sitost que je l'auray je vous l'enverray.

'J'espere que vous serés content des nouvelles de nostre correspondant de Paris qui sont fort bonnes.'

1½ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 2 Feb.*

B23. — TO NOTTINGHAM

[1692, ?Jan.-Feb.] 'Dens labsence de Monsieur Jurieu je vous envoie cette lettre parce que je reconoit l'écriture de vôtre ancien corespondant. Il a grand envie de vous persuader de continuer a vous servir de luy et pour sela il écrit souvent à Monsieur Jurieu. Il reviendra bien tôt du sinode ou des affaires eclesiastiques fort importantes lont obligé daller. Si devant son retour il arive des ordres de votre part, Milord, il[s] ne laisseront pas de sexecuter avec beaucoup dexactitude.'

1p. *French.*

B24. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691-2, Feb. 2. Whitehall. 'J'ay reçu vostre lettre du 21 de Janvier, S.V., et pour ce qui est de celui qui vous fournit les nouvelles, il fait tres-bien en se fiant a la bonté du Roy, qui ne manquera pas de recompenser ses services selon l'importance des avis qu'il mandera. Et s'il pourra donner connoissance d'aucun vaisseau en mer, en sorte que par son moyen le vaisseau soit pris, il aura une gratification pour le service qu'il aura rendu dans cette occasion outre sa recompense ordinaire.

'Si parmi les nouvelles que vous recevrez de luy vous trouverez aucune qui merite d'estre communiquée au Pensionaire, je vous prie de le faire.'

¼ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.115.*

B25. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691–2, Feb. 5. Whitehall. ‘J’ay receu votre lettre du 26me. du mois dernier, S.N., ou vous me dites l’importunité du premier correspondant, qui estant deschargé n’est pas satisfait du quartier que vous luy avez payé, mais il me ressemble que ce qu’il a receu est beaucoup plus que ses nouvelles n’ont pas merité, ainsi qu’il me semble qu’il en devoit estre tres-content; ce que je vous mande, afin que par le moyen de cette reponse vous ne soyez plus importunez de sa part.’

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. *French.* Letter Book II, pp.115–16.

B26. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1691–2, Feb. 9/19. Rotterdam. ‘Vous avés dans ce paquet une lettre du correspondant de Xaintonge. Pour vous en dire ma pensée, je ne le trouve pas d’assés bon sens pour en tirer un fort grand usage. Et d’ailleurs si le commis du bureau de la marine dont je vous ay escrit nous sert bien nous scaurons suffisamment des nouvelles de la mer. Cependant je croy qu’il ne faut pas tout a fait rompre avec le Xaintongois; on en tirera le plus de lumiere qu’on pourra et au bout de temps on le payera à proportion du service qu’il aura rendu, sans pourtant faire aucun traitté avec luy. Je n’ay point receu de lettre du bureau ces deux derniers ordinaires et j’en suis surpris. J’escriray jeudy prochain pour en scavoir la raison. Le messenger venu expres dont je me suis donné lhonneur de vous escrire est a La Haye depuis quelques jours. Il a conferé avec Monsieur Dikvelt qui cognoist lhomme du bureau et qui est tres ayse de ce qui est fait, ne doutant nullement qu’on n’en tire un grand service. Je vous envoie les nouvelles ordinaires de nostre correspondant. Il souhaite de scavoir comme vous estes content de luy.’

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed as received 14 Feb.*

B27. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1691–2, Feb. 15/26 [*sic*]. Rotterdam. ‘En fermant le paquet de nos nouvelles ordinaires je recois celle de Monsieur Coxé. Elle me paroist importante. Nous avons desja appris d’ailleurs que les cantons protestants se laissent entierement gagner par la France, et qu’un peu d’argent arresteroit cette triste resolution. Monsieur Coxé pretend que je joindray mes prieres aux siennes pour obtenir de sa Majesté de vouloir bien faire la depense necessaire pour empescher l’exécution de la resolution des cantons. Mais tout ce que je puis faire est de vous envoyer la lettre de Monsieur Coxé et de vous prier d’y faire vos reflexions, et de porter le Roy a en faire. Assurement tous ceux qui s’interessent dans la bonne cause auroient une obligation infinie a sa Majesté si elle vouloit empescher ce mal. Certainement l’honneur de la

couronne d'Angleterre y est tout à fait engagé et ce sera un triomphe a nos ennemis de nous voir arracher les Suisses et de leur faire rompre la neutralité pour se declarer pour la France. Je prie Dieu qu'il benisse vos conseils et qu'il preside sur les resolutions de sa Majesté.'

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 22 Feb.*

Enclosing:

B27(1). Coxe to Jurieu. 1692, Feb. 3/13. Berne. [For main part of text see above, *Finch IV*, pp.12–13.] 'Je conviens avec vous, Monsieur, de tout ce que vous me dites touchant nos correspondants de Paris, et j'ay escrit a celuy qui y reste, que je ne puis plus me mesler de ses affaires. Pour l'autre, je ne doute pas qu'il ne vous ait vû, et communiqué la réponse (telle quelle) a vos questions; puisqu'il y a fort longtemps qu'il est parti d'icy dans ce dessein, avec celuy de passer outre en Angleterre; sur quoy je l'ay conseillé de prendre vostre approbation.'

P.S. '... Je devois vous dire, Monsieur, sur le sujet de nos correspondants, que j'espérois tousjours qu'un seul bon-avis pourroit récompenser leurs pauvretéz ordinaires; et qu'un homme de fort bon sens devoit estre doué d'un courage extraordinaire pour s'exposer, sur les lieux mesmes, a rien escrire de fort important dans des termes fort intelligibles et ouverts. Celuy qui est allé vous trouver m'avoit esté fort recommandé.'

6 pp. *Holograph. French.*

B28. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1691–2, Feb. 26/March 7 [*sic*]. Rotterdam. 'Je ne doute pas que Monsieur Coxe ne s'acquitte exactement de ce qu'il doit et ne vous rende conte de ce qu'il fait et de ce qu'il pourroit faire en Suisse. Il juge a propos de m'en informer sans besoin qu'il en soit, parceque je ne suis pas en estat de luy estre en secours. Il souhaite que je me donne lhonneur de vous en escrire. Pour moy je ne scaurois mieux exprimer ses pensées que luy mesme, c'est pourquoy je prens la liberté de vous envoyer la copie de sa lettre. J'avoue qu'il me fait pitié dans les bonnes intentions qu'il a, et dans le train qu'il voit prendre aux affaires. Je vous conjure, Milord, de penser de représenter au Roy les suites si les Suisses jettent dans la Savoye 20 ou 30 mille hommes. La porte sera entierement fermée pour entrer en France de ce costé la. Tous les frays que le Roy a faits pour envoyer Monsieur de Shomberg en ce pays et pour y entretenir des troupes seront entierement perdus. Et ce qui sera le plus fascheux, le Roy de France n'ayant plus a garder cette frontiere de Savoye et de Dauphiné tirera l'armée de Piemont pour grossir celle de Flandres. Ainsi le Roy en aura tant plus de forces sur les bras. C'est une affaire qui nous paroist de la derniere importance. Trouvés bon aussi, Milord, que je joigne mes prieres a l'intercession de Monsieur Coxe pour les pauvres Vaudois qui perissent de misere. Je me donnay l'honneur de vous envoyer mardi dernier une lettre de Geneve, par où il paroist que l'on continue a les tenter, et que l'on craint qu'il[s] ne succombent. La femme du pauvre Monsieur Arnaud perit de misere, s'estant appuyée sur la pension que la Reyne avoit eu la bonté

de promettre a son mary. Je suis persuadé que leurs Majestés font du bien de toute l'estendue de leur pouvoir. Nous avons tousjours icy l'homme de Paris dont je me suis donné l'honneur de vous escrire. Nous attendons l'arrivée de sa Majesté pour tout regler.'

3pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 3 March.*

B29. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691-2, March 8. Whitehall. 'Ayant receu la lettre cy joint d'un fort honneste gentilhomme, je vous la recommande, a fin qu'elle soit rendue selon son adresse. Mais je crois que ce sera beaucoup mieux de ne la pas envoyer a mes correspondens ordinaires a Paris mais de vous servir plustost de quelque autre personne pour la faire tenir, en qui vous puissiez fier.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.48.*

B30. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691-2, March 11. Whitehall. 'Je receus par le dernier ordinaire deux lettres de vous avec un post-script dans l'une, escrit de la part de la Confidente. Je ne scauray rien de plus particulier sur ce qui le regarde que ce que je vous ay mandé dans le mienne [*sic*] du 2d. de fevrier, n'ayant encore receu que peu d'avis de sa part, et rien qui soit fort important. Mais vous serez le juge de ce qu'il pourra meriter, et je luy feray payer ce que vous trouverez raisonnable. Il n'y a rien que je puisse dire sur ce qui regard celuy qui est venu de sa part à Rotterdam, le Roy estant en Hollande, ainsi qu'il vous plaira de scavoir de sa Majesté ce qu'il ordonnera la dessus.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.118.*

B31. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, March 15/25. Rotterdam. 'Je me donne l'honneur de vous envoyer la declaration du Roy de France au sujet des affaires de Savoye. L'original imprimé a esté envoyé au Roy, c'est pourquoy je ne vous envoie que la copie manuscrite. J'ay eu l'honneur de recevoir les ordres du Roy touchant les correspondants. Il a agréé les propositions qui luy sont faites de Paris, et m'a ordonné de continuer de recevoir les avis: un double pour luy et l'autre pour vous, afin que vous soyés tousjours averti des choses qui regardent la marine. Quant a celuy qui est envoyé de Paris, le Roy en a aussi disposé et il juge à propos quil luy rende ses services dans l'armée du Roy de France qui sera en Flandres. Pour la recompense de celuy de Paris qui est un homme assés important, j'ay fait comprendre a sa Majesté qu'on ne doit pas conter qu'on le puisse contenter pour peu de chose. Mais ce qu'il y a de bon, c'est qu'il ne demande recompense que selon les services qu'il rendra; ce qui a plu au Roy.

Je n'ay pas manqué d'adresser seurement la lettre que vous m'avés envoyée pour Xaintes.'

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 19 March.*

Enclosing:

B31(1). [1692, March.] 'Memoire des offres faittes de la part du Roy au Duc de Savoye pour le rétablissement du repos de l'Italie.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed as received 19 March 1691–2.* (For an English summary of the published French proposals see the *London Gazette*, 21–24 March 1691[–2], under Paris, March [14/] 24.)

B32. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1691–2, March 18. Whitehall. 'N'ayant pas reçu depuis peu des lettres de vostre ami en Santogne, je vous prie de luy escrire sur cela, afin qu'il me mande tout ce qui regarde l'armement sur ces costes, et principalement sur les articles que je vous ay envoyé autrefois; et je serois bien aise qu'il fasse cela toutes les fois qu'il en aura le moyen. Je ne manqueray pas de reconnoistre les services qu'il rendra en cela, ainsi que je vous l'ay dit desja. Je vous prie aussy d'escrire a la Confidente qu'il m'envoye les lettres autant de fois que l'autre correspondant de Paris [Poulion], ce qu'il n'a pas fait jusques icy.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.119.*

B33. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, March 21/ April 1 [*sic*]. Rotterdam. 'Je viens de recevoir presentement la vostre du 18 de mars. Vous demandés des nouvelles de nostre correspondant de Xaintonge. Celle que j'ay eu l'honneur de vous envoyer me paroissoit si confuse que je n'osois le presser de continuer, craignant qu'elles ne vous fussent pas agreables. Mais puisque vous jugès qu'elles pourront estre utiles, je ne manqueray pas de luy escrire de nous apprendre ce qu'il scaura. Mais je voy bien qu'on ne tire de luy des lettres qu'avec peine. Vous en comprenès aysement la raison. Je vous envoie aujourd'hui une lettre de la Confidente. Mais je n'oserois me promettre ce que vous souhaitez, c'est qu'il nous escrive aussi souvent que l'autre correspondant de Paris. C'est a dire tout au moins chaque semaine reglement. Je luy escriray pourtant cela. Mais c'est un homme occupé, estant premier commis d'un bureau. De plus il doit se menager, n'escrire que rarement et se reserver pour les coups importants, de peur de tomber dans quelque piege et d'estre decouvert. C'est l'avis du Roy avec qui jay communiqué de cette affaire. Nous ferons tout ce qui sera possible pour vostre contentement et pour le service de sa Majesté.'

P.S. 'Après mon paquet fait jay reçu la lettre de Xaintonge cy jointe. J'ay rouvert la mienne pour la joindre.'

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 26 March.*

B34. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, April 1/11. Rotterdam. 'Vous avés eu la bonté de faire esperer a nostre correspondant de Paris qu'il recevroit tous les quartiers par avance les cinquante guinées que vous voulés bien luy donner tous les trois mois. Le premier quartier est payé et achevé depuis dix ou douze jours; ainsi nous allons avancer dans le second quartier, et je vous supplie de donner les ordres necessaires pour le payement de ces cinquante guinées. Voicy le conte du dernier argent que j'ay receu par vos ordres.

'Au mois de janvier dernier j'ay receu par ordre de Milord Nottingham monnaye de Hollande	1500 florins.
'Sur quoy j'ay envoyé a Paris pour l'ancien correspondant	500 florins.
'J'ay donné au nouveau correspondant cinquante guinées que Milord luy a promis par quartier: 50 guinées sont monnaye de Hollande	600 florins.
'En ports de lettres de Paris, Xaintonge, Suisse, Geneve, Londres et autres petits frays il a esté depensé un an	200 florins.
'Pour un copiste [Legoux] qui prend la peine de copier et dechiffrer les lettres, et d'escire pour moy quand je ne puis escire moy mesme, et porter les lettres aux postes, depuis un an	200 florins.
'Ainsi il ne me reste plus rien pour les depenses ordinaires et extrordinaires. Milord me fera tenir ce quil jugera a propos.'	

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 5 April.*

B35. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692, April 5. Whitehall. 'Je n'ay receu la vostre du 1/11 de ce mois qu'aujourd'hui, ainsi il m'a esté impossible de vous faire des remises par cette poste, ce que je feray sans faute par la prochaine; et a l'avenir je vous prie de m'avertir quelques jours devant que le quartier vien d'estre payé au correspondant, et aussy de tout ce que vous aurez depensé, et je ne manqueray pas a vous envoyer l'argent.

'J'ay donné aujourd'hui cent livres sterling a un marchand françois de Londres pour estre remis au correspondant de Xaintonge, dont je vous prie de l'avertir et le prier au mesme temps d'escire souvent et de marquer toutes les particularités a l'esgard de la flotte dont il se peut informer.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, pp.120-1.*

B36. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692, April 8. Whitehall. 'Je vous envoie icy une lettre de change pour les mille guilders que je vous promis par la derniere poste, afin que vous puissiez prendre autant qu'il faut pour payer ce qui est deu au correspondant de Paris, et vous servir du reste pour rembourser les depenses necessaires sur cette occasion selon ce que vous jugerez les plus a propos. Monsieur John Thompson est le marchand françois a qui j'ay donné les cent livres sterling pour estre remis au correspondant de Xaintogne dont je vous priay par la derniere de l'avertir.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French*. Letter Book II, p.122.

B37. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, April 8/18. Rotterdam. 'Voicy la copie d'un avis que j'ay aujourd'hui reçu de Paris en deux paquets et deux adresses. Cela vient de la part de nostre ancien correspondant qui essaye de se raccrocher.

Nous scavons de bonne part que le grand ingenieur Monsieur de Vauban est parti ce matin et que plusieurs habiles ingenieurs ont ordre de le suivre. Cest assurément pour surprendre quelque place ou poste important. Ne manqués pas s'il vous plaist de faire scavoir au directeur qu'il ne seroit pas difficile de luy acquerir l'ami de Monsieur le Colonel Cambon nommé le Sieur de Grand Combe qu'il a cydevant tant souhaité d'avoir. Je suis fort dans sa confidence, et si j'en avois ordre je pourrois autant prevaloir sur son esprit que tout autre. La chose presse; donnés en bientost avis au directeur, afin qu'on puisse scavoir sa volonté touchant cet habile commis.

'J'ay envoyé l'original au Roy et l'ay prie de donner ses ordres la dessus. Cela me paroist d'un homme qui s'offre et je croy que le Sieur de Grand Combe a fait escrire cet homme pour sonder si on le veut et s'il sera bien reçu. Si vous jugés a propos que je recoive aussi vos ordres la dessus, vous aurés la bonté de me les donner.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 11 April.*

B38. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692, April 8 [*recte* c12]*. Whitehall. 'Je ne puis pas respondre a ce que vous m'escrivez dans le vostre du 8/18 de ce mois touchant le Sieur de Grand Comte, n'ayant point de connoissance de luy ni de sa capacité. Et je ne scay si je devois me fier au premier correspondant qui jusques a present ne m'a escrit que de bagatelles. Tout ce que je pourray vous dire est que je serois bien aise de pouvoir engager quel que ce soit qui fust en estat de me donner des advis importans. Mais puisque vous avez communiqué cette affaire au Roy,

*The date of 8 April entered in the letter book is obviously incorrect, as it is written in reply to the letter of 8/18 April endorsed as having been received on 11 April. This letter is entered between letters of 12 and 15 April, in the same hand and probably at the same time as the former.

il faut attendre les ordres que sa Majesté donnera la dessus, et quand je scauray que le Roy le trouve bon d'engager ce nouveau correspondant et ce qu'il luy accordera pour recompense des service [*sic*] qu'il rendra, je prendray des mesures icy pour vous le faire payer de temps en temps.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.123.

B39. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, April 12/22. Rotterdam. 'Je n'ay pas manqué d'executer vos ordres, et de mander a nostre correspondant de Xaintonge que vous luy destinés cent guinées. Ce present est tel que cela l'obligera a se donner plus de peine a l'avenir pour nous informer de tout. Ce que je l'ay prié de faire, tant pour ce qui regarde la flotte que sur ce que l'on fait par terre pour assurer les costes. Il est necessaire, Milord, que les cent guinées me soyent adressées, parcequ'il a son correspondant en cette ville entre les mains du quel je les mettray.

'Je travaille aussi a establisr une correspondance sur les costes de Normandie semblable a celle de Xaintonge et je ne desespere pas d'y reussir. Je vous envoie une lettre de nostre principal correspondant de Paris; l'homme qu'il avoit envoyé icy apres avoir fait ses affaires avec le Roy á son contentement s'en est retourné depuis deux jours. Son retour mettra encore l'affaire de la correspondance en meilleur estat, parcequ'elle donnera du courage au principal. Quand j'auray receu vos remises je les employeray selon vos ordres.'

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 16 April.*

B40. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, April 15/25. La Haye. 'Un billet de Monsieur le Pensionnaire m'a fait venir icy au moment que je n'y pensois pas. Cela est cause que je ne pourrays pas accompagner nos nouvelles ordinaires, qui partiront assurément, d'une lettre pour vous, Milord. Cependant, je trouve qu'il est necessaire de vous donner avis de la reception de vostre lettre de change de mille florins. Je ne manqueray pas d'en disposer en sorte qu'elle servira aux interets de sa Majesté. Quant a la somme de cent pieces que vous avés mise en main de Mr Jehan Thompson, j'en ay donné avis a l'ami de nostre correspondant de Xaintonge, nommé Monsieur Charron. Je vous supplie donc, Milord, de faire avertir le dit Sieur Thompson d'accepter et payer une lettre de change de cent pieces qu'on tirera sur luy signé Charron cet ordinaire.'

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed as received 19 April.*

B41. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, April 19/29. Rotterdam. 'Voicy les premiers fruits de nostre correspondance de Normandie; cela se pourra perfectionner. Mais on m'a donné un avis qu'il faut que je prene la liberté de vous donner. Nous avons dans le pays plusieurs maîtres de barques de Dieppe, et autres lieux de la coste de Normandie, qui durant que les protestants se sauvoyent au commencement de la persecution, faisoient un mestier d'aller prendre des gens sur la coste la nuit et les menoyent en Angleterre en sept heures de temps. Ces gens qui alloient querir des gens iroyent fort bien querir des nouvelles et toutes les sept heures ils pourroyent vous donner des nouvelles de la coste de France, de l'estat de la flotte et des costes, et tous les jours ils pourroyent en 24 heures aller et revenir en Angleterre. J'ay appris que la pluspart de ces gens sont engagés dans la flotte du pays ou dans celle d'Angleterre, mais il ne seroit rien de si aysé que de les tirer par vostre ordre et celuy de la Reyne s'ils sont sur les vaisseaux d'Angleterre, ou par les ordres du Roy [s'ils] sont sur la flotte de cet estat. On m'a promis de m'envoyer leurs noms et et [*sic*] ceux des capitaines sous lesquels ils sont engagés devant que la poste parte. Si la chose vous agréee, on y travaillera. Cela me paroistroit tout a fait bon et seur pour avoir des avis prompts et certains. Voicy le memoire et je vous l'envoye, Milord.

'Depuis que cecy est escrit je recois la lettre de nostre correspondant de Paris, par ou vous verrés que le Roy de France luymesme parle du dessein de descendre en Angleterre avec 25000 hommes comme d'une chose assurée, immanquable et prompt. Nous croyons tout cela vanterie. Cependant il est de vostre prudence de donner les ordres necessaires pour empescher les surprises. Dieu veuille faire reussir vos conseils.'

P.S. 'Comme les sages politiques profitent de tout, je prens la liberté de vous envoyer un memoire de choses qui ont esté dites par des Anglois qui ne sont point Jacobites. Vous y ferés telle reflexion que vous jugeres a propos.'

2¼ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed as received 28 April.*

B42. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, [April 22/] May 2, N.S. 'Voicy de nouvelles lettres de nostre correspondant qui sont plus expresses du dessein de la descente des Francois en Angleterre. Je n'en doute plus, persuadé bien moins par les nouvelles que par les interets du Roy de France. Car ses interets sont 1, de se defaire du Roy Jaques et de ses Irlandois. Ce sont des enfants perdus qu'on envoie se sacrifier. 2, d'embarasser le Roy Guillaume et de l'empescher de poursuivre ses desseins contre la France. 3, d'exciter une guerre civile en Angleterre. Il ne voit plus d'autre moyen de se sauver. Je suis persuadé que leurs Majestés

et leur conseil ont esté avertis de tout d'asses bonne heure pour y pourvoir selon leur prudence. C'est pourquoy je ne crains point les suites de cette descente, encore que je suis persuadé qu'on la tentera. J'envoye un memoire sur cette descente qui merite vos reflexions.'

1¼ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 April.*

B43. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

[1692, before 10 May*.] 'Je prens la liberté de vous escrire pour vous dire qu'ayant appris que Monsieur Thompson a qui vos avés donné les cent guinées pour le correspondant de Xaintonge fait les affaires de ce correspondant, je me trouve par la dechargé de cette commission parceque Mr Thompson se charge de vous remettre les nouvelles qu'il pourra tirer de la. Quant aux autres correspondants de Paris et dailleurs je continueray a en avoir soin. Je pars pour une absence de quelques semaines pour ma santé, mais je laisseray de si bons ordres que tout ira comme si j'estois present, et vous n'aurez qu'a m'adresser vos ordres directement a Rotterdam comme vous avés [esté] accoustumé. Ils seront executés sans delay.'

P.S. 'Nous avons receu une lettre de Paris de nostre correspondant [Poulion], mais l'anchre [encre, ink] blanche a encore moins marqué que la precedente. On n'en a pu rien deviner. On luy en donnera avis. Voila un imprimé qu'il nous envoie. Je ne scay si vous l'avez vu.'

2½ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 13 May 1692.*

B44. LEGOUX TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, May [13/] 23. Rotterdam. 'Monsieur Jurieu, qui partit mecredy [*sic*] dernier, pour aller aux eaux d'Aix la Chapelle, m'a chargé, Monsieur, de vous envoyer en son absence la coppie des nouvelles qui viendront de Paris: et, s'il y a quelque ordre à exécuter de vostre part, de le faire et de vous en rendre compte. Ce que je feray, Monsieur, avec toute la diligence, l'exactitude, et la fidelité d'un homme d'honneur, et trez zelé pour les interestz de sa Majesté Britannique. Je dois aller tous les jours chez luy voir les lettres, qui luy seront adressées. Et comme il m'honore de sa confiance, je me flatte, Monsieur, que vous ne me refuserez pas la vostre, dans les choses qui ont accoustumé de passer par son canal.'

1½ pp. *Holograph. French. Signed: 'Legoux gentilhomme françois réfugié'. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 16 May.*

*A letter from Jurieu to Nottingham of 10/20 May 1692, introducing a minister coming to London after preaching widely *sous la croix* in France, is at SP 84/222, f. 287. Jurieu left for Aix-la-Chapelle the same day according to his secretary Legoux (see the next item).

B45. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, May 27/June 6. [Aix-la-Chapelle.] 'Celle cy est pour vous donner avis que je croy que nous avons esté trompés, par La Tousche premier commis du bureau de la marine, et par Braconis [*sic*], c'est le nom de cet officier françois qui est venu en Hollande offrir son service et celuy de son amy La Touche. J'avois donné a Braconis un ministre a conduire en France. Ce ministre a esté trahi et pris peu de jours apres son arrivée. Je ne puis douter que Braconis ne soit l'autheur de cette trahison et cela m'a fait penser a cent choses qui m'ont ouvert les yeux et me font cognoistre que ces deux fripons sont des emissaires du Roy de France. Entr'autres, je me suis souvenu que dans les lettres que nous avons receu de La Touche il n'y a jamais eu rien d'important, ou si quelque chose estoit important il estoit faux. Par exemple, il a mandé plusieurs fois que la flotte de France ne seroit que de 70 vaisseaux et elle s'est trouvée de 90. Il nous a escrit qu'il n'y auroit que 30 vaisseaux prêts a la fin de may. C'estoit pour vous endormir et empescher que la flotte de Hollande et d'Angleterre ne se mit promptement en mer. Car cet avis estoit faux puisque sans le malheur arrivé a l'escadre de la Mediterranée et le vent contraire a la flotte de Brest, les ennemis auroient eu leur flotte devant nous dans la Manche. Adjoustés a cela qu'il ne nous a rien appris du dessein de la descente en Angleterre, et de la conspiration, que quand la cour de France a regardé l'affaire comme immanquable. Je ne croy pas me tromper dans ma conjecture, mais quand cela seroit il est bon d'estre sur ses gardes sur les avis qui pourront estre signés par Braconis ou par la Confidente. Dieu mercy tous ces ressorts ont manqué, puisque nonobstant la bataille navale a esté gagnée.'

P.S. 'Jay donné avis de cecy au Roy afin que Braconis qui doit estre a l'armée ne luy impose pas par de faux avis.'

3¼ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 6 June.*

B46. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692, June 7. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu la vostre du 6 de ce mois, S.N., dans laquelle vous me dites les soupçons que vous avez de vostre correspondant, qui semblent estre si justes et si bien fondez que vous avez tres bien fait en representant vos raisons au Roy, et en dechargant un homme auquel vous ne pouvez vous fier.'

¼ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.133.*

B47. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, July 5/15. Rotterdam. 'Je croy vous devoir apprendre que le malheureux qui s'est introduit dans la cognoissance du Roy et la vostre par le moyen de Monsieur Coxe et dont je vous avois escrit d'avoir les avis pour

suspects, est un de ces scelerats qui avoyent esté appostés pour assassiner le Roy; nous en avons assés de preuves: son voyage en ce pays estoit pour cognoistre le Roy personnellement afin de le mieux choisir. J'estois a Aix quand je fus assuré de cela, et j'envoyay incessamment un courier a l'armée pour en donner avis. Dieu soit loué qui a decouvert toutes ces detestables trahisons.

'Le quartier de nostre autre correspondant de Paris [Poulion] est eschu; au moins il est du par ce qu'on s'est engagé a payer d'avance. Milord m'a envoyé la derniere fois mille florins argent de Hollande. J'en ay envoyé 50 guinées qui font six cents florins au correspondant. Il m'en demeura quatre cent florins pour les depenses extraordinaires. Il en reste encore quelque chose, mais cela n'approche pas de ce qui est necessaire pour payer le quartier eschu. C'est pourquoy je vous supplie, Milord, de me faire toucher ces 600 florins afin de s'acquitter de la promesse qu'on a faite par vostre ordre. Je croy que Milord est content des nouvelles. Elles sont bonnes. Et il est certain que si on avoit profité de ses avis Namur ne seroit pas pris car il a averti du dessein plus de quatre mois devant. Je souhaite qu'il ne soit pas aussi bon prophete pour Mayence.'

3pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 11 July.*

B48. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, July 12/22. 'Je me donnay lhonneur de vous escrire le dernier ordinaire que je croyois necessaire de penser à nostre correspondant de Paris à qui vous avés promis cinquante guinées par quartier. Je trouve qu'il sert assés bien. C'est un homme qui a beaucoup d'esprit et de bonnes habitudes. Je vous envoie au jourdhuy un petit billet de nostre correspondant de Normandie. On m'a dit que durant mon absence il a envoyé d'asses bonnes nouvelles. Nous sentons bien qu'il attend quelque recompense, et nous croyons qu'on luy pourroit donner a present 20 ou 25 guinées pour l'encourager. Joint qu'il a fait quelques frays pour visiter les costes et voir ce qui s'y fait. Si vous jugés cela à propos vous joindrés cet argent avec le payement de celuy de Paris. J'ay receu aujourd'hui une lettre du correspondant de Monsieur Coxe dont je vous ay escrit. Il voudroit bien encore nous tromper et tirer quelque argent, et pretend avoir servi soigneusement le Roy dans le siege de Namur. Mais je suis bien certain que c'est un scelerat.'

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 17 July.*

B49. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692, July 15. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu vostre lettre du 5/15 de ce mois, et suis bien aise que vous avez esté assez heureux pour descouvrir les detestables trahisons de ce scelerat.

'Je vous enverray par la poste prochaine une lettre de change pour six cents florins pour le quartier de cet autre correspondant.'

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.136.

B50. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692, July 19. Whitehall. I have received your letter of 12/22 July and enclose herewith the bill of exchange for 600 florins I promised by the last post. 'Je n'ay receu que fort peu de lettres de ce correspondant en Normandie, et il y a quelque temps que je n'en ay point eu. Je feray neantmoins ce que vous trouverez le plus a propos, mais je souhaite de recevoir de ses nouvelles le plus souvent qu'il se peut, et particulièrement dans cette conjuncture.

'J'ay recommendé l'affaire du Sieur Londey a messieurs de la Tresorerie par ordre de la Reine pour luy faire payer ses arrerages.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.137.

B51. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, July 26/Aug. 5. 'J'ay receu la lettre de change de six cents florins. Je me donne l'honneur de vous envoyer des nouvelles de nostre correspondant de Normandie. J'apprens qu'il les a envoyées asses reglement depuis trois mois. Mais vous ne les avés pas receues, a cause qu'on les commettoit dans mon absence a une personne de l'estat qui n'a pas eu le soin de vous les envoyer. Comme ce n'est pas sa faute si vous ne les avez pas receues je croy que dans quelque temps il sera bon de luy donner quelque petite recognoissance. Je vous rends tres humbles graces, Milord, de la bonté que vous avés eue de l'affaire de Monsieur Londey. Jay pris la liberté depuis peu de vous recommander une affaire semblable, et qui a plus de justice. C'est pour un de mes amis, officier en pied capitaine dans le regiment de Bath, homme de merite et de service à qui on veut faire perdre une somme considerable qu'il a avancée pour le regiment. On aura lhonneur de vous en parler de ma part.'

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 29 July.*

B52. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, Oct. 4/14. Rotterdam. 'Nous voicy dans le temps que nostre correspondant de Paris attend son quartier. Quand vous donnastes les ordres pour me faire toucher le quartier d'avril vous m'envoyastes en mesme temps quatre cent florins pour les depenses extraordinaires. Et sur les quatre cent livres il faut quelque gratification pour celuy qui dechiffre les lettres de Paris et en fait les copies, une pour vous Milord, et une pour le Roy pendant qu'il

a esté a la campagne. L'ancien correspondant escrivoit ses lettres en sorte qu'on pouvoit vous envoyer les originaux, mais celui cy les escrit en chiffre et en ancre blanche, ce qui donne beaucoup de peine et occupe deux jours entiers chaque semaine, sans conter la peine d'aller chercher les lettres a la poste et les y porter. Cela merite quelque recompense, et jay creu que vous ne trouveriés pas mauvais que je luy donnasse deux cents florins. Sur les deux autres cent florins j'ay fait quelque depense, tant pour les ports de lettres que pour quelques messagers expres envoyés au Roy et au Pensionnaire. Il reste encore quelque chose de cet argent et il n'est pas necessaire d'en envoyer de nouveau. J'attends seulement le quartier de nostre correspondant.'

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 11 Oct.*

B53. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692, Oct. 11. Memorandum. 'My Lord writ to Monsieur Jurieux acknowledging his of the 4/14 instant and enclosing a bill for one quarter being £50.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.147.*

B54. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

[1692, Oct.] 'Ce mot n'est que pour vous donner avis que j'ay receu la lettre de change que vous avés pris la peine de m'envoyer, et que je ne manqueray a executer vos ordres.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 22 Oct. 1692.*

B55. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692, Nov. 4/14. Whitehall. 'Je vous prie d'escire au correspondant de Zaintoinge de m'envoyer des nouvelles les plus particulieres qu'il pourra touchant la flotte francoise, en quel estat elle se trouve a present, quand elle pourra estre preste, combien de vaisseaux seront achevés pour la campagne qui vient, avec le nombre des canons que chacun des nouveaux portera, et en quel endroit on les bastit.

'Et si le correspondant de Paris veut envoyer quelqu'un de ses amis a Brest et Rochfort et un autre a Thoulon pour s'informer de tous ces particularitez et de tout ce qui se passe en ces lieux la, je luy payerois les frais de ces voyages, et je donnerois encore de recompences telles que vous jugerez qu'ils auront merité outre la somme qui se donne par quartier. Mais il faut qu'ils me donnent des avis certains sur lesquels je pourray faire fonds. En faisant cela vous rendrez un service fort considerable au Roy.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.154.*

B56. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, Nov. 11/21. 'J'ay receu la lettre que vous m'aves fait l'honneur de m'escrire du 4/14 de novembre. Nous executerons vos ordres le mieux et le plutost que faire se pourra. On ne perdra pas de temps; mais je voudrois bien qu'on eût recu vos ordres plutost. J'escriray au correspondant de Paris; je ne doute pas qu'il ne demande l'argent pour ceux qui entreprendront le voyage. Je luy manderay que sur ma parole et ma caution il avance tout ce qui sera necessaire. Cependant je croy, Milord, qu'il est necessaire que vous me faciés tenir incessamment cent guinnées. Je ne croy pas que ce soit assés pour cette depense. Mais je vous tiendray un conte exact de cequil faudra de plus ou de moins. Quant au correspondant de Xaintonge, il a son ami a Londres a qui vous pourres faire donner l'argent. Mais seulement je luy feray escrire d'icy pour le presser.'

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 17 Nov.*

B57. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692, Nov. 18. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu vostre lettre du 11/21 de ce mois et je vous envoie avec celley une lettre de change pour les cent livres que vous desirez. Je vous prie de faire tout vostre possible, afin que l'affaire que je vous ay recommandée dans mes precedentes soit executée au plutost.'

At the foot: 'Mr Benjamin Poulle, London, 18 Nov. 1692. Sir, be pleased to pay Monsieur Jurieux one hundred pounds sterling and take duplicate receipts ... Joseph Herne.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.155.*

B58. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, Nov. 25/ Dec. 5. 'Je vous envoie les lettres de nostre correspondant de Paris qui vous apprendra ce qu'il scait sur les questions contenues dans vostre lettre. Mais comme vous souhaités scavoir les choses d'original par un expres j'y ay pourvu. Nostre correspondant de Paris n'est pas propre a faire ce voyage. Il est homme assés d'importance et d'ailleurs vieu, qui par consequent ne pourroit pas faire luyesme le voyage. Et s'il luy faloit trouver un autre homme en qui il se confiat il auroit peuestre de la peine. C'est pourquoy je me suis pourvu d'un autre homme qui fera le voyage de Brest et de Rochefort, et nous essayerons aussi de l'engager d'aller jusqu'à Toulon; sinon nous trouverons un autre homme pour Toulon. On m'a proposé qu'il ne faloit pas moins de deux cents guinnées pour ce voyage qui est de cinq cents lieues, pour l'aller et le retour. J'ay jugé que c'estoit un peu trop. Mais s'il alloit jusqu'à Toulon ce ne seroit pas assés. Nous menagerons vostre argent comme le nostre. Il visitera en passant toute la costé de Normandie pour vous

rendre conte de tout, et partira sans delay. Je luy ay fait toucher 800 florins de Hollande par avance, sur la lettre de change de cent guinées laquelle j'ay receue.'

2pp. *Holograph. French.*

B59. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, Nov. 29/Dec. 9. 'Voicy deux lettres d'un correspondant ancien nommé Braconier [nos. D12 and 13 below]. C'est celuy qui estoit a l'armée de France devant Namur pour donner des avis au Roy. Comment il s'en est acquitté je n'en scay rien. Mais je suis tombé en soupçon de luy pour d'autres raisons. Il a fort travaillé a se justifier, et il a essayé de renouer avec moy. Vous verrés, Milord, par celle du 31 d'octobre que cet homme s'en va en Dannemark gentilhomme ches le Sieur de Bon Repos qui sera ambassadeur de France dans cette cour. Il offre la ses services au Roy. Je luy ay repondu que comme il avoit eu le malheur d'estre soupçonné bienque ce fût peustestre a tort, il falloit pourtant du temps pour rentrer dans la confiance, joint qu'il avoit desja touché de grandes sommes sans avoir rendu aucun service, et qu'ainsi il falloit qu'il nous donnât des avis importants sans attendre de recompense sitost; et que cependant je travaillerois a vous faire agreer ses services. Il paroist qu'il a accepté la proposition puisqu'il continue a escrire. Il faut donc voir si cet homme donnera des avis qui valent quelque chose. Il nous en donna un il y a cinq mois qui s'est trouvé veritable, et que j'envoyay au Roy dans le temps. C'est qu'après la campagne on devoit assieger Charleroy. On verra si ce qu'il dit icy du voyage du Roy de France en Italie est aussi bien fondé.

'Nous avanceons le plus qu'il nous est possible l'affaire de la visite de la flotte de France. Mais par malheur nous n'avons pu trouver de remise pour France a la derniere poste; il nous faut envoyer a Amsterdam. Nous esperons que cela ne causera pas grand delay.'

3pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 2 Dec.*

B60. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692, Dec. 2. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu vostre lettre du 29 de Novembre, V.S. Je n'ay rien a vous dire au sujet du Sieur Braconier sinon que vous luy avez tres bien respondu, qu'il faut attendre jusqu'a ce qu'il ait rendu quelque service d'importance avant qu'on puisse se fier entierement a luy, ou qu'il puisse meriter une recompence. Le voyage qu'il va faire le rendra coupable [*sic*] de donner des avis de consequence, et par la de tesmoigner ses bonnes intentions.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.157.*

B61. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

[1692, before Dec. 17] 'Je vous envoye deux lettres de Braconnier [nos. D14 and 15] qui n'ont pour but que de vous indiquer un homme qui peut ruiner tous les magasins de farine en Allemagne dont il a l'intendance. J'attendray sur cela vostre reponse. Si c'est un piege pour avoir de l'argent il faut s'en garder, et si j'ose vous donner mon avis il faut luy mander que son homme agisse et rende service et que quand le service sera rendu, on pensera a la recompense.'

1p. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 17 Dec. 1692.*

B62. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692 [1693 *in error*], Dec. 23. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu la vostre du 17e. [the undated preceding item] avec les lettres incluses de Monsieur B[raconier] mais je ne comprends pas les offres qu'il fait touchant les magasins des Francois; s'il pretend a les gaster par poison, c'est une maniere d'agir si infame qu'il ne faut plus y songer. Mais s'il pourra trouver le moyen de les brusler ou autrement les ruiner, qu'ils ne soient plus utiles aux armées de France, il meritera de grandes recompenses dont vous pourrez l'asseurer, et mesme qu'on luy fera (comme il demande) la fortune. C'est une affaire bien delicate et je la laisse a vostre zele et prudence.'

½ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.163.*

B63. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692, Dec. 27/ [1693] Jan. 6. Rotterdam. 'Je vous avoue que je ne scaurois faire attention a ce que nous escrit Braconnier touchant les magasins d'Allemagne. Je regarde cela comme un piege pour avoir de l'argent. Cependant je luy escriray pour le faire parler afin de decouvrir quelles sont ses veues [no. D16]. Vous avés raison de croire que le dessein d'empoisonner des magasins est trop abominable, et que les droits de la guerre ne peuvent rendre legitime.

'Nostre homme est parti pour le voyage des costes. Et voicy l'instruction qui luy a esté envoyée:

Il faut aller droit a St. Malo, dela à Brest d'où vous m'escrirés, et irés au Port Louis, du Port Louis a Nantes, de Nantes à Rochefort, d'ou vous m'escrirés encore. De la a Toulon. Il faut examiner en chacun de ces lieux avec toute l'exactitude possible combien il y a de navires de Roy, leur force et leur port, avec le nombre des canons avec leur nombre de canons [*sic*] et hommes; combien il y a de vaisseaux neufs, combien sur les chantiers, dans quel temps ils peuvent [estre] achevés; combien de vaisseaux qui ont desja servi; dans quel temps tous ces vaisseaux peuvent mettre a la mer la campagne prochaine; si on peut trouver des matelots suffisamment, tant

de bons, tant de mauvais; examiner le mieux que l'on pourra quel nombre de navire de charge il peut avoir dans chaque endroit; si on a des agreils et autres utensiles de mer.

'Voila l'instruction; on m'assure que nous aurons contentement. Nostre homme me paroist intelligent en marine.

'Milord, vous voulés bien que je vous donne avis que voicy le temps de payer le quartier d'avance a nostre correspondant de Paris. Vous me l'enverrés quand il vous plaira.

'A propos de quoy je vous supplie, Milord, de trouver bon que je vous demande une decharge generale pour l'argent que vous m'avés fait toucher depuis deux ans et dont vous scavés que j'ay donné double quittance au Sieur Benjamin Poule. Je prends la liberté de vous envoyer le modele.'

3pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 Jan. and as containing the instructions quoted.*

Enclosing:

B63(1). 'Je recognois que les diverses sommes que j'ay fait toucher au Sieur Jurieu demeurant a Rotterdam, et qu'il a tirées par mon ordre sur Benjamin Poule marchand à Amsterdam, desquelles il a donné double quittance, ont esté employées pour le service du Roy, et pourtant je declare que ledit Sieur Jurieu en doit estre tenu quitte et entierement deschargé depuis le commencement de l'année 1691 jusqu'au jour present.'

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *French. In Jurieu's hand.*

B64. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692-3, Jan. 10. Whitehall. Enclosing the general discharge requested in your letter of 6 Jan., received today.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.166.*

B65. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

[1692-3], Jan. 13. Whitehall. I enclose a bill of exchange for £60 sterling [details not noted in letter book]. 'Je vous prie de payer au correspondant un quartier a l'ordinaire, et apres qu'il sera satisfait d'employer le reste en telle maniere pour le service de sa Majesté que vous trouverez le plus a propos.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.170.*

B66. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692-3, Jan. 24/ Feb. 3. Rotterdam. 'J'ay receu la lettre de change de soixante livres sterling, et j'en disposeray selon vos ordres. Je vous envoie la lettre de nostre voyageur qui est la premiere escrite de St. Malo, par laquelle vous verrés que cest un habile homme et l'homme du monde le plus propre a dechiffrer et cognoistre tout. On m'assure qu'il est tres capable, et j'espere

qu'il vous donnera contentement. Nous luy escrirons qu'il ne se tienne pas si fort dans la generale description mais qu'il suive mieux le projet que nous luy avons envoyé qui est de nous marquer en detail ce qu'il trouvera en chaque port de vaisseaux de guerre et de transport. Vous verrés par sa lettre qu'il est en doute s'il doit faire le voyage de Toulon qu'il appelle le grand voyage et qu'il espere recevoir de nos nouvelles ladessus a Brest ou a Rochefort. Nous eussions bien voulu recevoir vos ordres ladessus; mais le temps presse et nous ne scaurions attendre plus longtemps que la semaine prochaine a le determiner. Pour moy je croy qu'il doit faire le voyage de Toulon pour voir les choses en original. On craint que son voyage soit inutile a cause que l'escadre de Toulon pourra estre partie. Mais cela ne peut estre, et quand cela seroit il apprendra la combien de vaisseaux seront partis, combien il en reste. En passant il verra l'estat des galeres de Marseille. Pour soixante ou quatre vint guinées de plus je ne croy pas qu'il doive accourtir son voyage. Le principal c'est de le haster le plus qu'il pourra. C'est tout ce que j'avois a vous apprendre cet ordinaire.'

3pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Feb.*

B67. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692-3, Feb. 7. Whitehall. 'Je vous prie d'écrire a vostre correspondant de faire toute la diligence possible en son voyage, afin de se trouver au plustost a Thoulon, en [*sic*] qu'il mande tout ce qu'il peut apprendre de l'estat des vaisseaux de guerre dans ce port, et de leur force, quand on les mettra en mer et s'ils doivent demeurer dans la Meditteranee ou venir a Brest; et parce qu'il importe beaucoup de recevoir ces nouvelles de bonne heure et avec toute l'exactitude possible, je vous prie d'écrire a vostre correspondant a Paris de s'informer de cette affaire le mieux qu'il peut, et de l'envoyer au plustost, n'escrivant que ce dont il est certain qu'il est veritable.

'Quand j'ay dit que vostre correspondant se trouve au plustost a Thoulon, je n'entende pas qu'il neglige ce qui regarde Brest et Rochfort. Ainsi je le prie de mander ausi l'estat des vaisseaux et tout ce qu'il apprendra d'importance dans ces deux ports.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.177.*

B68. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692-3, Feb. 7/17. Rotterdam. 'Vous trouverez dans ce paquet deux lettres de nostre voyageur [nos. G4 and 5]. L'accident qui luy est arrivé à St. Malo l'arrestera quelques jours. Mais ce retardement servira à luy faire voir la flotte entiere à Brest où elle s'assemble, et ainsi il en pourra rendre conte plustost. Vous verrés que tous les navires qui estoient à St. Malo, et sur toute la coste de Normandie, en sont desja partis pour aller à Brest, et cela vous fera juger

ce que l'on doit croire du bruit qui s'est si fort repandu dans vostre cour du dessein d'une descente des Francois en Angleterre. Ils ne peuvent avoir de dessein puisqu'ils retirent tous les vaisseaux des ports qui regardent l'Angleterre. Cependant parceque Milord Portland parut avoir de l'inquietude sur ce bruit repandu, Monsieur Heinsius a esté d'avis que pour en avoir le coeur clair absolument on envoyât un homme expres visiter les costes de Normandie. C'est ce que nous avons fait, et je luy ay fait delivrer l'argent pour son voyage que Monsieur Heinsius a promis de restituer. Je vous donneray avis de ce qu'on aura appris, tant du costé de Paris où j'ay escrit pour cela que de la mer où l'on a envoyé.

'Vous trouverez aussi la copie d'une lettre de Caen [below] qui regarde un certain scelerat condamné en France a la roue, et qui s'estant eschapé des prisons se sauva en Angleterre, où l'on craint qu'il travailleroit a obtenir sa grace par un coup semblable a celui qui a esté attenté par Grandval. Il a esté six mois dans vos prisons, et en suite vous l'avez relasché sous caution. Il seroit à souhaiter qu'il eût esté retenu jusqu'à la fin de la guerre. Presentement son retour en France et la maniere dont il y est traité est une marque indubitable qu'il a receu sa grace, et par consequent qu'il a traité pour faire son coup. Il est sans doute que sa caution est de l'intelligence, et qu'il faut s'assurer de sa personne, et pour empescher ce scelerat d'executer son dessein il y aura des mesures à prendre. Nous croyons qu'il attendra le Roy a son débarquement et le suivra partout pour trouver l'occasion. Celui qui nous a donné cet avis le cognoist personnellement, et je croy qu'il sera necessaire quil suive sa Majesté partout pour decouvrir ce malheureux. Celui qui a donné l'avis et qui a receu la lettre que je vous envoie s'appelle Cavalier. Il est allé aujourd'hui à la Haye pour prendre avis de ceux qui s'interessent à la conservation de la personne du Roy. S'il revient avant la poste partie, j'adjousteray à cette lettre la resolution qui aura esté prise.

'A ce moment nostre homme revient de la Haye et me dit avoir parlé à Monsieur Heinsius qui doit envoyer à Milord Portland la copie de la mesme lettre que je vous envoie. Nous attendrons vos ordres ladessus.'

4pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 10 Feb.*

Enclosing:

B68(1). 'Je me trouve encor obligée de vous dire la mesme chose que je vous dist il y a plus de deux ans. Tousjours le *parain de mon mary cest encor le mesme *personnage qui luy en veut. Il a passé par cette ville et y a esté visitté des plus grands qui l'ont applaudy dans ses sentimens et enfin il est à la *grande ville ou on luy a donné tout pouvoir de ce faire et sy jen crois ses gens il est grand seigneur mais jespere que le *rapporteur est pour nous. Ne negliges rien pour la sollicitation de cette grande affaire ou vous avez tant d'interest. Representés en toutes les consequences à vos juges et faites en sorte que les choses aillent mieux qui [*sic*] ne firent. La personne qui la cautionné premier qui soit sorty du *lieu ou il estoit est de la partie et cest luy qui doit paier *l'amende de tout ce procédé. Ainsy je my rapporte à vous et à vos soins: ny perdés point de temps.'

1p. *French. Unsigned. In Le Cavalier's hand. The words marked with an asterisk are interpreted successively at the foot of the letter as follows:* Le Roy Guillaume; St. Germain [see no. B72(1) below]; Paris; Dieu; la prison ou il a esté mis a Londres; les frais de son voyage.

B69. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1692–3, Feb. 14. Whitehall. ‘J’ay receu vostre lettre du 7e. de ce mois, dans laquelle vous me nommez un qui est dans l’intelligence du dessein de ce scelerat qui voudroit assassiner le Roy, et dont pourtant il faut s’asseurer, mais les lettres de son nom ne sont pas assez claires pour les pouvoir lire. C’est pourquoy je vous prie de m’écrire encore le nom de celuy qui est d’intelligence par la prochaine, afin que je puisse le faire prendre.’

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.186.*

B70. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692–3, Feb. 14/24. ‘Selon vostre ordre on a escrit au correspondant de faire sans delay le voyage de Toulon, de prendre la poste jusqu’a Bordeaux et mesme audela s’il peut. C’est un malheur que vous n’ayes pu donner vos ordres plutost pour ce voyage. Car il a falu perdre du temps pour faire venir des lettres de change et pour les envoyer, et pour chercher un homme capable de faire le voyage. Une autre année on y pourrerroit de meilleure heure si c’est vostre intention. On essayera de faire en sorte que les affaires du Roy ne recoivent pas de prejudice de le retardement, peustestre mesme qu’il en arrivera un bien, qu’arrivant un peu plus tard a Toulon on verra les vaisseaux plus prêts, et on scaura mieux pour quelle mer, l’ocean ou la Mediterranée, ils seront destinés.’

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 19 Feb.*

B71. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1692–3, Feb. 17/27. Rotterdam. ‘Voicy deux lettres de nostre voyageur [nos. G6 and G8, with G7]. Je suis assés content de luy et de son exactitude. J’espere que vous le serés aussi. Nous le croyons presentement a Rochefort et nous en attendons journallement des lettres. Vous remarquerez sil vous plaist que dans la lettre de Brest dattee du 23 fevrier les deux premieres pages ne signifient et ne servent qu’a couvrir le jeu, l’important ne commence qu’a la fin de la seconde page. Nous luy avons escrit de passer de Rochefort à Toulon en poste si cela se peut. Jay aussi escrit a nostre correspondant de Paris de s’enquerir exactement du nombre des vaisseaux qui sont a Toulon, et combien on en destine pour la Mediterranée. Ainsi j’espere que nous serons avertis de tout exactement.

‘Je vous envoie aussi une lettre de celuy qui visite la coste de Normandie et que nous avons envoyé par l’ordre de Monsieur le Pensionnaire Heinsius. A

la fin de la lettre il y a deux lignes qui regardent un certain scelerat de Caen qui fut prisonnier en Angleterre l'année passée, et que l'on soupçonne estre gagné pour tenter un assassinat sur la personne de Roy. Je vous prie, Milord, de faire attention a cette affaire. L'homme qui la decouvert est icy et le cognoist de visage. Il le vit a Londres l'an passé et parla à luy. Je suis tousjours dans la pensée qu'il doit suivre le Roy a l'armée. Et pour avoir un pretexte, je croy qu'il seroit necessaire de luy donner quelque employ dans les vivres ou dans quelque autre commission. Cest un homme habile et fidele.'

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 21 Feb.*

B72. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Feb. 21/ March 3. 'Je vous envoye selon vostre ordre un memoire le plus exact que nous avons pu de ce scelerat qui selon toutes les apparences s'est engagé a assassiner le Roy pour avoir sa grace. Il est aysé à juger que ce malheureux est engagé a faire son action, car on ne le souffriroit et on ne le caresseroit pas en France sans cela. Je croy, Milord, que celuy qui donne cet avis et qui cognoist l'homme personnellement doit acompagner le Roy et pour avoir un pretexte de suivre le Roy ou il ira, il seroit necessaire de luy faire donner quelque commission soit dans les vivres soit dans la maison du Roy.

'Je vous envoye aussi une lettre de nostre voyageur qui visite les costes [no. G9 below]. Il est certain qu'il antedate ses lettres car il faut necessairement qu'elles soyent de plus vie[i]lle datte qu'il ne les fait. Mais cest afin de faire perdre la cognoissance du lieu ou il pourroit estre en cas que ses lettres fussent prises.

'Vous trouverez aussi dans le paquet, Milord, la copie d'une lettre de Geneve [no. I4 below] qu'il est bon que vous voyés, et vous y ferés telle reflexion que vous jugerés à propos. Il semble que les Francois facent courir le bruit en Provence du dessein d'une descente en Irlande, je ne scay si c'est feinte ou verité. Je croy le premier plutost que le second.'

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 25 Feb.*

Enclosing:

B72(1). Note concerning St. Germain. 'L'homme dont jay fait donner advis a Mylord de Nottingham sappelle Saint Germain.* Il est armurier de son mettier, papiste de religion. Il a este condamné en France a estre rompu tout vif sur une roue pour meurtre et assassinat de guet apend. Il se sauva des prisons de Vire en Basse

*In the margin in Jurieu's hand: 'Il est encore en France et celuy qui la cautionné est en Angleterre. Mais nous ne scavons pas le nom. On le peut scavoir, en compulsant les greffes et registres des prisons et tribunaux ou on decharge les prisonniers avec caution.' St. Germain is also referred to in no. B68 above, and in an undated note in Nottingham's hand: 'Courvalet goes *per* name of St. Germain. Lodged at Mrs Butler's a French papist at the upper end of St. Martin's Lane. Lodgings to be lett'.

Normandie en l'année 1686 ou 1687. Il se retira en Angleterre ou il prist party dans les troupes du Roy Jacques, quil quitta lors que le Roy Guillaume fut passé en Angleterre pour vivre aux despences de quelques papistes et Jacobites qui lentretenoient. On me donna advis il y a deux ans et demis quil estoit allé en France trouver le Roy Jacques, quil sestoit offert d'attenter sur la sacrée personne du Roy Guillaume moyennant une recompense et sa remission qu'on luy promist. Il repassa en Angleterre ou je fus en donner advis et le faire connoistre. Il fut arrêté et envoyé prisonnier, je croy que ce fut a Neugatte. Il y fut detenu six ou sept mois.* Il en est sorty apparemment a caution, ce que lon peut voir sur les registres ou actes de cette prison et du juge qui la mis en liberte. Il est retourne en France. Il a paru publiquement a Caen quoyque sa condamnation soit connue de tout le monde. Il a esté visitté et a visitté l'Intendant et les personnes distinguées de la ville, les a entretenus de son mauvais dessein auquel ils ont applaudis. Il est allé a Paris pour y recevoir ses ordres et instructions pour revenir soit en Angleterre, Hollande ou Flandres faire son attentat. Cest un homme de belle taille, bien fait de sa personne pour un homme de sa condition. Il est aagé de 32 a 34 ans, il a le poil brun noir, il a une couture a la levre et il peut passer pour officier par tous les lieux ou il voudra. Cest un miserable capable de faire un sy malheureux coup. Je le connois personnellement. Je ne croy pas quil eust osé retourner en France sy il ne sestoit engagé dans une telle entreprise. Je ne scay pas le nom de sa caution.'

2pp. *French. Unsigned. In Le Cavalier's hand.*

B73. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, March 7/17. Rotterdam. 'Voicy la lettre de nostre correspondant ordinaire que vous deviés avoir la semaine passée. Je ne scay comment elle a esté retardée.

'Voicy aussi une lettre de nostre voyageur qui est arrivé a Rochefort, qui nous rend un conte assés exact de ce qu'il a trouvé dans tous les ports, excepté le Havre et Dunkerque. Mais pour le Havre vous en aurés au premier jour une relation exacte. Quant à Donkerque cest a la porte des Pays Bas Espagnols, il est facile de vous en faire rendre conte par la voye de Bruxelles. Nous avions escrit plusieurs fois a ce voyageur selon vostre ordre pour passer de Rochefort a Toulon. Mais comme vous verrés, Milord, il n'a pas reçu les lettres, et de plus, il est malade et tout a fait fatigué de ce grand et penible voyage au coeur d'hyver dans les plus mauvais chemins du monde. Aujourd'huy il seroit trop tard de luy envoyer de nouveau vos ordres pour le voyage de Toulon. Il ne pourroit recevoir les lettres qu'à la fin de mars; il ne pourroit arriver a Toulon que vers la mi avril. Et apres tout il ne nous apprendroit rien de plus certain que ceque nous en scavons. C'est qu'il a 20 navires a Toulon et que ce sont des plus gros. Quant a scavoit combien il restera de ces vaisseaux dans la Mediterranée, il n'en pourroit scavoit plus de nouvelles que ceque nous en pourrons apprendre de Paris. Vous voyes que nostre correspondant de Paris conte que les 20 vaisseaux passeront le Detroit et viendront a Brest. Ainsi il

*In the margin in Jurieu's hand: 'Il faut voir les registres depuis 1690 jusqu' à 1692 pour ne ne [*sic*] pas manquer.'

n'en demeurera point dans la Mediterranée. Je m'en feray enquerir encore plus exactement. Je croy donc que celui qui visite les costes peut finir son voyage à Rochefort et revenir chés luy. Il ne laissera pas de pretendre de grandes recompenses comme je le comprens. Je scauray ou cela peut aller, et vous le feray scavoir.'

2½ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 March.*

B74. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, March 10/20. Rotterdam. 'Voicy une seconde lettre de Rochefort plus exacte que la premiere, et je croy que vous aurés a present le conte de la flotte de France aussi exact quil se peut. Nostre voyageur a trouvé dans les ports de Brest, Port Louis, Rochefort et Toulon 74 vaisseaux. Une lettre de Dieppe d'un autre homme qui visite la coste de Normandie par commission, et que je vous envoie, vous apprendra qu'on n'a trouvé au Havre que 4 vaisseaux qui ne sont pas de consideration. Il y en peut avoir aussi a Donkerque 5 ou 6 mediocres vaisseaux. Ce sont les 84 vaisseaux dont on a parlé. Il les faut partager en divers lieux où la France a besoin de forces maritimes. Ainsi la grande flotte ne sera pas si considerable que l'année passée. Vous voyés, Milord, que nostre correspondant de Paris suppose tousjours que les 20 vaisseaux de la Mediterranée doivent passer dans l'ocean. Cependant je fis encore escrire hyer à Paris qu'on s'en enquit plus exactement pour nous en faire scavoir de tres certaines nouvelles si cela se peut. Quand cela sera fait ce sera toute la cognoissance quon peut vous donner de la flotte. Lors que nostre voyageur sera de retour chés luy je vous diray ce qu'il demande de recompense. Mais je pressens bien qu'il demandera encore deux cents pieces outre ce qu'il a touché. Vous scavés, Milord, que c'est un metier fort dangereux et que si les gens ne sont animés par la recompense, on ne peut les avoir une seconde fois lors qu'on en a affaire.

'Vous trouverés icy joint un memoire d'un de nos amis qui est homme de bon sens qui cognoist les costes de Normandie, et qui nous sert utilement. Vous en ferés tel usage que vous jugerés a propos. Vous ne ferés aucune remise que je ne me sois encore donné l'honneur de vous escrire. Comme on envoie de l'argent d'icy pour les rentes avie [*sic*], un ami m'a prié de luy en fournir les moyens, et j'ay pensé qu'il seroit plus commode pour vous et moy de donner vostre argent à Londres à une personne que je prendrois la liberté de vous nommer, et je le recevrois icy sans coust et sans lettre de change.'

3pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 26 March.*

Enclosing:

B74(1). 'Memoire.' I received on 20 March at Rotterdam the letter of 8 March from Rochefort [no. G11 below] and that of the 11th from Dieppe [no. H9 below], by which the express messenger I sent to Cherbourg, Le Havre and Dieppe reports that no preparations are being made there for a descent as was being said in

London. 'On attend seulement des troupes et des milices, pour les faire camper a Cherbourg et La Hougue pour empescher la descente en cas que lon lentreprist de ce coste la. Sur quoy il ne faut que connoistre le pays pour empescher ces troupes de sopposer a la descente. Il y a un bras de mer en Basse Normandie qui s'appelle le Grand Vey, large de trois lieues de France. La Houg[u]e est du costé de louest et en est esloignée de cinq ou six lieues. Sy les troupes y sont campées on peut faire la descente du costé d'Isigny, qui est le costé de lest de ce bras de mer ou la descente seroit faite, avant que les troupes campées a La Hougue y pussent venir, parcequelles seroient obligée de prendre le tour du Vey et daller passer a Carenten, qui fait un grand circuit.

'Deplus cest que ce coste la du Vey vaut beaucoup mieux que laultre, en ce que dans le costé de La Hougue il ny a presque des herbages, et dans laultre il y a herbages et terres labourables ou lon trouveroit des fourrages plus que dans laultre. Et deplus cest lentrée ou le commencement du bassin, qui est un des meilleurs pays du monde, ou par consequent une armee pourroit subsister.

'Il faut encore considerer que le Roy de France a fait enlever tous les bleds de cette province pour les porter sur les frontieres en Flandres, de sorte que la bled y est desja cher et rare, et sy ils estoient obligés dy avoir une armée considerable, il faudroit absolument quils tirassent des bleds de la frontiere de Flandres, ou il nen ont pas trop, pour les transporter en Basse Normandie, ou il y a prés de 100 lieues des frontieres. Deplus larmée quils y auroient diminueroit celles de Flandres particulierement en cavalerie, ruinerait le pays ou elle passeroit, et encore plus celuy ou elle camperoit, qui ne pourroit subsister sans le secours des autres provinces.

'Toutes les lettres nous marquent que la misere est extraordinaire dans toute la Normandie. Celles de Rouen disent que les paysans des campagnes et les pauvres des villes entrent hardiement dans les maisons et y demandent avec menaces ce qui leur est necessaire, ce qui augmentera tousjours jusques a la recolte. Sy donc il se faisoit quelque irruption dans ce pays la, la misere presente et celle que lon craindroit encore davantage contraindrait beaucoup de monde a prendre le party de ceux qui leur apporteroient du secours.

'Sy mesme on faisoit courir le bruit avec quelque apparence, vraye ou non, dune prochaine descente, on contremanderoit en France partie de la cavalerie et de la maison du Roy qui vient en Flandres, et on empescheroit par ce moyen les ennemis de rien entreprendre.

'On peut encore aisement faire une descente à Colleville proche dEstreham [Ouistreham], ou tous les navires de transport peuvent seschouer a moitié marée sur ce sable sans nulle risque, particulierement en este, et jy ay veu plus de 80 vaisseaux marchands chargés de sel et autres marchandises a sec sur le sable sans nul danger, et en [*sic*] on y en pourroit mettre plus de 500.

'On a autrefois proposé au Roy de France de faire un havre au lieu de Colleville dont jay veu le plan, et on faisoit estat que lon pouvoit mettre a la rade, qui est tres bonne, plus de mille vaisseaux tousjours en flotte. Ce projet eust este executé sy Monsieur de Colbert ne lavoit empesché en faveur du Duc de St. Aignan, Gouverneur du Havre, parceque son gouvernement auroit diminué de plus de la moitié.

'Il y a de Colleville a Caen 2 heures de chemin remply dune pleine campagne.'

3½ pp. *French. Unsigned. In Le Cavalier's hand. For a shorter report by Le Cavalier on the same subject see no. H17 below.*

B75. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, March 14/24. Rotterdam. 'Ce billet n'est que pour accompagner la dernière lettre que nous avons reçue de notre voyageur écrite de la Rochelle [no. G11 below]. Il revient et quand il sera chés luy il aura esté pres de quatre mois en son voyage.

'Selon son rapport les 20 vaisseaux de Toulon sont destinés pour l'ocean. Cela s'accorde avec les nouvelles de Paris. Et il y a apparence qu'on ne veut opposer aux Espagnols que des galeres et des fregates.'

P.S. 'On a reçu nouvelle aujourd'hui de Rouen que l'escadre de Chateaurenaud est partie de Brest pour aller au costé du Detroit.'

1p. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 26 March.*

B76. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, March 21/31. Rotterdam. 'Par la lettre de nostre voyageur [no. G15 below] vous voyés qu'il est prêt de revenir. Son voyage aura duré pres de quatre mois. Apres avoir consulté avec ceux que j'ay employés, nous jugeons que si deux cents pieces suffisent cela n'ira pas mal; parcequ'outre le voyageur il faut necessairement payer les entremetteurs qui ont fait toutes les diligences à ma priere pour trouver un homme et pour le faire partir. Vous comprenés, Milord, qu'on suppose que les Roys sont en estat de payer, et qu'ils n'exigent pas qu'on leur rende service gratuitement. On fait tout avec le plus de menage que l'on peut. Outre ces deux cents pieces il y a les cinquante guinées pour nostre correspondant ordinaire, dont le quartier est eschu. Quant à ces 50 guinées je les ay tousjours tirées sur le marchand d'Amsterdam sur le pied de douze de nos florins, quoyque les pieces ne valent qu'onze livres. Mais selon la lettre par laquelle j'ay esté autorisé de vous, Milord, je leur ay promis 50 guinées par quartier; je vous prie donc que je continue à donner mes quittances sur ce pied la comme j'ay tousjours fait. Le marchand d'Amsterdam en fit quelque difficulté la dernière fois, comme vous aurés pu remarquer par une promesse qu'il me fit mettre au bas de ma quittance de rendre le surplus d'onze livres si vous ne vouliez pas en tenir conte sur le pied de douze. Ce sont donc 200 pieces pour l'affaire extrordinaire et 50 pour l'ordinaire, 250 pieces en tout. De ces 250 pieces, je vous supplie, Milord, d'en vouloir bien faire mettre en main de Monsieur Blancart 190 pieces pour une commission que je luy ay donnée de mettre cette somme à fonds perdu à quatorse pour cent. Il vous pressentera un billet de ma part. Et les 60 pieces restantes de 250, vous aurés la bonté de donner ordre qu'on m'en face une remise à l'ordinaire, par la dernière remise avec les 50 livres sterling pour nostre correspondant ordinaire. Il y avoit dix livres sterling d'extrordinaires qui ont esté donnés à nostre copiste et dechiffreur.'

2½ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 26 March.*

B77. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1693, March 28. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu plusieurs de vos lettres par la poste qui arriva dimanche dernier et par celle d'hier, et je vous envoie icy une lettre de change pour soixante livres comme vous desirés, et je payeray a Monsieur Blanhard les cent nonante pieces aussitost qu'il viendra les demander.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.214.

B78. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1693, May 30. Whitehall. 'Ayant comparé la liste de la flote francoise que vous m'avez dernièrement envoyée avec un autre des vaisseaux qui composoient la flotte l'année passée, il y a quelques 15 ou 16 vaisseaux dans cette derniere dont je ne puis pas trouver les noms dans la premiere liste, outre les nouveaux vaisseaux que vous avez marqués, qui portent les noms de ceux qui furent brusléz l'année passée. C'est pourquoy je vous prie d'escrire a votre correspondant a Paris de m'envoyer une liste entiere de la flotte de l'année passée, marquant les noms de vaisseaux qui ne sont pas employez cette année cy, pour estre hors de service, ou par quelque autre accident ou raison, et aussy une liste de cette année marquant les nouveaux bastis, et ceux qui ne sortirent en mer l'année passée.*

'Je vous prie de luy escrire aussy d'envoyer quelques personnes a Brest, Thoulon et Rochefort et de choisir des gens propres pour demeurer dans chacun de ces trois lieux, qui mandent par le plus court chemin sans perte de temps tout ce qui y passe de plus important a l'esgarde de leurs vaisseaux, et je laisse a vous de leur promettre telle recompense que vous jugerez raisonnable.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.218.

B79. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 6/16. 'Je receus dimanche dernier 4/14 de ce mois de juin la derniere lettre que vous m'aves fait l'honneur de m'escrire contenant deux articles. Par le premier il paroist que vous avés peine a arranger les deux listes des vaisseaux de France de l'an 1692, et de 1693, pour vous donner autant de lumiere qu'il se peut sur vos doutes pour scavoir ceque sont devenus les

*Among the miscellaneous lists of French ships at N.M.17 below are Nottingham's attempts to reconcile the various lists he had at this time. They include a double-page list of 104 French ships arranged by rate, and alphabetically within rate, with the doubtful cases marked in five categories: '(a) not in the list of 92 of Mr Russell, (b) not in the first list of 93 but in the second, (c) not in the second list of 93 but in the first, (d) not in either of the lists of 93 but in former lists, (e) new built in the place of those burnt'. Subtracting those in (d) he made the total 95. See also nos. 228 above and J9 below.

vaisseaux de l'année passée qui furent mis hors de combat, outre ceux qui furent brûlés. Nous trouvons que tous ont esté radoubés et sont a present dans la flotte ou quil n'en manque qu'un ou deux, ceque vous verrés par la collation que j'ay fait faire des deux listes dont nous avions plusieurs copies, que nous avons fait corriger les unes sur les autres. Outre cela par les nouvelles ordinaires de nostre correspondant de Paris, que je vous envoie aujourd'hui, vous verrés que tous les vaisseaux de l'an passé ont esté retablis ou radoubés, par le total et le montant des dix vaisseaux qui montent cette année a plus de 90; et de l'an passé nos plus hautes listes ne montent qu'a 80 ou 85 vaisseaux. Ainsi il y auroit cette année augmentation de plus de sept ou huit vaisseaux au moins. Mais vous verrés sans doute par le premier ordinaire une liste complete de tous les vaisseaux, au moins si nostre correspondant tient parole.

'L'autre article regarde les trois hommes que vous souhaiteríes avoir a Toulon, a Brest et a Rochefort; cequi nous met fort en peine pour y satisfaire. Je vous avois escrit, Milord, que si vous le jugíes a propos, nostre homme qui fit cet hyver la visite des ports pourroit bien s'occuper cet esté a faire la visite de toutes les costes et des ports allant de lieu en lieu et donnant des avis de partout. J'en avois autant dit a Monsieur Blathwait. Mais n'ayant receu aucun ordre ladessus nostre homme a pris parti ailleurs. On le va chercher mais avant que nous l'ayons trouvé et qu'il se soit rendu a ses postes de Brest et de Rochefort il est certain que la campagne sera fort avancée. Cependant on ne negligera rien. J'ay mesme fait escrire en Xaintonge pour s'enquerir si on ne pourroit pas trouver un homme de Rochefort mesme ou des environs qui fit son unique affaire d'examiner tout cequi se passe pour la marine, et de nous en faire un rapport prompt par la voye la plus courte. Ce qui seroit en toute maniere bien meilleur que d'envoyer là un visage nouveau qui seroit incontinent recognu et suspect, et de plus cela nous gagneroit le temps du voyage. Pour ce qui est de Toulon, on ne pourroit pas vous repondre, Milord, qu'un homme qu'on enverroit ou de Normandie ou de Paris pût y estre de quatre ou cinq semaines et plus. Et il seroit deux mois escoulés avant qu'on put avoir de luy aucune nouvelle. C'est à dire que la campagne de mer seroit a peu pres finie. J'ay donc cru qu'il falloit se servir de la mesme voye. J'ay escrit a nostre correspondant de Paris qu'il nous face scavoír sil n'a point eu amis ou cognoissance a Toulon ou dans le voisinage qui se pût charger de la commission moyennant une telle somme qu'il demandera; adjoustant que sans attendre nostre response il peut promettre, conclurre, et faire agir son homme s'il en trouve un.

'Mais vous voyés bien, Milord, que tout cela roule sur des incertitudes, scavoír si on trouvera des hommes. Si vous aviés pris la peine de donner vos ordres il y a cinq ou six semaines, je ne doute pas que nous n'eussions accompli la chose. Et une autrefois ayés la bonté de nous donner vos ordres

plutost. Dans l'incertitude de tout je ne vous demande point d'argent, mais si je trouve occasion de faire, je promettray tout selonque vous me le permettés. Cependant ayés la bonté de nous faire scavoïr si vous souhaités qu'on trouve ces trois hommes, pour Toulon, Brest et Rochefort, soit tost, soit tard. Car en ce cas on les trouveroit tost ou tard en cherchant. Mais tout nostre embarras est sur la diligence, et sur la nécessité de les trouver sans delay; cequi nous paroist quasi impossible ou du moins fort hazardeux. Quoy qu'il en soit nous ferons toujours tout ce qui nous sera possible pour le service du Roy et pour vostre satisfaction.'

P.S. 'Nostre secretaire n'a pu aujourdhuy faire toute la copie des deux listes collationnées que je vous pretendois vous envoyer. Milord ce sera pour vendredy. L'armée que le Dauphin emmene en Allemagne est pour assieger Mayence ou Francfort, pendant que le Marechal de l'Orge occupera le Prince de Bade; on ne concoit pas de remede a ce mal qu'une prompte descente. La venue du Roy Louis XIV en Flandre n'estoit qu'une feinte pour couvrir le jeu, et empescher que les Alliés ne fussent sur leurs gardes du costé du Rhein.'

4 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph. French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 13 June.*

B80. LISTS OF THE FRENCH FLEET

[1693, June 6.] Rotterdam. The collated lists of the French fleet in 1692 and 1693 promised in Jurieu's letter of 6/16 June, but which according to the postscript could not be copied in time to be enclosed in it, and had to wait for the next post on Friday 9/19. Nevertheless they too reached London the following Tuesday.

3pp. *French. In the hand of Legoux. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 13 June.*

B81. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1693, June 6. Whitehall. 'Par ma praecedente je vous ay prié de me procurer une liste exacte de la flotte françoise, parceque j'avois remarqué que quinze ou seize navires qui furent spécifiés dans les listes des anneés 91 et 92 n'estoient point mentionnés dans celle de cette année que vous m'avez envoyé de la part de nostre voyageur; qui m'a asseuré qu'il n'y avoit plus que 74 vaisseaux de ligne, ceux de Thoulon y estant compris. Pourtant je vois dans la liste de vostre correspondant de Paris les noms de 68, outre les deux qui restent a Brest et les 22 de l'escadre de Thoulon, qui font en tout 92 navires de guerre. Voicy les deux listes pour ne vous donner la peine de les chercher parmy vós papiers, et je vous prie de vous en informer, car il y a bien de raison a soubçonner la fidelité de ce voyageur qui pretendoit d'estre asseuré de ce qu'il escrivoit comme il auroit pû bien estre estant sur les lieux d'ou la flotte s'equippoit.

‘S’il y avoit moyen de procurer des personnes auxquels on pourroit se fier, et qui se contenteroient de sejourner a St. Malo, Brest, Rochford et Thoulon pour vous mander toutes les semaines tout ce que passe dans ces lieux là, je leur donnerois des recompenses telle que vous jugerez propres pour chacun d’eux, et je vous en aurois bien d’obligation.’

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.219.

B82. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, June 13/23. Rotterdam. ‘Vostre lettre du 6me. de juin, V. St., m’esclairoit vostre intention touchant les quatre personnes que vous me demandés pour Brest, St. Malo, Rochefort et Toulon. Je comprends que vous souhaités avoir quatre personnes residentes en ces quatre lieux ou du moins qui sy transportent tres souvent pour vous faire scavoir un conte exact de tout ce qui se passera pour la marine, vaisseaux qui y arriveront ou qui en partiront, qu’on bastera de neuf, qu’on radoubera. Et aussi des armateurs qui partiront de Saint Malo, et mesme des vaisseaux marchands et des convoys sous lesquels ils partiront, et cela parceque vous n’êtes pas content du rapport qui vous a esté fait par nostre voyageur, comme n’estant pas conforme a la liste qui a esté envoyée de France et qui a esté tirée du Bureau. Je croy vous pouvoir dire que la faute ne vient pas de sa fidelité mais de son incitatitude [*sic* ?inexactitude], à laquelle il faudra desormais prendre garde de plus prés. On peut aussi dire a sa justification que sa liste n’est pas tout a fait aussi defectueuse qu’elle vous paroist. Vous n’y trouvés que 54 vaisseaux et les 20 de Toulon. Ce sont 74. Cependant selon la liste de Paris il s’en trouve plus de 90 vaisseaux de lignes sans les fregattes. Si je m’en souviens bien il disoit qu’il y avoit encore tant au Havre qu’à Dunkerque neuf ou dix vaisseaux, cequi joint a 74 faisoit 84. Quoy quil en soit il est certain que cela n’est pas exact. Si pour remedier a cela on peut se servir de l’expedient que vous marqués je m’y employeray avec tout le zele possible. J’ay desja fait escrire pour trouver les quatre hommes. Il ne faut pas dissimuler qu’il n’y ayt de la difficulté; car les commissions sont delicates, on trouve tres peu de gens qui les veuillent accepter dans un pays où l’exactitude à rechercher, et la severité à punir les moindres apparences, est extreme. Je vous rendray conte de ceque je pourray faire.’

$2\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Holograph. French.* *Endorsed by Nottingham as received 16 June.*

B83. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 4/14. ‘Environ cent ou six vints personnes sorties du Palatinat et autres pays ruinés par la France sont venues icy chassées en partie par l’extremité de la misere, attirées en partie par le dessein du Roy qui a esté divulgué de transporter et d’establir quatre ou cinq mille de ces miserables en

Irlande. Nous avons trouvé moyen de les nourrir icy, et de les faire passer en Irlande, c'est a dire jusqu'en Angleterre pour s'acheminer en Irlande. Nous vous supplions, Milord, qu'il[s] soyent receus humainement. Ce qui sera d'autant plus aysé que le dessein du transport des quatre mille qui sont encore en Suisse est differé jusqu'a l'année qui vient comme vous pourrés scavoir. Ces gens icy sont gens de travail pour la terre et justement de ceux qui sont propres aux colonies d'Irlande. Nous vous [supplions], Milord, que la Reyne leur face fournir un vaisseau de transport, et ce qui est necessairement [*sic*] pour les placer où ils doivent estre. J'espere que le Roy qui a trouvé bon qu'on les passât en Angleterre aura donné ses ordres ladessus.

'Comme le quartier de nostre correspondant est eschu je vous supplie, Milord, de me faire toucher les six cents florins qui luy sont dues. Vous aurés vu par ses precedentes quil cherche les hommes dont vous m'avés escrit pour Rochefort, St. Malo, Brest, et Toulon, et quil espere de les trouver. J'ay encore mis quelques autres personnes en queste pour cela.

'On m'a communiqué une lettre de Rochefort que je ne vous envoie pas, parce que vous devés avoir communication par la voye de Monsieur Tomson.'

3pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 July.*

B84. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1693, July 7. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu votre lettre du 4/14 de ce mois et je vous envoie icy la lettre de change pour six cens florins que vous desirez.

'Pour ce qui est de l'affaire des refugiez francois qui desirent de s'establir en Irlande, tout ce que je vous puis dire est que la Reine a ordonné la somme de deux mille livres sterlings, mais je ne scay pas en quelle maniere, ni a qui cet argent doit estre distribué.

'Je vous envoie icy une lettre escrite de Paris a un gentilhomme de ma connoissance. Je crois que c'est le meme correspondant qui vous a escrit au commencement ['St. Aubin'], et que vous avez dechargé a cause qu'il ne mandoit que des bagatelles et des choses imprimées dans les gazettes. Je vous prie de me faire scavoir vostre sentiment, si le caractere de cette lettre ne s'accorde avec les lettres que vous avez receu de luy; et de me donner aussi le mieux que vous pouvez une telle description de ce correspondant qu'on puisse par la juger si ce n'est pas le mesme qui a escrit cette lettre.'

$\frac{3}{3}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, pp.219-20.*

B85. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 7/17. Rotterdam. 'Nous avons icy celui qui a fait la visite des ports, et de l'exactitude duquel vous n'avés pas esté satisfait. C'est le se[ul]

hazard qui l'a amené. Il est commis pour les vivres dans l'armée de France. Dans le decampement de l'armée de Luxembourg il est tombé dans un parti espagnol. Scachant fort bien le flamend il s'est fait Hollandois de Rotterdam, et en effect estant relasché il est venu jusqu'icy. Il nous a rendu conte de sa commission et nous a fait comprendre qu'il ne pouvoit pas mieux faire, qu'il a vu exactement tout ce qu'il y avoit a voir dans St. Malo, Brest, le Port Louis et Rochefort, mais qu'il n'a pu rendre conte que de ce qu'il a vu, qu'il pouvoit y avoir quelque erreur sur les vaisseaux qui estoient en mer, et qu'outre cela il y avoit des vaisseaux au Havre et a Dunkerque qu'il n'a pu voir, son chemin ne l'ayant pas adressé là. Je luy ay demandé sil seroit d'humeur à se charger dune nouvelle commission qui seroit pour toute l'année et qui ne seroit que pour un lieu pour y demeurer; ce qu'il n'a pas refusé, y trouvant beaucoup de difficultés pourtant. Enfin apres la conference nous sommes convenus qu'il pourroit se charger de rendre un conte exact de ce qui se passeroit a Brest, St. Malo, et au Havre si cela se peut, que pour cela il demeureroit tantost dans un lieu tantost dans un autre de ces deux lieux, Brest et St. Malo, qu'il travailleroit a trouver quelque petit employ dans la marine, ce que se pourroit peuestre faire en faveur de la commission laquelle il resignera qui est bonne. Il ne s'agit que de la recompense. J'ay eu peur dabord qu'il ne fut difficile sur le payement, et qu'il ne demandat un dedommagement considerable parce que la commission qu'il a et qu'il doit quitter dans les vivres luy vaut 1800 florins de France. Cependant l'ayant sondé je croy qu'on le pourroit faire contenter a deux cents pieces par an. Tout cela n'est qu'un projet sur quoy vous nous enverrés vostre resolution. Je le feray repartir le plutost qu'il se pourra pour retourner à son poste dans l'armée de Luxembourg, en attendant vos ordres. Il represente l'armée de Luxembourg forte de pres de 88 mille hommes, mais en mauvais ordre; un homme peut manger pour 20 sols de pain a son repas, la livre de boeuf vaut 12 sols, le reste a proportion. Le pain de munition ne manque pourtant pas au soldat, car c'est le Roy qui le fournit. Cette armée est desja fatiguée et de la campagne et de la disette, il y a beaucoup de disenterie et de flux de sang. Nous attendrons donc reponse sur ces articles: 1. Si vous vous contenteriés d'un seul homme pour Brest et St. Malo. 2. Si vous trouveriés qu'on peut donner 200 pieces, ou quelque chose au dela s'il estoit necessaire pour la recompense.'

3³/₄ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed as received 12 July.*

B86. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 14/24. 'J'ay receu la lettre de change de six cents florins dont je procureray le payement au correspondant.

'Pour ce qui est de la lettre que vous m'avés envoyée je cognois celuy qui l'a escrite et celuy aqui elle a esté escrite. Cest assurément le mesme jour [? joueur]

qui vous a servi au commencement, et dont vous vous estes defait. Il s'appelle de Alet. Il a esté maistre de langue a Paris, et depuis quil vient peu d'estrangers il envoye des nouvelles escrites a la main a tous ceux qui en veulent avoir, et vit de cela. La femme qui fait la gazette de Rotterdam s'en est autrefois servi et l'a quitté pour n'estre pas contente de ses nouvelles. Jugés si des nouvelles qu'on ne trouvoit pas assés bonnes pour la gazette seroyent bonnes pour vous.

'Presentement nous arrive une barque de Zeelande chargée d'un billet d'avis qui notifie qu'un vaisseau est arrivé en Zeelande de Cadix qui a presté serment devant le magistrat et assuré que la flotte de Monsieur Rookers est arrivée a Cadix. On tient cet avis certain.

'Milord, je prens la liberté de vous envoyer un memoire pour le frere de l'un de nos meilleurs amis, et des mieux intentionnés pour le Roy, qui demande une lettre de recommandation pour le consul anglois afin qu'il intercede pour la delivrance de cet honneste garcon. La lettre pour le consul de Alger doit estre recommandée sil vous plaist au consul de Livourne, et ayés la bonté de me l'envoyer. Je seray tres sensible a cette obligation.'

P.S. 'Vous trouverez dans le paquet les nouvelles qui estoyent dans le paquebot du 10me. qui a esté coulé a fonds.'

3½ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 17 July.*

B87. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1693, July 16. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu vostre lettre du 7/17 de ce mois. Je suis satisfait de celui que vous y employés pour estre employer dans le lieu que vous nommez, et je luy donneray la recompense qu'il desire. Mais je voudrois aussi avoir un autre, qui soit employé dans le mesme lieu, mais qui n'ait aucune connoissance de l'autre, afin de comparer ensemble les relations qu'ils m'envoyeront, pour en pouvoir mieux juger. Je vous prie aussi d'employer des autres dans les autres lieux que je vous ay marquez dans mes precedentes.

'Je vous prie aussi d'escire au premier, s'il est parti de Rotterdam, de prendre soin que ses relations soient plus exacts, parce qu'il vaut mieux de ne recevoir aucunes nouvelles que d'avoir de celles dont on ne scauroit pas se fier.'

Noted as: 'Enclosed to my Lord Dursley'.

½ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.220.*

B88. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1693, July 18. Whitehall. 'Cellecy ne servira que pour vous dire que j'ay receu la vostre du 14/24 de ce mois et que j'escriray au consul d'Algiers par la prochaine, comme vous desirez.'

¼ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.221.*

B89. LEGOUX TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, July 21/31. Friday evening. 'Mylord, Monsieur Jurieu ma chargé de vous faire savoir qu'il a receu vostre lettre du 16/26 que Mylord Dorcelay [Dursley] luy a envoyée, a laquelle il aura lhonneur de faire reponse par le premier ordinaire.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Holograph. French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 27 July.* (On the back of no. E121).

B90. JURIEU TO RICHARD WARRE

1693, [July 28/] Aug. 7, N.S. 'Je vous prie de rendre a Milord mes tres humbles actions de graces pour la lettre au consul d'Algier que j'ay receue. Ayés aussi la bonté de luy dire que nous travaillons de nostre mieux pour ses commissions mais nous y trouvons beaucoup de difficulté. Lhomme que nous croyons avoir trouvé nous a manqué. Nous esperons en trouver d'autres, au moins nous les chercherons avec soin.'

2pp. *Holograph. French.*

B91. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Aug. 15/25. 'La commission de trouver six ou huit hommes, deux pour Brest, deux pour Rochefort, deux pour Toulon, et peuestre deux pour St. Malo, est plus difficile que l'on ne scauroit dire a cause de la terreur qu'imprime dans les esprits la severité et la rigueur du gouvernement de France. L'homme que nous croyons avoir trouvé nous a manqué, et nous sommes apres a chercher. Il seroit a souhaiter que nous en pussions trouver trois ou quatre bons au lieu de huit. Quoyqu'il en soit je voy tres bien qu'on ne reussira jamais dans cette affaire, à moins qu'on ne seme quelque argent devant soy a l'aventure, tant pour animer ceux qui sont icy refugiés, et que j'employe pour chercher et escrire dans leurs provinces, que pour enhardir ceux de France a prendre une commission perilleuse. Il faudroit donc que j'eusse quelque argent en main pour cela, et je croy que pour le present il ne faudroit pas moins que deux ou trois cents pieces. Si vous jugés a propos, Milord, vous me les enverrés sans delay.'

2pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 24 Aug.*

B92. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1693, Aug. 24. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu la vostre du 15/25 de ce mois qui m'est venu hier au soir, et depuis ce temps je n'ay pas veu le marchand qui me fournit les remises, de sorte que je ne puis pas vous envoyer la lettre de change par cet ordinaire, mais je ne manqueray pas de le faire par le prochain.'

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.221.*

B93. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1693, Aug. 29. Whitehall. 'Je vous envoie icy la lettre de change pour deux cens livres sterling que je vous ay promise par la derniere. Je n'ay rien a ajoûter sinon que de vous pourrez [faire] la correspondance dont vous m'avez parles dans la vostre, et de le faire de la maniere que vous jugerez le plus apropos.'

At the foot: 1693, Aug. 29. London. 'Mr Benjamin Poulle. Pray pay to Monsieur Jurieux in Rotterdam the value of two hundred pounds sterling and place it to accompt of' Richard Munford for Sir Joseph Herne.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.* Letter Book II, p.225.

B94. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. 5/15. Rotterdam. 'J'ay receu la lettre de change de deux cents pieces que vous m'avés fait l'honneur de m'envoyer. Elle est desja toute epuîsée par les engagements où j'ay cru devoir entrer sous vostre bon plaisir. Car voyant que la machine n'alloit point du tout, et que nous n'avancions rien dans nos affaires, j'ay promis à un homme que j'employe sur les costes de Normandie et de Bretagne trente pieces, a un autre que j'employe pour les costes de Poitou et de Xaintonge trente autres pieces, a un homme de Paris qui cherche par ses amis sur toutes les costes soixante pieces, à quelques autres personnes de moindre estoffe qu'on employe de ca de la, dix et douze pieces, cequi monte a quarante pieces. Ce sont cent soixante pieces de promises, sans conter les six cents florins argent de France pour lesquels j'ay pris lettre de change sur nostre bourse aussitost que j'eus receu vostre ordre a Mr Poulle; et ces six cents livres sont pour un correspondant sur la coste de Xaintonge que nous a trouvé nostre homme de Paris. Voila donc nos deux cents pieces employées ou destinées et au dela, car quand nous aurons osté les six cents florins qui font 50 pieces au moins il ne nous restera plus que 150 pieces; et il nous en faut 160 pour sortir de nos engagements. Il est vray que je n'ay point promis de delivrer l'argent que les correspondances ne soyent bien establies. Outre ces 10 pieces de surplus qui nous manquent, le quartier de nostre amy de Paris eschet dans quatorse jours. C'est 600 florins qu'il faut pout cela. Outre cela je donne tous les ans a celuy qui dechiffre nos lettres de Paris 200 florins, c'est celuy dont [vous] recevés les copies, qui est un homme d'esprit et habile [Legoux]. Et enfin pour les ports de lettres et autres menues depenses, Milord, vous adjousterés ce qu'il vous plaira. Vous voyés que ce petit calcul monte encore à cent pieces dont nous avons presentement besoin. Cest pourquoy dans ma derniere demande je mettois deux ou trois cent pieces qu'il nous faloit avoir. Au reste depuis que la machine est graissée elle va un peu mieux. Je pense estre assuré de deux correspondants pour Rochefort comme vous les souhaités, qui ne se cognoistront pas et qui sont habiles; tous deux demeurants sur les lieux. On m'en a aussi promis un pour Brest, j'en feray aussi chercher un second pour

le mesme lieu. Pour Toulon nous n'en avons point encore. Mais j'ay mis plusieurs personnes en queste, et j'espere que nous en trouverons. Je presse cette affaire le plus qu'il m'est possible. Je vous rendray conte de tout.'

4pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed as received 9 Sept.*

B95. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. 12/22. 'Je me donnay l'honneur de vous dire il y a huit jours que nous avons esperance d'un correspondant pour Brest. On m'assure quil est prest à partir quand on voudra. Car il en demeure assés loin. Mais le traitté est fait qu'il ira resider sur le lieu, tant que vous le voudrés. Nous essayerons aussi a l'engager à nous rendre conte de ce que regardera St. Malo, et le Port Louis. Mais pour le transporter et pour ses premieres depenses il faut presentement au moins soixante pieces. Au reste, Milord, je vous prie de considerer que nous voila engagés en de grandes depenses. Nous avons deux correspondants à Rochefort; au premier on a envoyé une lettre de 60 pieces. Il en faut autant pour l'autre, au correspondant de Brest 60 autres pieces; six vint pieces pour ceux qui sont employés à chercher les correspondants, 50 pieces pour le quartier de nostre correspondant ordinaire, 30 ou 40 pieces pour nos scribes et copistes, sans conter la depense qu'il faudra faire aussi tost que nous aurons trouvé trois autres correspondants, deux pour Toulon et un second pour Brest. Vous jugés bien, Milord, que ni les deux cents pieces que vous m'avés fait toucher ni les cent pieces que je vous ay encore demandées n'approchent pas de ce qui [*sic*] nous est necessaire; et d'ailleurs il est incommode de vous demander à tous les ordinaires de nouvel argent. C'est pourquoy, Milord, je croy qu'il seroit bon d'envoyer une somme considerable tout à la fois. Devant que deux ou trois mois soyent achevés nous aurons besoin de plus de six cent pieces, et presentement tant pour les depenses ordinaires qu'extrordinaires il nous en faut plus de quatre cents. Vous disposerés de cela selon vostre prudence, et jattendray vos ordres. Nous attendons aussi un memoire bien precis de tout ceque vous souhaitez de scavoir par la voye de nos correspondants, tant de Brest que de Rochefort et Toulon.'

3½ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 16 Sept.*

B96. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1693, Sept. 19. Whitehall. 'Je vous envoye icy une lettre de change pour deux cents livres sterlings, et vous aurez le rest [*sic*] aussitost que vous me ferez scavoir d'en avoir besoin.'

At the foot: 1693, Sept. 19. London. 'Mr Benjamin Powlle. Be pleased to pay to Monsieur Jurieux in Rotterdam two hundred pounds sterling, sending me his receipt, and drawing the money on me at sight ... Joseph Herne.'

½ p. . *French. Letter Book II, p.225.*

B97. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Sept. 26/ Oct. 6. 'J'ay receu la lettre de deux cents pieces que vous m'aves fait l'honneur de m'envoyer par la derniere poste. J'en procureray le payement et dispenseray l'argent avec le plus de menagement que je pourray. Hyer j'envoyay soixante pieces a un homme de Rouen qui partira incessamment pour Brest. Il passera par St. Malo et le Port Louis et nous rendra conte de tout ce qu'il y trouvera. Il arrivera a Brest avant la flotte de Tourville et vous rendra un conte exact de l'estat où cette flotte se trouvera en arrivant. Comme aussi dans la suite, de tout ce que vous pouvés desirer de scavoir, surquoy nous avons envoyé un memoire fort exact. Cependant, Milord, si vous jugés à propos de nous envoyer aussi un memoire, nous le confererons avec le nostre et ne manquerons pas de l'envoyer. Nous esperons avoir bien tost un second correspondant pour Brest et aussi un pour Toulon. Pour Rochefort nostre correspondance est establee, et je croy que nous en aurons de bonnes nouvelles. Je feray tout ce qui sera en mon pouvoir pour vostre satisfaction, et j'espere que vous ne nous laisserés pas manquer d'argent.'

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Oct.*

B98. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1693, Oct. 6. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu la vostre du 26e. du mois passé et je vous rends graces des soins que vous avez pris pour etablir une correspondance des ports de France, et l'argent ne vous manquera pas pour donner des recompences proportionnées aux merites de ceux qui s'engagent dans ce service; et soyez assurés aussy que ce secret ne sera point decouvert icy, et comme vous avez fort bien fait de m'escire le detaile de cette affaire dans une lettre particuliere, et de mettre ce que le regarde dans un petit morceau de papier sans l'insérer dans la lettre qui contient les nouvelles ordinaires de Paris, faites toujours le mesme pour l'avenir, et ne dites a personne que vous avez aucune correspondance avec moy de peur que vos lettres de France ne soient interceptées, et par la vos amis exposées [*sic*] qui ne peuvent estre en aucune maniere decouverts icy.'

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.226.*

B99. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Oct. 6/16. La Haye. 'Voicy la premiere lettre d'un second correspondant de Rochefort et costes de Xaintonge [no. G24 below].* Je le

*SP 101/22 contains three further letters on this topic which have become separated from the rest: extract in Legoux's hand from a letter from Paris, [18/]28 Sept. 1693, recommending this new agent; extract in Legoux's hand from a letter from Paris, [6/]16 Oct. 1693, agreeing to see whether the agent could be sent to Toulon, although he was already familiar with Brest, where another agent would be needed; and copy of a letter from Bordeaux, [20/] 30 Oct. 1693, evidently from the original agent, complaining of his health, foreseeing difficulties in sending the second agent to Toulon, and mentioning his own plans to return to Rochefort.

trouve de bon sens et j'espere qu'il vous servira bien. Il souhaite de scavoir ce qu'on luy donnera. Vous aurés la bonté de me dire ladessus vostre pensée. Je n'arrestera rien avec luy que nous ne l'ayons eprouvé quelques mois. Cependant et en attendant il a falu luy envoyer de l'argent comme a l'autre. Il est beaufreere d'un marchand de Rotterdam nommé Estienne Caillaud pour qui vous avés eu la bonté d'escrire deux lettres aux consuls d'Alger et de Livourne. Cet homme travaille à nous trouver un homme pour Toulon, et il nous servira beaucoup. C'est pourquoy je vous prieray, Milord, de le faire contenter et payer de trois ou quatre mille florins pour le fret de quelques navires quil a loués pour le voyage d'Irlande. J'en ay donné les memoires a Monsieur Blathwait qui m'a promis de vous les communiquer. Dans peu de semaines je pourray scavoir de quel argent je puis avoir encore besoin, et je me donneray la liberté de vous le demander.'

2½ pp. *Holograph. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 Oct.*

B100. NOTTINGHAM TO JURIEU

1693, Oct. 13. Whitehall. 'J'ay receu la vostre du 6/16 avec celle du nouveau correspondant de Rochefort; et je le laisse a vous de luy donner ce que vous trouverez convenable et de le prier aussi bien que les autres correspondents de vous escrire souvent, et tout ce qui se passe dans ces quartiers la.

'J'appuyera le mieux que je pourray les pretensions de Monsieur Caillaud [*sic*] quand Monsieur Blathwait sera icy pour me dire l'estat de cette affaire, et en routes les occasions je taschera de vous tesmoigner que je suis veritablement, Monsieur, vostre tres humble serviteur.'

½ p. *French. Letter Book II, p.226 (last entry in book).*

B101. JURIEU TO NOTTINGHAM

1693, Nov. 13/23. Rotterdam. 'Je ne scaurois que louer vostre prudence de vous estre retiré du gouvernement dans un temps aussi fascheux et si plein de contradictions. Mais il nous est incommode de changer de mains, puisqu'on ne peut faire les choses ni plus exactement ni plus honnestement que vous les avés faites. J'auray toute ma vie le souvenir de vostre bonté pour moy, et je vous supplie de me conserver quelque part dans vostre bienveillance.

'Je m'adressera donc desormais a Monsieur le Chevalier Trenchart. Mais Milord je vous demande deux choses. La premiere est de m'envoyer et de mettre entre les mains de Monsieur Blancart mon ami une decharge generale de tous les deniers qui ont passé par mes mains. Depuis le mois d'aoust vous m'avés fait toucher quatre cent pieces. Cent ont esté employées a payer un quartier a nostre correspondant de Paris et a quelques autres depenses

ordinaires. Les trois cents autres pieces ont esté payées pour la commission que vous scaves, et le peu qui reste est engagé et promis, et nous sommes bien loin d'en avoir assés.

'La seconde chose que je vous demande est de faire comprendre a Monsieur le Chevalier Trenchard que par la commission que vous m'avés fait l'honneur de me donner d'establir deux correspondants en chaque port de mer je suis entré dans de grands engagements et si la chose ne se poursuivoit pas je me trouverois dans un assés grand embarras.

'Après cela je n'ay autre chose a faire qu'a vous conjurer au nom de Dieu que le repos que le Roy vous a procuré ne vous empesche pas d'avoir a coeur le bien et la conservation de la religion protestante, non seulement en Angleterre mais au deca de la mer dans les lieux où elle est si fort affligée. Quoy que vous ne soyés plus dans le ministere, je suis pourtant certain que vous aurés tousjours de grandes influences sur les affaires. Je prie Dieu de tout mon coeur pour vostre prosperité et pour celle de toute vostre illustre maison.'

2½ pp. *Holograph. French.*

C. LETTERS FROM 'ST. AUBIN' [DE ALET]
TO 'MONSIEUR BERNARD, ETUDIANT EN
MEDECINE A LEYDEN'

C1. 1691, Aug. [7/] 17. Friday. 'Nous vous avons ecrit regulierement tous les ordinaires depuis quelque temps et nous esperons que nos lettres vous ont esté rendues, et que vous aurez vû la diligence que vostre procureur a fait dans vos affaires. Faites nous savoir si vous avez reçu les copies que nous vous avons envoyé et si vous les avons bien comparées, car nous sommes en peine sur ce sujet comme aussi sur la surprise de la lettre dont vous nous avez parlé.

'Par des lettres du septieme du courant ecrites de notre armée navale, alor de pres de Belle Ile, nous apprenons que quelques jours auparavant notre flotte avoit vû celle des ennemis qui n'avoit osé l'attaquer quoi qu'elle fût superieure de 24 vaisseaux. On croid aussi que quand les ennemis ne verront plus personne ils ne manqueront pas de faire les braves et de venir insulter nos costes, mais s'ils osent y mettre le pied, ils trouveront a qui parler. Nous voyons clairement que le Prince d'Orenge n'a pas dessein de donner bataille, mais seulement de fatiguer nos troupes et de les tenir occupées pendant que ses alliez agissent ailleurs, en quoi il ne reussit pas mal, car il a bien promené Monsieur de Luxembourg, et lui a fait faire sans se fatiguer des marches bien fatigantes. La cherté est grande dans nostre armée, et les troupes si harassés qu'un officier ecrit qu'elles souhaitoient la bataille moins par bravoure que par desespoir. Sur quoi on a fait les [*sic*] joli sixain que je vous envoie.

'Le Comte d'Estrees apres avoir bombardé Barcelonne et Alicant et bravé la flotte espagnole est enfin revenu a Toulon tout fier de ses succez. Les politiques craignent icy que toutes ces insultes ne tirent enfin les espagnols de leur lethargie et que la campagne prochaine leur Roy ne se mette a la teste d'une nombreuse armée. On ecrit de notre armée d'Allemagne qui est presentement pres de Dourlach que les ennemis avoient envelopé un de nos partis de deux cens cavaliers, dont 18 estoient du regiment du Comte d'Auvergne, et qu'ils les avoient tous emmenez.

'Des domestiques de Monsieur de St. Ruth ont ecrit de Pologne que la division estoit grande parmi les Polandois, que les uns se retiroient chez eux pour y faire leur paix; que les autres acceptioient l'ammistie, et entroient dans le service du Prince d'Orange, et que les autres demeuroient fideles et constants a leur Roy, mais que la misere estoit grande parmi eux.

'Nous n'apprenons rien de considerable de Piemont sinon que les generaus Palfi et Carraffa sont arrivez a Turin, et que l'armée du Duc de Savoye est renforcée de dix mille allemans, d'autres disent quatorze mille. La nostre l'a

esté aussi de sept bataillons et de trois escadrons, si bien qu'on croit qu'il y pourroit bien avoir bataille en ce pais là, si les ennemis en veulent tater, car pour Monsieur de Catinat, il ne demanderoit pas mieux, parce que sans une victoire il ne sauroit hiverner en Piemont. Cependant on fortifie Grenoble et il est certain que le Roy a resolu de lever trente mille hommes cet hiver prochain.

'Il court icy un bruit que le Grand Vizir a esté massacré dans Constantinople, ce qui nous fait craindre pour nostre ambassadeur, et que Belgrade est assiegé. Toutes ces factieuses nouvelles sont que nos novellistes ne brillent plus.'

2pp. *Holograph. French.* (Enclosed in no. B3 and enclosing part of no. C4(1).)

C2. 1691, Aug. [7/] 17. Paris. 'Par la lettre que vostre proffesseur nous a ecrite nous avons agreablement appris que vous estes diligent dans vos etudes, que vous y faites des progres et qu'il y a lieu d'esperer que vous deviendres avec le temps un habile medecin. Ce tesmoignagne avantageux a rejoui tous vos parents et vos amis qui vous exortent a perseverer et a vous rendre digne d'une telle recommandation et de l'estime de tout le monde. Mademoiselle vostre soeur s'est hureusement accouchée d'un garcon dont on pretend vous faire le parrain, sur quoi on vous écrira plus amplement. La recolte des bleds a esté bonne dans nos quartiers, mais l'argent y est fort rare et la misere tres grande parmi le peuple, ce qui vient des malheurs de la guerre. Tout cela n'empesche pas qu'on ne se divertisse bien à la cour, si peu les grands sont touchez des souffrances des petits. Lundi dernier il y eut a Trianon une jouissance magnifique, où les divers concerts de voix et d'instruments furent mis en usage pour divertir sa Majesté et tous ses courtisans.

'Je vous envoie la suite des vers dont vous avez eu le commencement et vous exhorte de vous conserver.'

P.S. 'Par le prochain courier je vous enverray une epigramme curieuse qu'on m'a promis, et l'argent ne vous manquera pas.'

1p. *Holograph. French. Signed: St. A.* (Enclosed in no. B3 and enclosing part of no. C4(1).)

C3. 1691, Aug. [10/] 20, Monday. 'Nous vous ecrivimes par le dernier courier et vous envoyames les deux billets de change que vous nous aviez demandez. Vous aurez bien tost le troizieme qui fera la somme complete. Faites nous savoir quand vous aurez reçu le tout, les sentimens et les ordres de vostre directeur afin que nous puissions nous regler sur vos avis.

'On escrit des Cevennes en Languedoc du cinquieme de ce mois que le jour precedent six hommes armez de fusils et de pistolets et qui avoient le visage barbouillé avoient environné le nommé Bagaos cy devant ministre, et lui avoient dit de se recommander a Dieu, qu'il n'avoit que peu de moments à vivre, de lui demander pardon des cruelles persecutions qu'il avoit fait aux religionnaires de ce païs là et sur tout de se souvenir des paroles du texte qu'il avoit pris dans son dernier sermon, Maranata* à tous ceux qui abandonnent le Seigneur, apres quoi il avoit pris l'argent des pauvres et le même jour estoit allé faire abjuration pour devenir persecuteur. Ils lui donnerent deux coups de fusil dans la teste et un autre dans la poitrine en presence des Sieurs Soulier et de Valmale, dont le dernier estoit son parent, qui ont fait cette deposition. On lui avoit donné dans le païs le nom de Maranata, il estoit un des grands agents de Monsieur de Basville qui s'est fort affligé de sa mort. On ne sait pas encore quelles poursuites il en aura fait, mais il semble qu'il y a des gens bien fiers et bien ruses dans ces Cevennes qui est le païs du Sieur B. et de quelques uns de ses amis qui sont fort fachez de cet horrible assassinat, et de celui de plusieurs prestres qui ont esté tuez par ces sclerats toutes les fois qu'on fesoit pendre quelque predicant, usant mechamment de la loi du talion.

'Monsieur de Barbesieux a esté fait cordon bleu, et quelques uns disent qu'il a donné cent mille ecus pour cette dignité. On dit icy que nostre flotte est presentement dans le rade de Brest où elle desarme et qu'on en tire tous les soldats pour deffendre les costes. Nous n'avons rien de fort nouveau de l'armée de Flandres ni de celle d'Allemagne, mais on a vu icy certaines listes, affectées des forces du Duc de Savoye, qu'on fait consister en dix milles hommes d'infanterie et huit de cavalerie venus d'Allemagne, en cinq mille fantassins et quatre mille chevaux des troupes d'Espagne et en huit mille hommes des propres forces du Duc de Savoye, gens de pied et quatre mille de cheval. Outre cela on compte six miliers, les Vaudois et quatre regimens de refugiez françois mesles de Suisses qu'on dit avoir incorporé parmi les Barbets. Mais il est à croire que ces listes sont enflées et que la Petite Altesse Royale n'a pas tant de forces. Cependant on escrit qu'il avoit marché vers Suize avec sa principale armée, et qu'il avoit envoyé six mille hommes vers Montmeillan pour la Val d'Aoust. Vous saurez que Monsieur de la Hoguette en ayant pris la ville, il l'a faite detruire avec son pont, et que les ennemis pretendent qu'il a fait contraire a la capitulation. Mais sur les plaintes que le gouverneur du chateau lui en fit, il repondit qu'il estoit permis a chacun de faire ce qu'il vouloit de son bien et au Roy de disposer de ces conquestes.

*Originally the Aramaic for 'Our Lord has come' as used in 1 Corinthians xvi. 22, by association this had become a form of anathema. See *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*.

Après cette reponse on mit des ouvriers en besongne et on les fit couvrir par quelques regiments, et comme ils estoient fort occupez le gouverneur du chateau ayant fait charger tous ses canons a cartouche les fit tirer sur nos gens, dont on dit qu'il tua plus de cinq cens. Mais je ne crois pas cette nouvelle.

'Ou publia samedi dernier un edict du Roy qui erige en titre d'office six marchands vendeurs d'huitres à l'écaille pour Paris. Ils donnent dix mille ecus chacun pour leurs charges et ont attribution de privileges et du titre de Conseillers du Roy. On dit qu'on en doit faire autant des vendeurs d'allumettes, tant les charges sont du goust du temps.

'J'ecris à vostre voisin, et ma femme et mes filles vous saluent.'

P.S. 'Nous venons d'apprendre que notre flotte estant entrée dans la grande rade de Brest, où elle a mis deux mille malades à terre, a reçu ordre de remettre en mer, parce que celle des ennemis a este vue proche des costes de Bretagne. Il court un bruit sourd qu'un bataillon du regiment d'Auvergne a esté defeat en Allemagne.'

In the margin of the first page (lengthwise): 'Louis, Colbert, Louvois, Croissi, La Maintenon'. (See no. C4(1) below.)

3pp. *French. Signed: St. A. Addressed (not in the hand of 'St. Aubin'):* 'Monsieur Monsieur Etienne Cailleau pour faire tenir a Monsieur Bernard etudiant en medicine a Leyden.'

C4. 1691, Aug. [10/] 20. Paris. 'Il est arrivé un petit incident a vostre proces qui en retardera le jugement, comme vous l'apprendrez plus amplement par la lettre de vostre avocat. Mais vos parties ont beau chicaner, il faudra qu'enfin elles succombent et que la bonne cause triomphe. Ils nous donneront encore de la peine, par leurs subtilitez, mais nous ferons si bien valoir nos derniers arrests que nous en obtiendrons un definitif avec depens, dommages et interests, quoi qu'ils puissent faire.

'Les derniers avis de Brest portent que notre flotte estoit entrée dans la grande rade, qu'elle y avoit dechargé deux mille malades, mais qu'elle avoit eu ordre de remettre en mer sur ce que la flotte ennemie avoit paru sur les costes de Bretagne. On a donné mainlevée aux Venitiens d'un navire que nos armateurs leur avoient pris valant cinquante mille ecus dont il paroît un factum avec les raisons de part et d'autre. On parle fort icy du dessein que peut avoir le Prince d'Orange d'assieger Maubouge ou Mons, mais peu de gens croient qu'il veuille s'engager dans une telle entreprise, vû surtout que la saison est deja fort avancée. On dit que les partis sont vifs et frequents en Piemont, et quelques uns assurent même que nous avons abandonné Carmagnole. On dit aussi que Monsieur de Villeroi avec un parti de quatre

mille hommes, moitié infanterie et moitié cavalerie, a pris le poste de Forzey a l'entree du Wirtemberg et y a fait quatre cens prisonniers.

'On fait deja defiler des troupes de Catalougne pour renforcer Monsieur de Catinat, qui est un peu pressé par la cavalerie allemande. On a resolu à la cour de faire de grandes levées cet hiver pour la campagne prochaine, qui est plus à craindre que celle cy en cas que les Turcs fassent la paix avec l'Empereur.

'Saluez s'il vous plait de ma part vostre jeune poete et lui donner les vers cy inclus, afin qu'il exerce sa verve sur le même sujet. Les deux vers latin, l'un de Virgile et l'autre d'Ovide, ont servi de matiere a un joli poeme en cette langue, que je luy enverray quand il sera dans sa perfection.'

1½ pp. *Holograph. French. Signed: St. A.*

Enclosing:

C4(1). [1691, Aug.] A paper divided vertically into three parts, the first originally enclosed in no.C1, the last in C2 and the middle part in C4. 'Nos amis sont enfin revenus de Rouen, où leurs nouvelles observations ont confirmé celles qu'ils firent le printemps passé. Cette ville est mal gardée et fort exposée a cause de la riviere et il seroit facile de se saisir d'une ou deux portes du quay pour donner entrée à ceux qu'on y enverroit sur des vaisseaux. Il seroit encore plus facile de la reduire en cendres parce qu'elle est batie de matieres combustibles comme l'ancien Londres.

'Nous avons pris des maisons tout contre la Monnoye où l'hiver passé estoient presque toutes les especes du royaume, mais presentement on n'y fait que peu d'ouvrage et notre dessein seroit inutile a moins que la vaisselle plate ne soit convertie en especes, comme nous l'avons attendu pendant tout cet esté. Les coffres ne se remplissent par les voyes ordinaires qu'au mois d'octobre et de novembre lors que les entrées sont grandes. Les magasins d'argent sont neuf principaux: [1] Le Tresor Royal, rue Neuve St. Augustin proche la porte de Gaillon, 2 a l'hotel d'Albret rue des Francs Bourgeois, 3 chez le Sieur Bertin tresorier des parties casuelles rue Neuve St. Augustin, 4 chez le Sieur Damont rue de Cleri, 5 chez le Sieur Turmenies tresorier de l'extraordinaire des guerres, au Marais, 6 chez le Sieur Lubert tresorier de la marine rue de Cleri, 7 au Bureau des Gabelles rue de Grenelle, St. Honoré, 8 au Bureau des Aides pres de la Greve, 9 chez le Sieur Penotier tresorier general du clergé rue Coqueron. On peut agir par tous ces endroits là ou dans quelques uns des mieux choisis, mais il faut des agens. Outre les quatre principaux, nous en avons engagé huit nouveaux tres habiles et tres affectionnez a vostre directeur, mais ils ne savent pas le secret du commerce. Par le moyen de la montre dont il a esté parlé on peut venir a bout des vaisseaux et des magasins, et tout habile horlogeur auquel on en fera une legere description pourra facilement y parvenir comme fit celui qui nous en fit la demonstration sur l'idée que lui en avoit donné un des quatre. Ce fut la cause pourquoi nos deux commis firent d'abord le voyage de Bretagne où ils peuvent etabliir une personne fidele dont nous disposons. Le dessein de reduire la flotte a un fort petit nombre de vaisseaux, en les detruisant, nous a toujours paru le plus avantageux et peut estre le plus facile. Vostre directeur pourra se determiner sur l'execution de celles de toutes ces choses, qu'il agreera le plus. Nous sommes devouez à ses ordres, et resolu de les executer fidelement. Nous pouvons menager plusieurs braves gens que nous avons en vûe et qu'il ne faudroit pas negliger, c'est pourquoi nous avons demandé du temps, des le

commencement, pour pouvoir connoître notre monde. Au reste il ne faut point avoir pitié du peuple de ce pais cy, car ils ne valent rien et ne sont pas moins scelerats en general que ceux qui les gouvernent et les poussent. Ils attendront jusqu'à l'extremité comme les Irlandois sans pouvoir se determiner au bien.'

1p. (divided in three). *French. In the same hand as the address of no. C3, although the verses on reverse are in the hand of 'St. Aubin'.*

On reverse of the first part (enclosed in no. C1):

'Un grand coeur fait agir tous les ressorts humains
Quand une juste cause anime ses desseins.
Remporter dans la guerre une illustre victoire
C'est meriter, sans doute, une immortelle gloire;
Succomber pour le droit le sang ou l'amitié,
C'est meriter, du moins, une juste pitié.'

On reverse of the last part (enclosed in no. C2):

'Pour graver un grand nom au temple de memoire
Il faut subir mille travaux
Vaincre mille fameux rivaux
Plus d'ennemis plus de solide gloire.
Louis par une paix doit finir tous nos maux
Mais il la veut tirer du sein de la victoire.'

On reverse of the middle part (referred to in nos. C3 and C4 and enclosed in C4):

'L[ouis] C[olbert] L[ouvois] C[roissi] La M[aintenon]
Le Prelat de P[aris] Le P[ère] de la C[haise]
Se sont aquis un grand renom
Ils ont mis la France a son aise
Et porté jusqu'au Ciel par des faits inouïs
La gloire des trois fleurs de lis.

Saevit amor ferri scelerataque insania belli,*
Vivitur ex raptō, non hospes ab hospite tutus.†

C5. 1691, Aug. [14/] 24. Paris. 'Si vous avez reçu les trois derniers balots qui vous ont esté envoyez, vous aurez vû la qualité des marchandises, dont nous vous avons marqué le juste prix. Faites nous savoir au plustost si vostre directeur en a esté content et sur quoi il veut que lon se determine, car nous n'attendons que ses ordres, que nous sommes resolu d'excuter avec toute l'ardeur, la prudence et la fidelité possible.

'Nous avons reçu une lettre en date du 17 de ce mois de la part de lami de B., dans laquelle il nous temoigne beaucoup de bonté, mais il nous dit aussi qu'il nous avoit crûs absens où indisposez parce que nous avons manqué quelques courriers à vostre egard. Nous vous en avons fait savoir la veritable raison, et vous prions de croire que nous sommes des marchands fideles et qui ne faillerons jamais par malice ni par negligence. Nous avons trop d'honneur et de zele pour le commerce et si nous avons pû l'entreprendre a

* Virgil, *Aeneid*, vii. 461.

† Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, i. 144.

nos propres depens il y a longtemps qu'il auroit esté établi et qu'il auroit produit de bons effects, parce que nous aurions profité des occasions favorables qui se sont presentées et qu'on ne sauroit faire renaître quand on veut. Mais nous esperons qu'à l'avenir nous profiterons de toutes celles qui se pourront presenter et qu'avec l'aide de vostre compagnie nous pouvons faire de bonnes emplettes, quoi que le commerce soit interrompû par la guerre.

'Sur le rapport d'un batiment françois revenu d'Irlande, le bruit a couru que les Irlandois s'étant ralliez avoient [*sic*] fait lever le siege de Golloway et avoient deffait l'armée angloise. Quoi que cette nouvelle soit contre toute vraisemblance elle ne laisse pas de passer icy pour certaine parmi nostre peuple infatué, mais les gens raisonnables l'ont toujours regardée comme tres apocriphe. On escrit de la Rochelle qu'il y estoit arrivé sept ou huit cens François ou Polandois fesant partie du debris de l'armée du Roy Jaques, ce qui est bien opposé a la nouvelle precedente, et nous craignons plustost d'apprendre la reduction de Limerick et la perte de toute l'Irlande que nous n'esperons la confirmation de cette pretendue victoire.

'Quelques uns pretendent avoir reçu des lettres de Brest du 15e. du courant qui portent que les ennemis avoient pris sept ou huit batimens qui portoient des rafraichissemens à notre flotte, qui est encore a la rade de Bertome, et que celle des ennemis n'estoit qu'à vint lieues de Ouissant pres des costes de Bretagne, où ils disent que les Anglois avoient bombardé quelque chateau, mais cela demande confirmation. Cependant le Sieur de Remondi, Major General de la Marine, est icy depuis quelques temps, ayant esté envoyé par Monsieur de Tourville (dont on n'est pas content a la cour parce qu'il a laissé echaper la flotte de Smirne) pour justifier au Roy la conduite de cet amiral et l'informer de l'estat present de son armée navale.

'Les dernieres lettres de Piemont portent que les deux armées n'estoient qu'à deux lieues l'une de l'autre proche de Staffarde et qu'il y avoit apparence qu'elles en viendroient bientost à une bataille. Monsieur de Chamlay partit d'icy lundi dernier et prit la poste pour Pignerol, sans doute pour y porter les ordres du Roy et les faire valoir par sa presence a l'armée et par ses conseils à Monsieur de Catinat. S'il n'arrive rien de considerable cet esté dans ce pais la, lon conçoit qu'il y pourroit bien avoir un accommodement entre le Roy et le Duc de Savoye, et cette esperance est fondée sur les ordres que sa Majesté avoit donnez à Monsieur de Chaunes d'en proposer un au pape futur, qui qu'il peut estre, et de l'en faire l'arbitre. Monsieur de Chaunes ne manqua pas, selon ses ordres, d'en faire la proposition a Innocent XII incontinent apres son exaltation. Le Saint Pere la reçut avec joye et en fit informer le Duc de Savoye, qui repondit qu'il estoit prest de remettre ses interests entre les mains de sa Sainteté, pourvû qu'elle voulut se charger de ceux de ses alliez sans lesquels il ne pouvoit point faire de paix, et qu'il estoit

persuadé que tous les princes et les estats confederez, sans en excepter les Protestants, seroient bien aise d'accepter la mediation du Saint Siege, si le Roy de France se vouloit soumettre a son jugement et le prendre pour arbitre souverain des grandes differents qui partagent tous les chrestiens de l'Europe et les exposent aux malheureus effects d'une cruelle guerre.'

3pp. *Holograph. French. Unsigned.*

C6. 1691, Aug. [17/] 27. Monday. 'Depuis vostre lettre du sixieme de ce mois nous n'avons point eu de vos nouvelles, et ainsi nous ne savons pas si vous avez reçu nos trois balots et les lettres que nous vous avons escrit regulierement depuis plus d'un mois ou six semaines. Tires nous s'il vous plaît de peine, et nous faites au plustost savoir les sentimens de vostre directeur s'il vous est possible, afin que nous y reglions notre conduite, et puissions lui donner toute sorte de satisfaction. Nous pouvriions engager de nouveaux commis que nous avons menagez, et que nous menageons toujours jusqu'à ce que nous aurons reçu vos avis.

'Les Espagnols ayant sans doute appris que Monsieur de Noailles avoit fait une detachment de la moitié de son armée pour l'envoyer en Piemont, ont augmenté la leur et se sont avancez comme s'ils vouloient combattre nos troupes, de sorte qu'il pourroit bien arriver que la premiere bataille de cette campagne se pourroit donner dans l'endroit d'où l'on l'attendoit le moins. Il seroit bien glorieux à Monsieur de Noailles de faire chanter le premier Te Deum, et de remporter sur les Espagnols une victoire que nous n'avons encore pû obtenir sur le Prince d'Orange, qui à ce que nous voyons ne fait que chicaner et faire danser nostre armée autour de la sienne. Les lettres du 22 nous disoient qu'il avoit mené son armée en bataille jusqu'à la portée du pistolet de Beaumont pour en tirer le garnison, qu'il avoit ensuite marché vers Thuin, où l'on croyoit qu'il vouloit passer la Sambre. Mais nous apprenons par celles du 24 qu'il est retourné à Gerpine et même il court un bruit sourd que Dinant est investi et qu'il a reçu six mille Anglois de renfort. On escrit de Dauphiné qu'on y avoit conduit plusieurs malades de notre armée de Piemont presentement campée a Pontcalier, et que les Vaudois, renforcez de nouvelles troupes, s'estoient emparez de la valeé de Pragelas et d'une autre valeé dont je sçay pas le nom, par où ils nous coupoient le chemin de Pignerol. Cette nouvelle nous alarme beaucoup, parce que les consequences en seroient grandes si elle etoit veritable. Il est vray que les mêmes lettres ajoutent que le Marquis de la Raye avoit assemblé huit bataillons et qu'il attendoit un renfort pour les aller chasser de ce poste. Il ne conste pas bien que le Duc de Baviere soit encore arrivé à Turin, quoi que ce soit l'opinion commune. Cependant on dit que le Cardinal d'Estrées y est arrivé pour menager un accommodement avec le Duc de Savoye, s'il est possible.

'Nostre flotte estoit encore à la rade de Brest le 21^e. de ce mois, où elle se rafraichissoit, et Monsieur de Remondi est parti d'icy pour y aller porter les ordres du Roy. On escrit de la Rochelle qu'on y avoit eu des nouvelles de St. Domingue qui disoient que les Anglois estoient venus avec plusieurs vaisseaux a la rade de Leogale, où nous avons une habitation, qu'ils y avoient pris trois batimens de la Rochelle et un vaisseaux de Nantes richement chargé, qu'ils avoient ensuite débarqué huit cens hommes dans l'île. Mais que nos gens les avoient repousses avec perte, et contraints de se retirer avec les quatre vaisseaux. Cependant ils ecrivent que si le Roy ne leur envoie bientost un puissant secours de mer et de terre, ils ne pourront pas longtemps resister aux frequentes insultes des ennemis.

'On dit presentement que Monsieur de Chamlay n'a esté envoyé en Piemont que pour composer les differents qui se sont eleves entre nos officiers generaux. Le Roy est un peu indisposé d'une indigestion qu'on croit venir du fruit qu'il a mangé. Dien veuille conserver sa personne sacrée.

'On escrit du camp de Monsieur de l'Orge que le Sieur de Bessiere etoit allé reconnoitre les ennemis avec troix cens chevaux, qu'il avoit poussé leur garde avancée, renversé leur grande garde, qu'il avoit poursuivie jusque pres de leur camp, et qu'il avoit tué cinq ou six de leurs cavaliers et fait quelques prisonniers sans y perdre aucun de ses hommes.'

2½ pp. *Holograph. French. Signed: St. A.*

C7. 1691, Aug. [21/]31. Friday. Paris. 'Vostre long silence augmente la peine où nous sommes depuis quelque tems de savoir si vous avez reçu nos lettres et sur tout les trois balots qui vous ont esté envoyez. Ecrivez nous s'il vous plaît quand même vous n'auriez point en encore reçu de response de Monsieur le Directeur, parce que nous aurons l'esprit en repos si vous accusez la reception des lettres que nous vous avons escrites regulierement par tous les courriers nous servant de toutes vos addresses.

'Les nouvelles ne sont guere bonnes cette semaine, et vous en aurez plus de chagrin que de plaisir. Neanmoins comme vous voulez tout savoir, il faut vous dire tout. On escrit de Catalougne que le Duc de Villehermosa avoit en ordre de donner bataille à Monsieur de Noailles, qui s'est fort affoibli par le grand detachment qu'il a fait pour le Piemont. La politique des Espagnols est de tenter le hasard dans cette conjoncture favorable pour obtenir une victoire qui peût relever le courage de leur peuple et les disposer a la guerre, et s'ils venoient à la perdre, ils croient que par là ils mettroient leur Roi et ses sujets dans la necessité de prendre les armes et de faire un grand effort pour le salut de leur patrie. On croid que la bombarderie de Barcelonne et d'Alicant les a un peu eveillez.

‘Plusieurs lettres de Geneve en date du 24 disent que le Duc de Savoye avoit detaché le Marquis de Leganes avec six mille Espagnols et le Comte de Schomberg avec neuf mille Vaudois ou refugiez françois pour marcher en Savoye par la Val d’Aouste, et que les troupes d’Espagne estoient deja arrivées au petit Mont St. Bernard, où est le col qu’il faut passer pour des sources de l’Isere descendre à Montmeillan. Le bruit a couru souvent à Paris que ce chateau s’estoit rendu, mais les dernieres nouvelles de ce pais là assurent que Monsieur de la Hogue ayant voulu surprendre un pont levis exterieur qui est devant une tour detachée, ceux de la place avoient fait une furieuse sortie sur nos gens, en avoient tué plusieurs, et fait retirer les autres. Ces mêmes lettres ajoutent que sur le bruit de la marche des ennemis par la Val d’Aouste toute la Savoye estoit en armes, et que les Savoyards craignoient fort d’estre brulez par les François s’ils estoient obligez d’abandonner le pais, ou d’estre pillés par les Allemans s’il y en venoit, mais le Duc de Savoye connoissant leur perplexité n’a envoyé que des troupes d’Espagne et des Barbits ou des refugiez qui sont d’un naturel plus traitable que les Tedesques, si l’on ne croit pas que les Francois brulent la Savoye de peur de represailles et que le Dauphiné ne soit traité de mesmes.

‘On escrit de l’armée de Monsieur Catinat que le different entre Monsieur de Fouquiere et Monsieur de St. Silvestre duroit toujours, mais que lon esperoit que Monsieur de Chanlay les mettroit d’accord selon les ordres du Roy, des qu’il seroit arrivé, et reprimeroit un peu la petulance du Prince d’Elbeuf et du Marquis de Crequi qui se moquent de Monsieur Catinat.

‘La nouvelle de l’occupation de la vallee de Pragelas par les Barbets ne se contredit ni ne se confirme. Le dernier mouvement du Prince d’Orange et le poste qu’il a occupé pres de Dinant a surpris tout le monde. On dit d’abord que la place estoit investie et que le Bossu [Luxembourg] avoit esté pris pour dupe. On a vû depuis que le prince ne fesoit que carabiner, mais enfin les grands amas de fourrage qu’il fait, et le gros cannon qu’on dit qu’il fait venir, fait craindre qu’il n’assiege Dinant tout de bon et qu’il ne le prenne malgré la bravoure du Comte de Guiscar, qui est homme à se faire prendre par assaut quelques ordres qu’il eut de la cour. Plusieurs officiers de notre armée ecrivent qu’ils n’ont jamais rien vû de plus fier ni de mieux ordonné que les marches du Prince d’Orange.

‘Monsieur de l’Orge s’est approché de Philisbourg et lon dit icy qu’il a donné des coups de cane à un officier, ce qui estant, le mettroit en tres mauvaise odeur a l’armée et a la cour. Mais cette nouvelle demande confirmation.

‘On amena dernièrement de Brest quatre officiers pris à la derniere bataille d’Irlande. Le Roi les voulut voir parce qu’ils sont François refugiez. Il leur dit qu’ils pouvoient aller ou ils voudroient, pourvû qu’ils ne sortissent pas du royaume, et qu’on leur rendroit leurs épées. Il ne leur dit pas un mot de religion. Ils sont fort denuez d’argent et l’un d’eux s’appelle Durand.

'Le bruit est rependu icy que les Moscovites ont fait un traité avec les Turcs, que ces derniers leur cedent Caminiets et toute la Podolie pour avoir la paix, et cent mille hommes de secours pour agir contre la Polougne. On dit aussi que le Roy de Maroc marche contre les Espagnols, ce qui console fort nos peuples.'

3 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *French. Unsigned.*

C8. 1691, [Aug. 24/] Sept. 3. Paris. 'Nous vous avons escrit depuis long temps par toutes les postes sans avoir reçu aucune reponse, ce qui nous met fort en peine. Si nos lettres vous ont esté rendues nous vous prions de nous donner de vos nouvelles et d'accuser la reception de nos balots.

'Plusieurs lettres de Geneve du 28e. d'aoust assurent que le detachment du Duc de Savoye est en marche pour venir à Montmeillan, que le Marquis de Leganes commande six mille hommes des troupes d'Espagne, et que le Comte de Schomberg a sous ses ordres huit regimens de Vaudois ou Francois refugiez, dont voicy le nom de quelques uns. Le[s] regiments de Baltasar, de Loches, de Malet, de Julien, de St. André, de Miremont et deux autres dont nous ne savons pas le nom. Elles ajoutent que six mille Suisses ou refugiez se devriont joindre à eux et que Monsieur de la Hoguette avoit déclaré aux habitants de Chamberi que si dans huit jours ils ne lui donnoient quatre cens mille francs il bruleroit leur ville. Cependant Monsieur de Laraye est a Suse avec un detachment, et nous n'avons point de nouvelles ressenties de notre armée de Piemont.

'Celles de Brest du 26 du mois passé portent que notre flotte estoit encore dans la rade sans desarmer, qu'on preparoit là et a Nantes un convoi pour Limerick qui devoit estre escorté par trente navires sous le commandement de Monsieur de Chateau Renaud et de Monsieur de Villette, mais on craint fort que ce convoi ne parte trop tard. Cependant un ingenieur françois escrit du 17e. d'aoust que toutes choses y estoient en fort mauvaise etat, qu'on y croyoit devoir estre assiégué dans un jour ou deux, et qu'on avoit a faire a des refugiez françois, des Hollandois et des Allemans qui estoient des diables.

'Le secretaire de feu Monsieur de St. Ruth est arrivé icy presque tout nud venant de Zelande. Il dit qu'apres la bataille et la mort de son maître, qui avoit esté partagé en deux par un boulet de canon, lui et quelques autres avoient ramassé pour la valeur de cent mille escus tant en argent monnoyé qu'en argenterie et en hardes, qu'ils avoient mises dans un vaisseau pour les reporter en France, mais qu'ils avoient esté pris par un armateur zelandois qui les avoit renvoyez dans une chaloupe et les avoit fait débarquer proche de Dunkerque. Les derniers nouvelles de Rome disent que Monsieur de Chaunes avoit fort pressé le Pape de faire mettre une forte garnison dans Avignon, ou de permettre que le Roy y en mit une, parce qu'il estoit averti

que le Duc de Baviere avoit dessein de s'emparer de cette ville, pour en faire place d'armes, s'il pouvoit penetrer jusque là. Le Pontife a repondu qu'il vouloit estre neutre et qu'il ne pouvoit pas faire cette depense, mais qu'il escriroit a l'Empereur de deffendre auz Alliez de rien attenter contre ses etats.

'La cour doit aller a Fontainebleau le quinzieme du courant, où lon espere que le changement d'air sera salutaire a sa Majesté, qui est encore incommodée. Quelques uns disent même que sa fistule s'est reouverte et qu'elle a coulé de nouveau, à quoi les chaleurs excessives et les soins extraordinaires qu'elle s'est donnée depuis la mort de Monsieur de Louvois ont beaucoup contribué. Le changement de ministres a beaucoup changé l'air des affaires et lon croit que cet hiver on travaillera serieusement à faire la paix. Dieu veuille nous la donner par sa sainte grace, car toute l'Europe en a grand besoin. On dit que Monsieur le Prince de Conti a pris en Allemagne une petite ville gardée par 800 hommes qui sestoient retirez avant qu'il y entrât. Le fils unique du Comte de Montal fut enterre a Landau le 25e. d'aout, y estant mort d'un flux de sang.'

3pp. *French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 5 Sept.*

C9. 1691, [August 28/] Sept. 7. Friday. 'Nous n'avons reçu aucune lettre de vous depuis le sixieme aoust quoi que nous vous ayons escrit regulierement et vous ayons souvent prié d'accuser la reception de nos lettres. Il y a raison de croire que vostre partie a des habitudes chez le marchand qui nous compta vostre derniere remise et que c'est là quelle a sceu nostre adresse puis que depuis, une certaine femele ayant l'air estranger est venue s'enquerir touchant le Sieur B. sous ombre qu'il y avoit une meprise dans un billet de tant, venant de tel lieu &c. Ce n'est pas pour une seule fois mais trois ou quatre, qu'elle s'est venu enquerir avec empressement, ce qui marque du dessein et nous a obligé d'en avertir le correspondant de B. auquel nous ecrivimes, et le priâmes de vous instruire de toutes choses. Ne vous servez plus s'il vous plait de l'adresse accoustumée mais de cellecy jusqu'a nouvel avis: A Monsieur Monsieur Douay marchand de vin, rue des Boucheries, Fauxbourg St. Germain, a l'enseigne du Duc d'Yorck a Paris. Voila pour l'envelope, sur l'incluse mettez s'il vous plait, a Mademoiselle R. La Grange &c, a Paris. C'est aujourd'hui le dernier jour de palais et demain le premier des vacances. Envoyez nous s'il vous plait les ordres et les pieces necessaires avant la fin de ce mois, afin que nous puissions preparer toutes choses pour obtenir un arrest apres la St. Martin. Nous aurions pû augmenter le nombre de nos conseillers si nous avions eu les avis necessaires et si le principal se fut déterminé et nous eut honorez de ses commandemens, car nous ne demandons pas mieux que de bien servir un homme de son merite, que tous les honnestes gens estiment et dont la conduite donne de l'etonnement a ses

parties. Assurez le s'il vous plait de notre zele et de notre fidelité inviolable et nous faites la grace de croire que nous vous sommes en particulier, Monsieur, vos tres humbles et tres obeissans serviteurs R. et St. A.'

P.S. 'Donnez nous pour les incluses les addresses de quelques avocats et marchands de vos amis a qui nous puissions communiquer nos affaires.'

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French. The address is in a hand other than that of 'St. Aubin'. 'R' is possibly the Mademoiselle R. La Grange named as a cover addressee in the text and in no. C10.*

C10. 1691, [Aug. 28/] Sept. 7. Friday. 'Vostre silence depuis le sisième aoust dernier nous met fort en peine, comme nous vous l'avons déjà exprimé par plusieurs lettres, et nous fait craindre qu'il ne soit arrivé quelque desordre dans nostre commerce, ou que nos lettres ou les vostres n'ayent pas esté fidelement rendues. Nous nous confirmons d'autant plus dans cette crainte, que certains personnages curieux sont venus s'enquerir avec beaucoup d'empressement touchant vostre derniere remise et nous jugeons que cellà vienne de la sotté exactitude du banquier qui s'amusa sans necessité a marquer notre adresse dans son billet. Ne vous en servez donc plus et nous en donnez d'autres pour l'incluse que celle de Leyden afin qu'on puisse varier. Nous ecrivimes mecredi dernier au correspondant de B. afin qu'il vous donnast les avis necessaires. En attendant servez vous s'il vous plait de celle cy pour l'envelope: A Monsieur Monsieur Desbans, pottier d'etain, rue Neuve des Fossees, proche le carrefour de la rue Dauphine, Fauxbourg St. Germain à Paris. Et dans l'incluse: A Mademoiselle Mademoiselle la Grange, &c.

'La nouvelle de la deffaite des Turx en Hongrie a fort attristé tout le monde icy et sur tout les ecclesiastiques, et personne ne s'en rejouît que les mechans François qui ne sont qu'en trop grand nombre quoi qu'ils dissimulent leurs sentimens. Les zelez par excez ont taché de lui donner des detours et des entorses. Mais elle ne se verifie que trop, et les suites en sont a craindre. Quelques frondeurs n'ont pourtant pas laissé de dire que les Musulmans s'en affligeoient avec la cour et que les bons chrestiens s'en rejoüissoient avec Jesus Christ. Le Roi dit avanthier qu'il avoit envoyé dire à Monsieur le Duc de Chartres de revenir de l'armée le dousieme du courant et d'aller trouver la cour a Fontainebleau où elle doit aller jeudi prochain.

'Le Roy d'Angleterre paroît fort chagrin et fort inquiet du mauvais succez de ses affaires en Irlande. Le convoy qu'on preparoit pour Limerick n'est pas encore parti et ne partira peutêtre jamais, car on craint fort que cette place n'ait succombé. Il court un bruit sourd qu'il y a eu quelque action en Piemont pendant l'indisposition de Monsieur de Catinat qui eut dernièrement une costé enfoncée par le pommeau de la selle de son cheval

qui se cabra apres avoir sauté un fossé, le jetta par terre, ce qui fut son salut, car le cheval se culebuta dans une precipice où il se tua, pour estre trop fougueux ou trop fringant.

'La nouvelle de la marche des ennemis par la Val d'Aouste ne se soutient pas et lon dit que le Duc de Baviere a la fievre tierce, mais qu'il ne laisse pas de monter a cheval les jours qu'il n'a pas l'accez. L'Abbé de Mendosa, envoyé du Roy de Portugal, n'est plus allé a la cour depuis sa premiere audience, parce que ses manieres fieres et arrogantes ont deplu a sa Majesté. Cependant il poursuit la restitution des vaisseaux portugais que nos armateurs ont pris et justifie par des procez verbaux que nos gens ont donné la torture a des sujets de son maitre, et leur ont coupé le nez et les oreilles pour leur faire confesser s'ils avoient des passeports de nos ennemis. Quelques Portugais disent icy qu'il a ordre de nous declarer la guerre faute de satisfaction prompte et entiere.

'Les nouveaux convertis de Dauphiné ont esté taxez a cent mille ecus d'extraordinaire, pour la levée de quatre regimens. On croid que dans les autres provinces ils ne seront pas mieux traitez.'

3¼ pp. *French. Unsigned.*

C11. 1691, [Aug. 31/] Sept. 10. Monday. 'Vostre silence continuel depuis le sisieme du mois passé nous tient toujours dans la meme peine et nous fait craindre qu'il ne soit arrivé quelque desastre ou à vostre personne ou a nos lettres. Si cela n'est pas, comme nous le souhaitons, nous vous prions de le rompre et de nous rendre la tranquillité.

'Les avis de Brest portent que nostre flote apres s'estre long temps tenue dans la rade de Bertome estoit enfin entrée dans le port, mais qu'elle avoit ordre de ne point desarmer jusqu'a ce qu'on auroit des nouvelles certaines que les ennemis en auront fait autant. Toutes les nouvelles que nous avons d'Irlande sont incertaines et nous n'en aprenons que par la voye de Hollande qui sont un peu suspectes. Il en est de mesme de la pretendue victoire du Prince de Bade sur les Turcs, que lon raconte diversement et que vous pouvez savoir mieux que nous. Celles de Flandres disent que nostre armée estoit allé à Pieton et celle du Prince d'Orange a Flerus.

'On escrit de Languedoc que le onzieme aoust a cinq heures du soir il s'estoit elevé une tempeste melée de pluye et de gresle qui avoit abatu plus de trois cens maisons dans un bourg nommé Colommiers a une lieue de Toulouse, et emporté les toits de celles qui avoient resté sur pieds, que dix chateaux des environs avoient eu le même sort, que les arbres avoient esté arrachées ou rompus par le milieu, et qu'on ne savoit pas encore jusqu'où cet orage avoit estendu sa violence. Les vignes mesmes lont sentie, ayant esté arrachées en

divers endroits. On ne dit pas qu'il y ait peri du monde, parce que cela estoit arrivé de jour et que les gens avoient eu le temps de sortir des maisons. Ce mal est arrivé dans un païs tout catholique.

'Un officier escrit de Carmagnole du 29 d'aoust que les soldats de la garnison y estoient presque tous morts de maladie pendant les chaleurs, que notre armée estoit toujours campée a Pacalier et que sa droite s'estendoit jusqu'a un village situé sur le Pô nommé Lombriasco, ce qui empeschoit les ennemis d'attaquer cette place. Il ajoute que Monsieur de Baviere n'avoit encore rien entrepris, que les ennemis estoient obligez d'aller loin pour les fourages, que Raconis en fournissoit beaucoup a nostre armée et que Monsieur de Catinat les avoit fait detruire autour de Pignerol de peur que les Allemans ne s'en approchassent pour en profiter. D'autres nouvelles plus recents de Pignerol disent que Monsieur de Catinat avoit fait mener dans cette place toutes les bestes a corne des environs, qu'on y avoit avis que l'armée des Allemans augmentoit tous les jours, qu'on faisoit travailler a Milan et a Turin a faire beaucoup de bombes et de carcasses, qu'on avoit rappelé le detachment qui devoit marcher en Savoye par la Val d'Aouste et que tout cela fesoit craindre que le Duc de Baviere n'eut dessein de venir bombarder Pignerol pour en detruire les magazins.

'Les Vaudois ont fait une course dans la haute Provence ou ils ont exigé 24 mille escus de contributions et emmené un grand nombre de bestiaux et sur tout de moutons, qui vont paitre en esté dans ces montagnes fraiches et herbues.

'On dit icy que l'Empereur a proposé au Prince d'Orange un eschange de ses prisoniers Turks pour autant d'Irlandois, les uns pour estre transportez en Hongrie et les autres en Irlande. Quoi que cette proposition paroisse ridicule a plusieurs, d'autres la trouvent raisonnable et a l'avantage respectif de ces deux princes, qui pourroient y trouver leurs suretez.

'Le Roy part jeudi prochain pour Fontainebleau, où Monseigneur le Duc de Chartres a ordre de venir trouver la cour.

'La mort de Monsieur de Louvois n'a point addouci la severité du bureau, que lon dit estre plus rigoureux que jamais.'

3¼ pp. *French. Unsigned.*

C12. 1691, Sept. [4/] 14. 'Nous ne savons plus que dire, mon cher Monsieur, de vostre silence continuel, duquel nous nous sommes plaints deux fois à nostre ami de B., qui peutestre nous en expliquera la cause. Nous lui ecrivimes mercredi dernier et nous attendons sa reponse et la vostre.

'Le Roy partit hier de Versailles pour Fontainebleau où l'on croid que la cour sera jusqu'apres la St. Hubert. Les nouvelles de Brest du sixieme de ce mois

portent qu'on y armoit trois gros vaisseaux pour ajouter aux trente que doit commander Monsieur de Chateau Renaud pour aller escorter le convoy destiné pour Limerick. Comme c'est la seule place qui nous reste en Irlande et qu'elle est sur une riviere bien avant dans le païs, on verra quelle sera la diligence et la vigueur des ennemis pour empescher le secours que nous y envoyons, et s'ils souffriront qu'il passe avec autant de facilité que les precedents. On arme aussi a Brest une esquadre pour les Iles de l'Amerique, une autre pour la Mediterranée et deux ou trois vaisseaux pour aller croiser du costé de Cadis. Depuis quelques jours Monsieur de Chanlay est de retour de Piemont, où par l'autorité du Roy il a ajusté les differents qu'il y avoit contre quelques uns de nos officiers generaux, de sorte que nostre armée est presentement dans une parfaite union. Quoi qu'on attende de grosses affaires de ce païs là, neammoins nous n'en avons rien appris encore de considerable depuis l'arrivée de Monsieur de Baviere.

'Nostre ambassadeur continue a Rome ses instances touchant Avignon, mais le Pape lui dit qu'il peut s'en retourner en France et qu'il fera sans ses sollicitations tout ce qui sera juste et raisonnable. Quelques Anglois de la cour du Roy Jacques disent que ce Pontife a fait *novissimé* un present de trente mille ecus a ce Prince, mais d'autres au contraire assurent qu'il a refusé de l'argent a Milord Melford qui lui en demandoit pour la guerre d'Irlande, lui disant pour excuse que le tresor apostolique estoit fort epuisé. Mais quand on sait a Romme la perte de la bataille et le prise de Galloway, on dit à cet ambassadeur que son maitre n'avoit plus besoin d'argent pour soutenir une guerre qui alloit bien tost finir. Ce Pape imite en tout Innocent XI et n'a pas moins de dureté que lui a l'égard de la France et du Roy d'Angleterre. On dit pourtant qu'il traite avec le Cardinal d'Este pour obliger ce prince pieux de se transferer a Rome pour y finir ses jours s'il ne peut estre retabli dans ses royaumes.

'Il y a quelque temps que dans une auberge, entre la poire et le fromage, il s'eueut une contention entre un ecclesiastique et un nouveau converti nommé St. Martin de Besiers en Languedoc à l'occasion du Prince d'Oranges, dont imprudemment il voulut soutenir les interests. Monsieur l'Archevesque fut bientost averti de cette dispute, et peu apres le susdit St. Martin fut pris et mené au fort l'Evesque, ou estant bien recommandé, on lui mit d'abord les fers aux pieds et on le jetta dans un fond de fosse ou il fut cruellement traité pendant quinze jours, apres quoi on le transféra à l'hospital general, où par desespoir de se voir ainsi tourmenter il se fit trois blessures dangereuses avec un fer dans le bas ventre, ce qui ayant esté scû, il fut d'abord envoyé a l'Hotel Dieu ou il mourut il y a quatre jours. Ceux qui l'ont connu deplorent sa malheureuse destinée et disent que c'estoit un homme d'environ 35 ans, tres bien fait et tres bien tourné, civil et genereux, qui avoit du bien, mais un peu trop d'ardeur et de sincerité.

'Il arriva aussi une autre affaire, mais moins tragique, dans une autre auberge, entre deux Suisses frais débarquez et un certain Scarron, homme vain et fastueux, qui a l'occasion d'un million d'arrérages qu'on pretend que les cantons se sont fait payer depuis le règne d'Henri III qui le leur devoit, dit a ces deux Suisses qu'ils prenoient leur temps pour exiger de grosses sommes de la France, mais que quelque jour ils en payeroient les interests avec usure, et que le Roy s'en souviendrait. Ce different fut rapporté a Monsieur de la Renie qui auroit fait coffrer ce Scarron si quelques unx de ses amis n'eussent eu assez de credit pour detourner le coup. Son zele inconsideré estoit fort peu de saison et fort contraire aux interests de sa Majesté.'

3¼ pp. *French. Unsigned.*

C13. 1691, Sept. [7/] 17. Monday. 'Nostre etonnement augmente a mesure que vostre silence continue et toute la factorie en est dans une extreme perplexité. Nous vous avons escrit regulierement et n'avons reçu aucune des vostres depuis le sixieme du mois passé, comme nous vous l'avons souvent marqué. Nous en avons même donné avis au correspondant de B., et nous attendons sa reponse.

'Les Imperiaux ont beau vanté leur grande victoire en Esclavonie. Nous apprenons par de bons endroits qu'elle leur a couté cher et qu'elle n'a pas esté si grande qu'ils la publient. Les Turcks sont encore plus puissants qu'eux, et a moins que le Prince Louïs de Bade passe la Save et prenne Belgrade, nous aurons lieu de croire que l'avantage a esté egal. Deux ecclesiastiques rencontrant un moine il y a quelques jours, et lui demandant des nouvelles, il leur repondit froidement que les Chrestiens nous avoient battus en Hongrie. Un officier de Monsieur de l'Orge escrit de notre armée d'Allemagne qu'il y avoit plus de dix mille malades, que certains regiments n'avoient plus d'officiers et qu'on devoit faire un nouveau camp pour les infirmes.

'On a sçu de chez le Prince de Condé que Monsieur le Duc avoit eu quarante de ses gens malades et que le Prince de Conti lui mesme avoit esté fort indisposé. Les ennemis ne souffrent pas moins et c'est d'une espece de fievre pourprée que plusieurs ont esté attaquez, qui tuoit dans peu de jours, et dont plusieurs sont morts de part et d'autre.

'On escrit de Dauphiné qu'on abattoit par ordre du Roy une forest qui est proche du fort de Barreaux au voisinage de Geneve, que nos affaires du Piemont n'alloient pas trop bien et que les ennemis y estoient superieurs en nombre. Cependant nostre armée est dans leur país au dela du Po entre ce fleuve et la riviere de Polonghiera, ou elle jouit d'une heureuse abondance de fourrages. Celle du Duc de Savoye est a Carignan et l'on attend tous les jours quelque grosse affaire. Le Duc de Baviere a cent trois pieces de canon dans

son armée et plusieurs mortiers. On dit qu'il menace d'assiéger Pignerol. Mais il entreprendra ce siege comme le Prince d'Orange a fait celui de Dinant. Si son armée a subsisté dans nos terres, la nostre subsiste presantement dans celle des Espagnols, et ils n'auront pas lieu de se glorifier des operations de cette campagne en Flandres. Plusieurs officiers ont eu permission d'en venir pour faire bientost leurs recrues, et lon croid que dans peu les armées se cantonneront.

'On escrit de Catalougne que les Espagnols avoient assiégé un chateau dans le Roussillon, et que Monsieur de Noailles marchoit a eux avec toutes ses forces.

'Le Pape a escrit au Roy d'Angleterre et lui a fait present de trente mille ecus pour le dedommager des depenses qu'a fait a Rome le Comte de Melford son ambassadeur. Ce monarque et la Reine sa femme se sont fort rejouis du témoignage de bienveillance que leur a donné le Saint Père et tous les bons Catholiques et sur tout ceux de St. Germain, esperont que ce Pontife mettra la paix entre les Princes Catholiques et les unira tous contre les heretiques, qu'on hait icy plus que les Turcs.

'Il y a trois ans qu'on fit payer trente mille ecus d'extraordinaire aux nouveaux convertis du Dauphiné, l'année suivante cent mille francs et cette année cent mille ecus. Ceux de la generalité de Montauban donnerent l'an passé 90 mille escus, et cette année ils sont taxez a 95 mille. La ville de Rouen a donné deux cens cinquante mille livres à Sa Majesté pour estre exempté des charges de maitres jurez dans les arts et metiers.

'Monsieur le Duc de Chartres devoit arriver ce jourd'hui a Fontainebleau.'

3pp. *Holograph. French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 17 Sept.*

C14. 1691, Sept. [11/] 21. Friday. 'Nous reçûmes hier une lettre de l'ami de B. en datte du 14 de ce mois qui accuse la reception de nos balots et dit vous avoir donné les avis necessaires pour le transport libre des marchandises. Cette lettre nous a tirez de la profonde tristesse où vostre long silence nous avoit mis et nous fait esperer que vous n'oublierez rien des choses que vous savez estre necessaires au trafic, que vous serez ponctuel et que vous nous ferez savoir le plustost que vous pourrez sur quelles emplettes le directeur se sera determiné. Nous sommes marchands bien disposez qui ne demandons qu'à le bien servir malgré la rigueur des monopoleurs qui sont plus fiers et plus insolents que jamais, quoi que les pertes de leurs associez les aient penettrez jusqu'au coeur. Les deux vaisseaux qu'ils ont perdu, l'un vers les Indes occidentales et l'autre vers les orientales, les mettent dans de grandes perplexitez et leur font redoubler leur vigilance et leur severité, ce qui

empesche les marchands qui ne sont pas de leur cabale de rien hasarder sans de grandes precautions. Nous esperons que les vendenges seront bonnes cette année et que les vins seront excellents, pourvû que le beau tems qu'il fait dure encore quelques jours.

'Le Mareschal de la Feuillade apres avoir esté quelque temps malade d'une fievre, et dormi doucement la nuit du mardi au mercredi 19^{me}. de ce mois, s'esveilla environ les onze heures et dit, "Ha, que je me porte bien, je mangerois volontiers. N'y a-t-il point de perdreaux la bas?" On lui dit qu'il n'y avoit qu'un poulet. "Eh bien, qu'on me l'apprête; je sens", dit il, "que j'ay de l'appetit". On le mit a la broche et pendant qu'on le rotissoit, le Mareschal s'écria, "Ah, que je suis mal. Dieu veuille avoir pitié de mon ame", apres lesquelles paroles il expira. Ce seigneur avoit de bonnes et de mauvaises qualitez, mais le privilege qu'il avoit de dire librement ses pensées au Roi le distinguoit plus que toute autre chose, et le Roi et le public perdent a sa mort, parcequ'il servoit souvent de canal pour faire savoir a sa Majesté plusieurs affaires dont personne n'auroit osé lui parler. Il n'y a pas longtems qu'estant a Versailles et voyant que Monsieur de Barbesieux venoit de recevoir quelques ordres, il dit au Roy des qu'il vit eloigner ce jeune ministre, "Sire, vous avez là un fort jeune ministre"; à quoi le Roy repondit, "Il a de l'esprit, il s'applique et il se fera". "J'en demeure d'accord", replica le Mareschal, "mais cela n'empeschera pas les gens de dire que vostre Majesté a le plus jeune ministre de l'Europe."

'On croid que ses charges seront données au Duc de Vendome, du moins celle de colonel des gardes, et peutetre aussi le gouvernement de Dauphiné. Le bruit court icy, quoi que sourdement, que le Prince espousera la veuve de Monsieur de Louvois, a cause de ses grandes richesses, quoi qu'il n'ait pas voulu de la fille. Mais la mere est de qualité comme fille et heritiere de la maison de Souvray.

'On est icy dans une grande attente d'une bataille en Flandres et hier au soir on dit en plusieurs endroits que le Duc de Montmorency avoit passé a Paris allant à Fontainebleau et qu'il avoit dit que l'avant garde du Prince d'Orange estoit battue. D'autres ont dit la cavalerie.

'Selon les nouvelles de Brest du 14^e. de ce mois, le convoy destiné pour l'Irlande n'estoit pas encore parti. Ce retardement vient de ce que plusieurs de nos munitions de bouche ayant esté gastées par la chaleur, il en a falu mettre d'autres a leur place, et les vents ont aussi esté fort contraires.

'Les nouvelles de Piemont du neuvieme portent que le troisieme notre armée avoit quité le camp de Polonghera et s'estoit approchée a la portée du montagne [?] de Carmagnole. Les ennemis sont plus forts que nous en cavalerie, mais nous les surpassons en infanterie. Ils ne sont pas plus forts que nous a tout compter, et ne peuvent rien entreprendre vers Pignerol parce que

Monsieur de Catinat a eu la prevoyance de manger ou de detruire tous les fourrages des environs. Le Po separe les deux armees et celle des ennemis est a Carignan. Le Duc de Baviere s'estant approché avec le Duc de Savoye de ce fleuve vis a vis de nostre armée, on leur tira quelques coups de cannon, et un boulet ayant passé entre les deux princes, ils se retirerent avec leurs gens plus vite qu'ils n'estoient venus. Il y a troix ou quatre jours que des frondeurs ont dit que les Vaudois avoient deffait 800 hommes des milices de Bourgogne dans la valée de Pragealas et pris un convoi qu'ils menoient a Pignerol. Ils ont dit aussi qu'un de nos partis de cinq cens chevaux avoit esté taillé en pieces par un plus gros parti du Prince d'Orenes. Le Sieur Thomas Maitland, fils du Milord de ce nom, mourut la semaine passée a St. Germain d'une fievre chaude. Il avoit vecu protestant, mais il mourut catholique et prit ses sacrements avant que mourir.'

P.S. 'Quelques officiers anglois sont arivez icy venant de l'armée de Flandres et disent que le Duc de Berrick les assura qu'il seroit plutost a Paris qu'eux, mais il a depuis reçu ordre du Roy son pere de demourer a l'armée sur l'apparence qu'il y avoit d'une bataille. L'abondance de Ninove nous a plus tué de chevaux que la disette de Florene et de Stevée.'

4pp. *Holograph. French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 20 Sept.*

C15. 1691, [Sept. 21/] Oct. 1. Monday. 'Nous vous avons escrit reglement et si nos lettres vous ont esté rendues vous aurez appris le bon estat de la factorie et le besoin qu'elle a de vostre souvenir a cause des loyers dont elle est chargée et autres depenses indispensables que vous pouvez aisement imaginer. Faites nous donc la grace de nous escrire au plustost et de nous observer la ponctualité promise afin que nous puissions solidement servir le directeur des qu'il nous aura donné ses ordres, lesquels nous attendons aves impatience.

'Après le dernier combat donné pres de Leuse, les ennemis avoueront sans doute l'intrepidité et la valeur sans egale de la Maison du Roy, qui a essuyé tout leur feu et les a rompus l'épée a la main. Il est vray que cette victoire nous a couté cher, si les listes qu'on void icy sont veritables dans toute leur etendue, puis qu'elles font monter le nombre de nos officiers tuez, blessez ou perdus a plus de 110 hommes, la plupart gens de consideration, quoi que notre Gazette n'en dise que vint. Il est mort depuis le combat un grand nombre de blessez, et les gens du mettier qui entendent le mieux la guerre n'approuvent pas tout a fait la conduite de nostre general quoi qu'ils admirent le courage de nos troupes. Ils disent qu'on peut attaquer de cette maniere des gens qui s'ébranlent et qui tirent de loin, mais qu'il y a de la temerité d'oser insulter avec la seule épée des rangs fermes qui ne tirent qu'a bout touchant dont les coups sont presque tous mortels, comme l'experience

l'a fait voir dans cette occasion. On avoit cru d'abord que le public auroit une relation extraordinaire de cette sanglante echauffourée, des le mercredi suivant, mais on a trouvé plus à propos de n'en point donner.

'Le Roy d'Angleterre est encore a Fontainebleau avec la Reine son epouse, d'où lon dit qu'ils doivent revenir aujourdui et voir en passant les 28 etendars qu'on mit hier a Nostre Dame pour servir de trophée et de témoignage incontestable de nostre victoire.

'Les dernieres lettres de Brest nous apprennent que nostre convoi avec son escorte avoient mis a la voile le 22 de septembre et qu'il[s] estoient revenus a la rade le 24, soit a cause de la contrariété des vents ou de quelque avis venu a propos. Cependant il court icy un bruit sourd que Limerick est pris, mais cette nouvelle demande confirmation.

'On avoit assuré que Monsieur de Catinat avoit repassé le Po et qu'il estoit aux environs de Pignerol, mais les dernieres lettres de nostre camp disent que le quartier du Roy estoit a Saluce et que si nostre armée estoit obligée de revenir sur nos terres elle feroit sauter Savillan d'où elle tire une bonne partie de sa subsistance. Une lettre ecrite de Geneve, lieu fort suspect, ne laisse pas de dire qu'un detachment des ennemis composé des troupes d'Espagne avoit passé le Po a quay et pris Saluce, l'épée a la main, qu'on n'y avoit trouvé qu'une garnison d'Irlandois et quatre cens malades, qui avoient tous esté mis au fil de l'épée, et qu'on y avoit trouvé beaucoup de fourrages. Cette lettre a ajoute que Monsieur de la Hoguette estoit marché en diligence vers Pignerol avec toutes les troupes entretenues et les milices qu'il avoit en Savoye, et que dans le Dauphiné on avoit fait prendre les armes a tous ceux qui estoient capables de les porter. Mais tout cela paroît fabuleux.

'Plusieurs disent icy que le Comte de Guiscar, gouverneur de Dinant, a fait bruler 25 vilages dans le païs de Liege qui avoient refusé de payer les contributions. On dit que nos affaires de Rome vont plus mal que jamais et qu'en Hollande on a fait dans la ville de Roterdam une taille douce [copperplate engraving] qui represente le Roy Jaques tenant a la main une cane ou roseau fleurdelisé qui lui perce la main, avec cette inscription sortant de sa bouche: "Je m'y suis trop appuié." A bon entendeur peu de paroles.'

3½ pp. *French. Unsigned.*

C16. 1691, [Sept. 28/] Oct. 8. Monday. 'Nous laissâmes passer le dernier ordinaire sans vous escrire parce que la matiere manquoit et nous n'avions rien appris touchant notre commerce qui fut digne de vous estre communiqué. Nous attendons toujours vos ordres dans la bonne disposition de les executer des que nous les aurons reçus.

'Pour nouvelles nous vous dirons qu'il n'y a point d'avis que le convoi destiné

pour Limerick soit encore parti et que nos vaisseaux estoient encore a Brest le 30 du mois passé. Si ce qu'on a escrit de La Rochelle, que Limerick se rendit le 26 du mois passé, est veritable, leur expedition est deja faite. Cependant on a fait courir le bruit icy que le siege de cette place estoit levé, et que les Orangistes y avoient perdu cinq mille hommes avec toute leur artillerie. Nostre derniere Gazette nous conduit jusqu'au 15 septembre et nous laisse sur le bord du Po, nous disant que les ennemis avoient tenté de le passer. Mais on dit que jeudi dernier le Roy eut nouvelles qu'ils avoient passé et qu'ils avoient assiégué Carmagnole. Dautres disent qu'ils avoient seulement fait semblant de vouloir faire ce siege, pour attirer Monsieur Catinat a donner bataille dans pais plain et ouvert, a fin que leur cavalerie plus nombreuse que la notre peut se prevaloir de l'avantage du terrain. Quoi qu'il en soit, on attend icy avec impatience de voir quel sera le succez de cette affaire, qui est d'une fort grande consequence.

'La cour ayant esté informée que la Chambre des Comptes avoit depuis long temps usé d'extortions, a, dit on, resolu de la mettre a la coupelle, et de lui faire payer une taxe de cinq millions. Les membres de ce corps, avertis de ce dessein, deputerent dernièrement a Monsieur de Pontchartrain qui leur fit un fort mauvais accueil, ce qui fait croire que s'ils ne composent de bonne heure on leur fera rendre compte de toutes leurs rapines et malversations.

'Il y a quelques jours qu'on mena de la Bastille a l'hopital general de Bicestre deux hommes bien faits qu'on suppose estre religionnaires. On les depouilla de leurs habits dorez, pour leur en donner de grosse toile et on les mit dans des cachots, mais le public ne sait pas dequoi ils sont accusez.'

2pp. *French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 9 Oct.*

C17. 1691, Oct. [16/] 26. Friday. 'Les quatre principaux commis de la factorie vous saluent et vous prient tres humblement de leur faire savoir le veritable etat du commerce afin qu'ils puissent donner congé des gros loyers qu'ils ont sur les bras, et qui jusqu'icy ont été inutiles, avant le 15 du mois prochain, amoins que le directeur en ordonne autrement. S'il arrivoit quelque changement dans ses desseins nous ne doutons point qu'il ne nous indemnîât des grosses depenses que nous avons faites, qui sont grandes à nostre egard quoi que fort modiques au sien, et qu'il ne nous donnât toute sorte de sujet de demeurer firmes dans le zele que nous avons pour son service.

'Lundi dernier le bruit de la redition de Limerick se rependit icy, et quoi que cette nouvelle trouvât d'abord beaucoup de contradiction elle n'a pas laissé de se fortifier toujours de sorte que peu de gens en doutent presentement.

'Comme nos affaires de Rome sont plus brouillées que jamais, et qu'on a scû

que Monsieur de Rebenac estoit parti de Dunkerque le 15 du courant, avec des instructions dressées par Monsieur de Pomponne, pour tacher d'engager les Roys du Nord a se ligner avec nous ou du moins a prendre en main la mediation de la paix, plusieurs croyent qu'elle se fera cet hiver.

'On ne parle plus icy du Prince d'Orange comme on fesoit, et les gens eclairez disent assez franchement que ce[s]t un habile politique. Il y en a même qui le regardent deja comme devant estre l'un de nos meilleurs amis et le plus grand modérateur des affaires en cas de paix. Dieu veuille nous la donner a quelque prix et par quelque voye que ce soit.

'Les lettres de Suze du 15 disent que ce jour là les ennemis commençoient à paroître devant cette place. Celles du 18 portent qu'ils avoient donné deux attaques au Col de la Fenestre, pour en chasser nos gens, mais qu'ils en avoient esté repoussez avec grande perte. Ce passage leur est absolument necessaire pour couper la communication de Suse a Pignerol, sous le canon duquel Monsieur de Catinat se tient avec son infanterie. La cavalerie de son armée a repassé les monts en assez mauvais equipage, et lon dit quelle sera postée sur les frontieres en Savoye et dans la haute Provence à la reserve de deux regimens de cavalerie et deux de dragons qui auront leurs quartiers d'hiver dans le Dauphiné.

'On dit qu'il y a 22 edits sur le bureau qui doivent estre enregistrez a la St. Martin pour avoir de l'argent. Le Roy Jacques accompagné du Mareschal de Bellefons partit il y a quelques jours pour l'abaye de la Trape ou ils sont encore, et la Reine est a Colombe durant l'absence de son epoux.

'On escrit de Brest du 17 que le convoy devoit mettre a la voile le jour suivant. Il est composé de 17 navires du Roy et de trente navires de charge portant deux mille tonneaux de farine, cinquante milliers de poudre, beaucoup de balles et des saumans de plomb, des pierres à fusil de la mesche, cinq mille mousquets, deux mille fusils, huit armuriers, douse chirurgiens, quinze officiers de cavalerie, 25 ou 30 d'infanterie et beaucoup de vin, d'eau de vie et d'autres denrées. Mais si Limerick est pris, tout cela ne sera que de la moutarde apres diner.

'Le Roy a reçu un nouveau courrier de Constantinople, d'où lon apprend qu'il y avoit de grandes commotions parmi les Turcs et que le peuple demandoit la paix et la teste du Teckeli.

'Les traitans qui doivent etablir a l'Ile le nouveau Bureau de Finances au lieu d'une Chambre des Comptes partirent avant hier d'icy.'

3pp. *French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 23 Oct.*

C18. 1691, [Nov. 27/] Dec. 7. Friday. 'Nous fimes mercredi reponse a la lettre du correspondant de B. du 14 du passé et nous sommes toujours dans l'attente de recevoir de bonnes nouvelles de vostre santé et du bon estat de

notre negoce. Les delais nous ont deja fait du tort et nous en feroient beaucoup plus s'ils duroient encore du temps. Vous savez, Monsieur, que les gens meurent ou se dissipent et que les occasions se perdent. Nous en avons deja perdu de faire de bonnes emplettes et comme nous ne nous plaignons de personne nous sommes fort assurez qu'on n'a eu aucun sujet de se plaindre de nous. Nostre zele, nostre diligence et nostre fidelité n'ont manqué en rien et ne manquerons [*sic*] jamais à l'égard du directeur et de sa noble compagnie. Vous pouvez compter là dessus.

'Tous les domestiques du Roy et de la Reine d'Angleterre assurent que cette princesse est grosse de trois mois, qu'elle a eu toutes les marques d'une veritable grossesse et que depuis dix ou douse jours elle ne sort plus de ses appartemens. Son epoux en est tout charmé et tout glorieux, comme il est fort aise d'avoir reçu des remises de vint mille livres sterling que de ses bons sujets lui ont depuis peu envoyé d'Angleterre.

'Il arriva mardi dernier un courier qui apporta des paquets d'Irlande, mais le public ne sait pas ce qu'ils contiennent. Par la même voye le Comte de Fraulé reçut une lettre de son neveu le Chevalier de Tess datée du 26 novembre, qui dit qu'ils n'avoient pas encore appris dans ce païs là aucunes nouvelles du Marquis de Chateaurenaud, dont l'arrivée leur estoit fort necessaire parce qu'ils manquoient de plusieurs choses et meme de pain. Il ajoute que le Prince d'Oranges fesoit ponctuellement observer la capitulation et que si nos vaisseaux fussent arrivez au temps qu'on les attendoit, les troupes auroient pû estre embarquées et transportées en France. Tout le monde estoit deja fort en peine de nostre esquadre qui est de 17 navires tres considerables, outre les vaisseaux de charge, mais cette nouvelle redouble nostre etonnement.

'On escrit de Montmeillan du 28 du passé que le siege alloit toujours vigoureusement, qu'on avançoit les ouvrages, que les assiegez se deffendoient bien, qu'ils nous avoient deja tué du monde, que trois ingenieurs avoient esté blessez a mort, le Marquis d'Antin fils ainé de Monsieur de Montespan avoit esté blessé a bras et que Monsieur Catinat avoit reçu une mousquetade dans son manteau. La nuit de mecredi et jeudi dernier il tomba de la neige aux environs de Paris qui fut fondue par une grosse pluye qu'il fit vers le matin, ce qui fait craindre qu'il n'en soit beaucoup tombé aux environs de Montmeillan.

'On escrit de Gennes que les Allemans avoient pris des quartiers d'hiver dans les terres de la Republique, qu'elle armoit par mer et par terre pour deffendre ses sujets, et que Monsieur de Rebenac y avoit exorté le senat par une belle harangue faite a la cour, qui offroit aux Genoïs l'assistance et la protection du Roy. On dit qu'ils ont resolu d'armer dix galeres et sept vaisseaux et que le Grand Duc arme aussi. Cependant on assure que l'assemblée de Bolougne est deja formée.

'Le nommé Montroy, curé et superieur des Invalides, qui passoit pour un saint, s'est eclipsé depuis quelques jours sans rendre compte de plus de deux cens mille livres qu'on dit qu'il a mangé ou emporte a l'hotel et a divers particuliers. Cette friponnerie jointe a celle du superieur des Jacobins et des administrateurs des Incurables fait ouvrir les yeux a bien des gens et leur doit apprendre à ne pas se fier à ces dévots qui sous ombre de devotion et de sainteté ne songent le plus souvent qu'à ravir le bien des pieux infatuez.'

3pp. *French. Unsigned. Endorsed as received 6 Dec.*

C19. 1691, Dec. [7/]17. Monday. 'Le Roy d'Angleterre partit hier au matin pour Orleans dans des carrosses de relais, et de là il doit continuer sa route dans des chaises roulantes jusqu'à Brest, où lon dit qu'il porte de bonnes sommes d'argent pour distribuer a ses Irlandois. On avoit dit qu'ils n'avoient esté que trois jours dans leur passage, car on prend plaisir a cacher les mauvais succez; mais on a sçu depuis qu'ils avoient essuyé un terrible tempeste, qui avoit poussé nos vaisseaux vers le nord west d'Irlande, qu'ils avoient beaucoup souffert et plusieurs avoient fait des voyes d'eau, et qu'ils avoient tous craint d'estre jettez sur les costes de Norvege. Neammoins le vent venant h[e]ureusement à changer, ils avoient repris la route de France où ils avoi[e]nt tous abordé le troisieme de ce mois a la reserve d'un vaisseau de guerre qu'on dit estre arrivé a Rochefort, et un autre vaisseau de charge plein d'Irlandois dont on n'a pas encore de nouvelles. Ils ont esté h[e]ureux si dans un si grand danger ils n'ont fait que cette porte, mais on ne veut pas icy que l'esquadre angloise sous le Chevalier Dalival en ait esté quitte a si bon marché.

'Les avis du neuvieme du camp devant Montmeillan portent qu'on estoit occupé a remplir le fossé pour venir a un bastion où nos batteries avoient fait une bresche considerable, qu'il en estoit sorti cinq transfuges qui avoient dit que la place ne manquoit de rien, quoi que nos bombes eussent corrompû l'eau des cisternes parce que les assiegez en tiroient d'un fossé ou il y avoit une source vive, qu'on vouloit tascher de detourner. Plusieurs assurent que le Roy a dit qu'il estoit bien informé qu'il ne restoit dans la place que deux cens hommes en estat de la deffendre, les autres estant tous malades ou blessez, et que Messieurs de Baviere et de Savoye s'avancoient par la Val d'Aoust pour la secourir, mais qu'ils trouveroient le Marquis de La Raye en teste pour leur disputer le passage.

'Monsieur de St. Silvestre est parti du camp avec un gros detachment, sans qu'on sache encore pour aller où. Le bruit court que le Marquis de Boufflers a tiré des places de Flandres environ 40 mille homme[s], qu'il est du costé d'Ipres, mais on ne sait pas son dessein. Quelques uns disent que c'est pour faire de nouvelles lignes, d'autres que c'est pour exiger des contributions,

mais comme on escrit qu'il a fait prendre les gros bagages, on croit que c'est pour faire quelque siege.

'Madame la Grande Duchesse de Toscane s'est brouillée avec l'Abbesse de Montmartre, qu'on dit qu'elle accuse d'estre grosse, et que l'Abbesse l'a accusé de galantiser, dont cette princesse s'est plainte au Roy. On ajoute que sa Majesté ayant examiné ce différent a escrit au Grand Duc de nommer un lieu pour la retraite de sa femme, parce qu'elle ne peut plus avec bienséance demeurer a l'Abbaye de Montmartre.

'Depuis la fuite du Sieur de Montroy, quelques ecclesiastiques qu'on soupconnoit estre de sa clique se sont evadez, et lon dit que le saint homme a esté pris a dix lieues au delà de Geneve. Ses aventures avec Madame Dongeat et sa fille sont fort publiques; lon dit qu'il les baisoit toutes deux, et qu'il avoit donné vint mille escus pour marier la fille qui estoit grosse de son fait, et qui s'accoucha huit mois apres ses noces.

'Le Roy a nommé Monsieur l'Archevesque de Paris, son chancelier et son confesseur et quelques conseillers d'estat pour examiner les affaires de l'ordre de St. Lazare, et savoir si les reunions qui ont esté faites sont legitimes, et si Monsieur de Louvois pouvoit estre Grand Vicaire de cet ordre sans une bulle du Pape, auquel on voudroit donner satisfaction pour racrocher avec la cour de Rome.'

3pp. *French. Unsigned.*

C20. 1691, Dec. [11/] 21. Friday. 'Votre lettre du 13 du courant nous a esté rendue, et nous obeissons aux ordres du directeur et de la compagnie avec tout le respect que nous leur devons, sans examiner leurs raisons que nous croyons estre bonnes quoi que nous soyons assurez que rien n'ait manqué de nostre part. Nous leur avons offert nos tres humbles services dans un temps auquel leurs affaires n'estoient pas si bien qu'elles sont aujourd'hui, en quoi nous leur donnâmes un temoignage sensible de nostre zele et de nostre courage. Nous ne souhaitons rien tant que de voir fleurir leur commerce à la confusion des monopoleurs, et n'avons jamais voulu rien entreprendre que sur de trez justes fondemens. Ils savent assez les raisons puissantes que nous en avons, et nous esperons qu'ils expliqueront toutes choses à nostre avantage, puis que nous avons agi avec toute la diligence, la sincerité et la bonne foi possible. Nous n'avons aussi jamais douté qu'ils ne fissent toutes choses avec honneur a nostre egard et dans cette confiance nous nous sommes engagez a des depenses, qui auroient esté utiles au commerce s'ils avoient voulu le continuer et nous donner les ordres que nous avons si long temps attendus. Nous n'avons reçu que trois remises et nous avons dépensé plus de sept cens ecus tant au voyage de Bretagne qu'en loyers de maisons dont nous serons obliges de payer encore cinq cens livres au mois de

janvier prochain. Les cent ecus restant ont esté employez en petites depenses pour engager les huit dernier facteurs qui n'ont jamais rien sçu de particulier, Dieu mercy. Jugez, Monsieur, si apres ce compte veritable les quatre principaux ont beaucoup profité dans le negoce, et moi sur tout qui ai couru le plus grand risque et pris le plus de peine. Heureusement nous donnâmes congé de deux cens francs de loyers au mois de novembre dernier et n'en avons retenu que pour cent ecus que nous serons obliges de payer a Pasques, a quoi nous prions ces messieurs d'avoir de justes egards. Comme nous n'avons fait aucunes emplettes pour eux nous ne leur demandons pour toute recompense que l'honneur de leurs bonnes graces, et vous prions de les assurer de la continuation de nostre zele et de notre profond respect. Peutetre que nous aurons quelque jour l'honneur de les servir plus utilement et dans cette vûe nous vous prions de leur représenter que si pour ne pas laisser tout à fait esteindre la correspondance, ils vouloient continuer le petit commerce d'avis sur les marchandises courantes, nous nous contenterions de ce qu'ils voudroient nous donner. Il y a du temps que je vous dis que nous vous donnerions un nouvel avis sur certaine manufacture qui vous regarde tous. Nous avons pris beaucoup de peine pour en decouvrir le fin, et nous esperons d'en avoir bien tost une connoissance parfaite, dont l'avis seul vaudroit bien la depense que vous avez faite. Je ne dis point cecy pour vous engager a rien contre vostre inclination et les veritables interests de la compagnie, que nous avons beaucoup a coeur, et pour la prosperité de laquelle nous ne cesserons jamais de faire des voeux au ciel.

'Les avis du 13e. portent que Montmeillan estoit fort pressé, que nos gens s'estoient logez dans le fossé, qu'ils avoient attaché le mineur au corps de la place, que tout se preparoit pour l'assaut, et qu'on esperoit l'emporter avant le vintieme de ce mois. Quelques uns pretendent avoir appris que deux mines ont joué avec tant de succez que le fossé a esté presque comblé, mais que nous y avons perdu un colonel nomme de Brac et huit autres officiers avec plusieurs soldats. Cependant on dit plus que jamais que les Ducs de Baviere, de Savoye et de Schomberg sont en marche pour le secours de la place et que Monsieur Catinat a detaché quatre regimens pour mieux garnir les passages. Mais on croit aussi que les violons ne viendront que quand le bal sera fini. Le Pere Behours Jesuite, qui a donné de si beaux livres au public, s'est enfin avisé de faire un enfant a une niece de Monsieur de Vauban, du moins selon le bruit commun. Il l'avoit mise dans un petit couvent de Nostre Dame des Prés qui n'a pas une grande reputation de pureté, et comme il ne prenoit plus soin d'elle, la fille donna quelques lettres galantes qu'elle avoit reçu de ce Reverend Pere, et le fit menacer de les publier, s'il continuoit a la negliger. Le Jesuite fit addroitement persuader au procureur de mettre ces lettres entre les mains du curé de St. Sulpice, ce qui fut executé, apres quoi croyant estre hors de danger il commença fierement a traiter le procureur d'imposteur,

lequel lui repondit que les gens de sa proffession n'avoient pas moins d'esprit que les Jesuites et qu'il avoit encore cinq ou six de ses lettres qui parloient plus clairement que toutes les autres. On ne sait comment cette Reverence se tirera d'affaire, quoi que les gens pieux nient le fait ou qu'ils y donnent de belles couleurs.

3pp. *Holograph. French. Unsigned.*

C21. 1691, Dec. [17/] 27. 'Nous vous avons escrit deux foix depuis que nous avons reçu vostre lettre du 13 du courant et vous aurez pu voir quelle est nostre defference aux ordres du directeur et de la Compagnie. Toute la factorie est bien fachée de ne leur avoir pas pû rendre des services proportionnez à son zele, et vous prie de la tirer des engagements où elle est, le plustost qu'il sera possible afin que chacun puisse prendre son parti. Pour moi en particulier qui suis le plus engagé, je vous supplie trez humblement d'appuyer mes petits interets et de me faire savoir si lon veut continuer le petit commerce afin que la correspondance ne soit pas tout à fait rompue et qu'on la puisse renouer en cas de besoin, car on ne sait pas ce qui peut arriver. Voicy l'extrait d'une lettre ecrite du camp devant Montmeillan le 18 du courant.

'Le Sieur Barbicy commandant des mineurs dit hier au soir à Monsieur Catinat que la muraille du bastion de Beauvoisin avoit 23 pieds d'épaisseur, qu'il en faloit cruser 18 pour la mine, qu'il n'y en avoit encore que sept piés de fait, que samedi prochain elle seroit dans sa perfection et que le dimanche suivant elle pourroit faire son effect. On ne sait si le gouverneur vaudra deffendre la bresche ou s'il capitulera avant qu'il soit trop tard, et que nous ayons fait un logement sur le bastion.

'Nous perdimes la nuit de samedi a dimanche grand nombre de soldats, et en eumes beaucoup de blessez par le moyen des barils de poudre que les ennemis jettoient des murailles sur nos travaux. Comme le mineur n'estoit pas encore a couvert il le faloit soutenir avec des grenadiers. Le peril estoit si evident que lon donnoit des louis d'or aux soldats pour les animer.

'Le Duc de Baviere marche avec vint mille hommes par la Val d'Aoute pour secourir la place et pretend y arriver le 25 par le Vallais et le Lac de Geneve, mais Monsieur Catinat prend toutes les mesures possible pour lui deffendre l'entrée de la Savoye. Il n'a point de cavalerie, au lieu que nous en avons avec des dragons et de l'infanterie en nombre suffisant pour lui disputer le passage. Monsieur de St. André, commandant en Dauphiné, a fait marcher a Barreaux et a Gommessin quatre mille hommes des vieilles et des nouvelles milices pour couvrir la Valée de Gresivaudan. On a encore detaché des troupes du siege, deux regimens pour aller a Suze, où ils sont presentement.

'Mardi dernier jour de Noel au matin, le Chevalier de Crenant porta au Roy la premiere nouvelle de la capitulation de Montmeillan, et sa Majesté lui donna quatre cens louis d'or pour sa course. On dit que les assiegez ayant fait un fourneau pour faire sauter nos gens quand ils seroient logez sur le bastion apres l'effect de la mine, une de nos bombes tomba le 21 sur ce fourneau qui estoit plein de barils de poudre auxquels elle mit le feu, ce qui renversa le bastion, remplit le fossé et fit une si grande ouverture que la cavalerie y auroit pû entrer. Un bataillon du regiment de la Couronne s'y logea sans perdre plus de vint hommes et d'abord le gouverneur fit battre la chamade. Il n'avoit plus que le donjon pour sa deffense, où il auroit esté facile de le forcer, mais pour epargner le sang ou pour d'autres raisons Monsieur Catinat le reçut a composition, dont le public ne sait pas encore le detail, mais on attend le Marquis d'Antin qui le doit apporter au Roi. On dit seulement qu'il ne restoit guere plus de deux cens hommes dans la place, qu'ils sont sortis par la bresche avec troix pieces de canon et qu'ils doivent estre conduits a Turin. On raisonne fort sur cette bombe; plusieurs la comparent a celle de Nice et de Belgrade, et tant le monde reconnoit que tous les coups de fortune nous sont favorables et funestes aux ennemis, qui sont plus menagers que nous, et dont la moutarde ne vient qu'apres diner. Beaucoup de nos troupes marchent vers la Savoye et Monsieur de Baviere a toute la mine de s'en retourner avec sa courte honte, si mieux n'aime s'exposer a estre battu. Le bruit est repandu icy que le Roi d'Espagne l'a fait gouverneur perpetuel des Pais Bas.

'On dit que nostre flotte sera augmentée la campagne prochaine de huit à dix navires du premier rang, ce que les ennemis ne croiront peuteestre que quand ils les verront, comme ils firent il y a deux ans, quoi que leurs gazettes nous renvoyassent des listes tres exactes du nombre et de la force de nos vaisseaux.'

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French. Unsigned.*

C22. 1692, Jan. [1/] 11. Friday. 'Nous aurions esté fort embarrassez a la fin du dernier terme si deux de nos commis qui ont deja repondu pour d'autres n'avoient trouvé encore du credit pour quelque temps. Faites nous la grace de nous escrire et de nous dire franchement à quoi nous devons nous attendre, car nous sommes dans une grande incertitude et le silence du correspondant de B. ne nous etonne pas moins que le vostre.

'Enfin le mariage de Monseigneur le Duc de Chartres et de Mademoiselle de Blois fille naturelle du Roy a esté conclu et déclaré malgré les oppositions de Madame. Il est vray qu'on dit qu'elle a toujours refusé son consentement jusqu'a-ce qu'on lui ait eu promis que Monseigneur epouserait Mademoiselle sa fille, et que cette derniere alliance l'a plus touchée que la riche dot de sa belle fille future qu'on dit devoir estre de plus de trois millions. Le Prince de Conti deffunct montra le chemin aux Princes du Sang de s'allier aux filles

naturelles du Roy, et cette maxime a esté poussée beaucoup plus haut en la personne du fils unique d'un fils et frere de Roy.

'On attend ce soir a St. Germain le Roy d'Angleterre, où lon croyoit qu'il arriveroit plutôt, mais les ordres qu'il a donné en Bretagne pour le reglement de ses troupes irlandoises l'y ont retenu plus long temps qu'on n'avoit crû. On dit qu'il en a fait six regimens et deux compagnies de gardes, dont la premiere sera toujours commandée par le Duc de Berrick et l'autre par le Sieur Sarsefield. On ne sait pas encore qui seront les colonels des six regimens. Dans la derniere promotion des officiers de marine il n'y eut point de capitaines de vaisseau, mais il y eut 70 lieutenants, 150 enseignes, 20 capitaines de galiotes ou de brulots et 300 gardes de la marine. La flotte sera certainement augmentée de huit ou dix gros navires et Monsieur de Tourville est nommé pour la commander.

'Il y eut l'autre jour devant la comedie une grosse bagarre entre les gens de Madame la Duchesse de Hanovre et ceux de la Princesse de Turenne, et beaucoup de bastonnades et de coups de poing de part et d'autre. Cela vint de ce que le cocher de Madame de Hanovre voulut derrenger le carrosse de la Princesse de Turenne et lui faire quitter le poste dont il s'estoit saisi avant l'arrivée de celui de cette Duchesse. On dit que les maitres s'interessent dans la querelle des valets, et que tout cela pourroit produire une grosse affaire parce que depuis longtemps il y a de rancune de part et d'autre.

'On void icy en manuscrit une relation du Duc de Chaunes par laquelle il fait voir que toutes ses negotiations n'ont pû de rien servir au pres du Pape, non seulement a cause du peu de dispositions qu'il a trouvé en lui pour en venir a un accommodement avec la France, mais aussi parce que la chose ne depend d'aucun Pape en particulier et que cette affaire regarde toute la cour romaine et tout le College des Cardinaux.

'Il y a icy beaucoup de gens qui croient que de nostre costé nous ne recherchons guere cet accord quelque grimace qu'on ait faite, et que nos brouilleries avec Rome ont esté faites de propos deliberé pour en pouvoir venir aux edits qu'on a fait depuis peu qui sont fondamentaux sur lesquels on en pourra faire plusieurs autres et reformer le corps le plus puissant et le plus corrompû de l'etat, ce qui estoit reservé a la gloire du Roi.'

3pp. *French. Unsigned.*

C23. 1692, [Jan. 25/] Feb. 4. Monday. 'Vostre derniere lettre et la billet y contenu ne nous ayant esté rendus que vendredi au soir, le billet n'a pû estre accepté que ce matin. Nous vous donnerons avis du payement, et puis que vous nous conseillez d'ecrire au directeur touchant les cent ecus restant et que vous avez la bonté de lui faire vouloir tenir nostre lettre, nous ne manquerons

pas de lui représenter la justice de nostre cause. Il n'a pas tenu à nous que nos services ne luy ayent esté utiles, et nous n'attendions que ses ordres pour les executer.

'Le Duc de Richemont a disparu et lon croid qu'il est allé en Angleterre, car il y a huit jours qu'on n'a eu aucune de ses nouvelles, et lon sait qu'il estoit assez disposé a faire ce coup là. Nous avons appris la facheuse nouvelle que les Espagnols avoient rompû nos negotiations d'accommodement avec le Duc de Savoye en le faisant gouverneur perpetuel du Milanois. Monsieur de Boufflers fait aujourdui revûe du regiment des gardes a Versailles où le Roy le doit presenter aux officiers du corps et leur ordonner de le reconnoitre et de lui obeir en ce qui regarde son service. Sa Majeste a fait une gratification de vint mille francs à Monsieur de Tourville, et une de douse aux autres officiers generaux de marine. Comme ils la furent remercier, il leur dit, "Preparez vous, Messieurs, a donner l'esté prochain leur revanche aux ennemis."

'Mademoiselle de Blois n'a pas esté plutost guerie de la rougeolle que son frere le Duc du Maine en a esté pris, ce qui retardera le mariage de Monsieur le Duc de Chartres.'

1½pp. *French. Unsigned.*

C24. 1692, [April 25/] May 5. Monday. Paris. 'Dear cousin, on Saturnsday last your brother John came from Havre de Grace and other parts of Normandie whither he was gone with the King to see him and his armie take shipping, but contrary winds have put back the executing of that noble design. Yet we hope that the weather being turned fair since last night, all things will go foreward, if the Holland fleet be not sooner ready then ours, for wee have lost a great deal of time. As for the English as they are careless and sluggish, we are confident they will not be able to put out to sea before the end of this month, and if Mr Tourville, who is at Brest with 42 good men of war, and the squadron of Rochefort can come to the Hogue in two or three days, our troops will certainly be shipped up. We have no news yet of the Count d'Etrées and are in great fears for the vessels under his command. The French are mighty zealous for this expedition and their example makes our men ashamed to see how inferiour they are to them in the love of their King. Yet our Scots are pretty hearty and your brother Dick writes from Dunkirk that they are near two hundred there, ready to embark for the Highlands when-soever the wind serveth. Your brother John has orders to repaire to them, and came hither only for the hundred crowns he expected from you. Remember that article if you please and consider he has spent a great deal in his last journey into Normandy where he went only to wait upon his Majesty and to be present at all their doings there and ready to

obeye his commands. It is very strange your director should make so slight of his friends here, who could do him very good service in a time when the contrary party neglects nothing for his ruine and destruction. Be sure that if we spare the rogues, they will not spare us, if they can once have us in their clutches. The businesse at Rouen was of consequence, wee do not know why it has been slighted, and all our friends here who might have done good service and are brave and faithfull subjects. Our King has good summes by him, not only those the great monarch has furnished him with, but also many contributions of his English subjects and Mr Wamsly namely has lent his Majesty the best part of six thousand pounds. Wee know not how his ministers will dispose of his treasury. We poor Scots are very bare and you ought to remember us and at least paye for what we have spent in your director's service, which lies very hard upon us, as you may easely apprehend and as wee have often written to you. We are continually praying to God for the King's prosperity and the success of his great enterprises, and wish you in particular, dear cousin, all joye and happiness.'

P.S. 'The King of France begins his journey on Saturday next. The Duke of Luxembourg leaves him at Compiegne and goes before, the ladys are to remain at the Catelet or Quesnoi and the armie to be encamp'd the 25. All the ministers except Pontchartrain go with the King.'

3pp. *Signed:* James C. (but although written in English and purporting to be from a Scots Jacobite, it is in the hand of 'St. Aubin' and addressed to Bernard in the usual form).

D. LETTERS FROM BRACONNIER AND 'LA CONFIDENTE' [LA TOUCHE]

D1. Braconnier to Bernard, etudiant en medecine, Leyden. [1691,] Aug. [19/]29. 'Je vient d'escrire a Mr C[o]x pour luy tesmoigner mon ressentiment, et pourquoy il m'amusse, en me mandant que l'argent est tout prest, et que vous devie me l'envoyer incessamment. C'est bien mal recompensé nos services, et si vous scavie les personnes qui travaillent avec moy dans les affaires, entre les mains duquel tous les ordres de la cour passent, dont j'ay toujours donné advis à Mr C[o]x, ont auroit un peut plus de consideration pour nous, et ont ne l'a pas encor seulement remercié. Quand amoy je travaille d'affection, et pour le bon motif. Pour cella, j'ay quitté ma lieutenance dans un vieux corps, j'ay entrepris vostre negoce, j'ay mangé depuis le premier de janvier que j'ay commencé plus de deux cent pistolles. Tous les memoires et le [*sic*] marchandisses que j'ay envoyé se sont toujours trouvé des plus a la mode et de bons debit, et je peut dire que si mon amy voyoit qu'ont en agit bien avec luy, nous sufirions nous deux pour tout cequ'il y a a faire dans ces pays icy, mais ce n'est que promesse et amusement. Si j'avoit encor de l'argent je ne m'en soufiroit pas, parce que j'attendroit l'occasion d'aller parler au premier banquier qui me rendroit justice, mais je vous donne ma parole que je n'en ay plus, et lorsqu'il faut toujours faire figure et aller en court, sans argent, ou les depences sont fort grandes cela est fort embarasant. J'espere qu'ont me rendra du moins l'argent debourcé, ou une partie en attendant mieux. J'entretient toujours mon amy afinqu'il me fasse voir l'ordre qu'ont doit envoyer le 2 du mois prochain a Mr de Tourville dont incessamment je vous feré part, et mesme je peut vous assurer que si nous avions la mesme commodité vous le recevrie devans luy. Ont a cru que Monsieur de Bon Repaus le porteroit luy mesme, mais je ne le croit pas. J'ay aussy escrit a Monsieur Seigneulx, bourgeois de Lausanne, qui est temoins et qui scait avec combien de zelle je travaille, et mesme je croit qu'il a escrit pour moy au banquier. Monsieur Arnault ne l'ignore pas non plus et si je scavoit ou luy escrire je luy manderoit que ces parolles n'ont pas fait grand effect quoyque je scais qu'il en a parlé au banquier de Flandres qui avoit donné ses ordres pour avoir soin de moy. Enfin Monsieur, je vous prie de faire ensorte qu'ont me tire un peu de pennes, que vous aye la bonté de me r'escrire incessamment, et de croire que je suis tout avous.'

2½ pp. *French. Holograph. Unsigned.*

D2. Braconnier to Bernard. [1691, Aug. 25/] Sept. 4. 'Je croit que vous auré receu le dernier ballot que je vous ay envoyé sous l'adresse de Monsieur Cailleau, et comme j'espere que vous en seré content. Aussytost qu'il y en

aura d'autres de pret je vous les envoyré. Vous me manderé si le debit en est bon. Je n'ay pas encor receu de nouvelles de mon correspondant de Berne, a qui j'ay escrit ceque vous m'avié mandé. Si les nouvelles de ce pais pouvoit vous divertir, je vous en marqueroit quelques unes, entre autres que hier lundy a dix heures du matin il est parti un courier a la flotte de chez Monsieur de Bon Repaus, qui porte ordre a Monsieur de Tourville d'attendre jusques a ceque ont luy ay envoyé plusieurs batteaux chargé de munitions de guerre et de bouche, et qu'aussytost qu'il les aura receu il fasse un detachement telle qu'il jugera a propos pour les faire passer en Irlande auparavant que de se retirer dans les ports et d'éviter le combat autant qu'il luy sera possible. Si les Anglois et Hollandois profitoit de la diversion qu'il sera obligé de faire, je croit qu'il seroit fort embarassé, ont l'aprehende beaucoup. Les couriers d'Irlande marquent qu'ils manquent quassy de toutes choses, et que sans un prompt secours ils ne pouroient par subsister l'hiver. C'est pour cela qu'ont presse le secours.

'La maniere dont ont s'est gouverné dans le Piedmont cause bien de l'étonnement alacourt puis que ont attendoit a l'entier possession du Piedmont a la fin de la campagne, selon la convention faites entre le Savoyard et le crapaud [toad=France] pour la destruction du Milan, dont j'ay fait le detail a Mr C[o]x il y a plus de deux mois, et l'arivé du Duc de Baviere et des troupes etrangeres en ont osté les moyens au traistre serpent qui vouloit se depouiller de la paux [peau] pour prendre celle du milan [kite], par apres se depouiller de celle du milan pour reprendre la cassaque de savoyard [sweep's jacket]. Il sera bon qu'ont continue a ne luy laisser aucun commandement. (Secret) des marchandises qui sont dans vostre ballots vous les feré tenir au deux corespondant [*sic*], et vous auré soin d'escire au banquier de faire les remisses necessaires pour la banque.'

2pp. *French. Holograph. Unsigned.*

D3. Braconnier to Bernard. [1691, Aug. 30/] Sept. 9. 'J'espere que vous auré receu le dernier ballot que je vous ay envoyé par la voye de Monsieur Faneuil, et que vous en auré envoyé des echantillons a vos corespondant. Je vous prie de me mander si Mr Skinner a esté aresté à Anvers, ou en passant en Angleterre. Cela est de consequence, car s'il ne l'est pas, je vous envoyré derechef les memoires. Cela est de tres grandes consequences, il y a plus de six semaines qu'il le devoit estre. J'ay envoyé une personne asseuré chez le perruquier qui a donné les six cent soixantes livres au facteur pour le voir. Je croit qu'il a eu peur. Ecrivez luy pour le raseur, acause de cela je n'ay pas voulu le voir. Mandé moy s'il est necessaires [*sic*] que je le voye. Monsieur Arnould a escrit a monsieur le bourcier de Lausanne qu'il avoit enformé le principal banquier de mon affaire, et aussy Milord Sices, gouverneur de

Douvre, ainsy je m'estonne qu'ont aye si peu de reconnoissance pour nos services, et qu'apres avoir depencé le mien ont me laisse pour ainsy dire dans le besoin. Dieu scait que ce n'est pas par interrest que j'en fait, mais les depences estant grande, aumoins il faut vivre, ainsy Monsieur, je vous prie de faire ensorte qu'ont me rende du moins une partie de ceque j'ay avancé en attendant que le principal banquier mette ordre pour regler toutes choses a l'avenir pour un plus exact negoce. Faites moy reponce afin que je sois seur de la reception de chaque.'

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French. Holograph. Unsigned.*

D4. 1691, Dec. 12, O.S. Berne. Thomas Coxe to Lord [Nottingham]. 'La personne qui aura l'honneur de vous présenter cette lettre [Braconnier] est ce même correspondant de Paris dont je vous ay souvent parlé, et de qui nous recevions les meilleurs avis. Il a pris la résolution d'aller trouver luy-même sa Majesté, à qui il a à communiquer des choses de grande conséquence. C'est pour cela, Mylord, que je prens la liberté de vous l'adresser, remettant le reste à vôtre sage conduite.'

1p. *French. Signed.*

D5. 'La Confidente des Amours' to Braconnier. 1691, Dec. [4/]14. Versailles. 'L'empressement avec le quel vous me demandés les reponses aux faits dont vous voulés etre eclaircy ne me permet pas de le faire avec toutes les lumieres que j'aurois pû avoir si j'avois eu plus de loisir. J'ay cru cependant qu'il estoit bon de vous faire savoir les choses dont je suis informé. Je pourray bientost vous en dire davantage, et repondre positivement aux articles sur lesquels je ne reponds pas aujourd'huy. Et je ne doute point que vos amis ne remarquent dans les suites que je puis leur estre de quelque utilité en ce pays. Je vous offre toujours mes soins pour les choses que vous aurés a faire passer en France. Mais je vous prie d'agir toujours avec beaucoup de circonspection, et de ne nommer personne de ceux dont je vous ay donné la connoissance en ce pays. Je suis tout avous *La Confidente des amours*.'

1p. *Copy. French. Endorsed in Jurieu's hand: 'Ce cy est la lettre du commis à son amy.'* (Enclosing no. O5, and enclosed in no. B21.)

D6. [1691–2]. 'Memoires pour la Confidente.' 'La personne qu'ont vous a nommé, et qu'ont ne vous nommera plus, est chargé de la commission de l'affaire, et vous pouvez vous asseurer en ce qu'elle vous dira.

'Premierement elle assure Monsieur que s'il sert utilement il sera tres bien recompensé.

'Ont a agreez, et comprist, le but du voyage de l'amy, qui est de traiter et

prendre des mesures pour la sureté du commerce, et pour la fermeté des conditions.

‘La premiere des conditions que la Confidente demande est que les avis qu’elle donnera, bons, et seurs, et en temps, luy seront mist en compte, encor que les alliez, ou par negligence, ou par les ordres mal ordonnez, ou mal executez, n’en profitent pas, ont ne laisse pas de luy en tenir compte; ont trouve cette condition juste.

‘Mais ont requiert une condition d’autre part la dessus. Les ordres a la cour de France ne se donnant que préz de l’execution, et s’executant promptement, tellement que si ont ne donne connoissance de ces ordres qu’aux moment qu’ils se donnent au bureaux, avant que cela aye fait le voyage, et mesme passez la mer, il n’y sera plus temps d’y pourvoir. C’est pourquoy ont souhaite que la Confidente fassent [*sic*] agir ces amis, et son esprist, pour decouvrir a peu préz les desseins et les ordres qu’ont donnera. Elle donnera avis de ces conjectures, et donnera conseil de se preparer a telle chose, afinque ont soit prest a executer, et à rompre le dessein, avant qu’il s’execute, et elle donnera ces avis de conjecture le plustost qu’elle pourra.

‘La seconde condition que nous a proposé l’amy de la Confidente, c’est que quand il donnera des avis pour des vaisseaux marchands pour les faire prendre, il aura certaine portion aux gain de la prise. Cela paroist raisonnable, mais il est a craindre que cela soit difficile à executer, a cause des conditions qui sont entre les armateurs et l’estat. L’armateur en a certaines portion, le grand admiral a la sienne, il faudroist donc pour cela qu’ont rabbatit ou à l’admiral ou à l’armateur de cequi luy appartient de droit, et cela seroit difficile a obtenir, cependant on croit que cela se pourra accommoder, et ont se charge de la commission.

‘Comme le temps presse, ont demande à la Confidente sans delay un estat exact de la flotte, c’est a dire non seulement du nombre des vaisseaux de guerre, fregattes, brulots, qui doivent estre employé la campagne prochaine, mais aussy de leurs quallitez. 1. S’ils sont grands ou petis, le nombre des canons. 2. S’ils seront fournis de bons equipages, et s’il y aura dessus beaucoup de vieux et de vray mattelots, ou bien des gens prist par contrainte, qui n’ont aucune connoissance de la mer. 3. Si les battiments sont vieux ou nouveaux, s’ils ont esté radoubé plusieurs fois et sil[s] peuvent encor longtemps tenir la mer. 4. Combien il y a de galeres qui se preparent a Marseille, combien de vaisseaux de guerre sont destiné pour le Mediterranée, et ce qu’ont en veut faire. 5. Il faudroit scavoir la destination de tous les vaisseaux de guerre, combien ont en destine pour la flotte principale, combien pour la garde des costes, combien ont en doit envoyer aux Indes, et combien de mande en l’Amerique, tant au Canada qu’aux isles. Et il faudroit scavoir la verité de tout cela exactement. Souvent les officiers de marine font

raport au bureaux des affaires, comme estant en meilleure estat quelle [*sic*] le sont en effect, a dessein de plaire au Roy, et de persuader qu'ils ont bien fait leurs devoirs. Il faudroit donc scavoir tout en confidence de gens qui seroient ou auroient esté sur les lieux pour en estre informé exactement.

'Outre les affaires de marine qui sont du ressort de la Confidente, ont souhaite aussy scavoir les affaires de terre, ceque la Confidente pourra aisement apprendre de ces amis qui dirigent ces affaires de terre. Ont prie donc la Confidente de l'enquerir, et de nous mander au plustost. 1. Quelle place ont croit que le Roy veuille assieger en Flandres. 2. Si le Roy doit faire le voyage en Flandres au printemps, et ce qu'ont en croit. 3. Combien de troupes ont destine pour la Flandres, et qui les doit commander. 4. Quelles ordres ont a donné pour la garde des costes. 5. Quelles troupes ont destine pour l'Allemagne et l'Italie, et quels sont les desseins de ce costé la. Enfin s'il se peut un estat exact des armées [*sic*] de cette campagne, par mer, et par terre. Comme ont ne souhaite pas d'estre trompé, et qu'ont nous face le nombre des troupes moindre qu'il n'est en effect, ont souhaite aussy qu'il ne soit point enflé, et qu'ont ne se raporte pas au bruit de la cour qui grossit beaucoup les chosses a l'avantage des desseins du Roy. Ont ne croit pas par exemple cequi estoit dans les reponces que l'amy a raporté que la fonte de la vaisselle d'argent ait mis 400 millions dans le commerce, cela n'est pas possible.'

4pp. *French. In Braconnier's hand.*

D7. 'La Confidente' to Braconnier. [1692, Jan. 28/] Feb. 7. 'J'ay esté bien aise d'apprendre votre arrivée a Rotterdam. Vous ne pouviés tomber en meilleures mains que celles de la personne a qui vous devés rendre compte des nouvelles que je vous ecris. Je ne pourray pas toujours repondre a toutes les questions que vous me faites, parceque je ne veux vous mander que les choses que je sauray par moy-meme ou que j'auray apprises en bon lieu.

'Je voy toujours de grandes dispositions pour le siege d'Yvree. Les troupes qu'on a retirées de Savoye doivent estre remplacées par d'autres qui sont dispersées dans les provinces, et dont vous apprendrés la marche par la voye publique, dans quelque temps. L'on seroit fort aise icy si l'on savoit qu'en Hollande l'on fust bien persuadé que le Roy ne veut estre que sur la deffensive en Piedmont la campagne prochaine, parceque c'est le contraire de ce que l'on veut faire.

'Je ne m'ingereray point de vous dire quelle place on assiera en Flandres la campagne prochaine. Ces sortes d'entreprises, que le Roy conduit par luy-meme, sont impenetrables. L'exemple du siege de Mons en est une preuve qui doit avoir étonné toute l'Europe comme elle a surpris les courtisans, et je puis dire les ministres-meme.

‘A l’égard de l’armée de Flandres je ne puis vous en dire autre chose à present, sinon que ce sera Monsieur de Luxembourg qui la commandera, et que le Roy s’y rendra en personne dès qu’elle sera assemblée pour en faire luy meme la reveue. Sa Majesté ira le premier de mars a Compiègne y faire la reveue de sa maison.

‘Pour ce qui regarde la flotte, on construit huit vaisseaux neufs, cinq desquels pourront estre prêts pour le commencement de juin, et l’on compte que ces cinq vaisseaux en remplaceront cinq des plus vieux.

‘L’escadre de Toulon est de vingt vaisseaux qui seront commandés par le Comte d’Estrees, et qui ne passeront point en Ponant. On a fait lever douze compagnies fl[r]anches de cent hommes chacune pour estre embarquée sur ces vaisseaux, outre les equipages ordinaires. Cela joint aux preparatifs que je say que l’on fait dans l’arsenal de Toulon me fait croire que l’on veut entreprendre quelque descente sur les costes d’Espagne pour y faire une diversion pendant que le Duc de Noailles qui doit commander en Catalogne agira de ce costé là.

‘Il y a presentement a la mer quinze vaisseaux de guerre commandés par Monsieur de Nesmond, et neuf aux isles de l’Amerique, commandés par Monsieur de Vaudricourt. Monsieur le Comte de Blenac est party de la Rochelle pour retourner a la Martinique en qualité de gouverneur general des isles françoises. Il a mené avec luy douze cents soldats detachés des compagnies franches de la marine, et beaucoup de poudre, et autres munitions de guerre. On est resolu icy de maintenir ces isles a quelque prix que ce soit, et pour cet effet on a preparé a Rochefort dix vaisseaux des 3e. et 4e rangs, les quels se rendront au commencement du mois prochain a la rade qui est a l’embouchure de la Charente, et partiront pour les isles de l’Amerique, suivant les nouvelles qu’on apprendra de Hollande et d’Angleterre du nombre de vaisseaux que ces deux nations y enverront, affin d’estre toujours superieurs en ces mers là. L’armement de ces dix vaisseaux se fait encor a une autre fin, qui est pour empescher que les Anglois ne puissent executer le projet qu’on a sceu qu’ils avoient fait l’année derniere, qui estoit de venir boucher la riviere de la Charente avec des flustes maçonnées. Mais tant que ces dix vaisseaux seront à la rade de l’isle d’Ais, cette entreprise sera impracticable. Je suis, mon cher amy, entierement a vous, La Confidente.’

3½ pp. *French. Copy in Braconnier's hand.*

D8. ‘La Confidente’ to Braconnier. 1692, [Feb. 25/] March 7. ‘Je ne vous ay point écrit depuis quelque temps par ce que j’ay esté indisposé; et je vous advoue que la plupart des questions que vous m’avez faites estoient sy profondes que je me trouve dans l’impossibilité de pouvoir répondre a toutes. Cela ne doit point vous empescher de m’écrire tout ce que vous voudrez

sçavoir, mais il faut aussy que vous ne trouviez pas mauvais sy je ne répons que sur les faits dont je seray informé. Je ne doute nullement de la libéralité du Roy Guillaume ny des assurances que vos amis vous donnent de récompenser les soins que nous prenons de les informer de ce qui se passe. Mais comme je suis persuadé qu'ils connoistront mieux dans trois mois l'utilité de nos soins, il ne faut à mon égard rien exiger d'eux qu'aprez qu'ils auront connu le mérite des services qu'on tasche de leur rendre.

'J'attends avec impatience d'apprendre par vous l'arrivée du Roy Guillaume en Hollande. Lors qu'il y sera, j'auray des choses a vous mander qu'il est inutile de vous écrire a present. Voicy les nouvelles que je puis vous donner cet ordinaire.

'Quoy que tout le monde veuille que le voyage de Compiègne n'ayt esté fait que pour cacher quelque expédition prématurée, je puis vous dire certainement que le Roy ne fait ce voyage que pour voir les troupes de sa maison, et qu'il sera de retour a Versailles dans le temps qu'il a marqué, en partant, c'est a dire le 16 de ce mois au plustard.

'Les dix vaisseaux que je vous ay marqué par ma précédente qu'on armoit a Rochefort sont a present au bas de le riviére de Charente mouillez dans les rades de l'isle d'Aix, pour s'opposer a l'entreprise dont je vous ay parlé, et a laquelle les Anglois ne songent peut estre plus. On a envoyé depuis quelques jours de nouveaux ordres a Rochefort pour y armer encor cinq vaisseaux; et a Brest ou l'on avoit commencé d'en armer dix, de travailler a l'armement de cinq autres. Je croy bien qu'on pourra reussir a mettre ces trente vaisseaux en estat de se joindre a la rade de Brest vers fin de may, par ce que l'on prend indifféremment tous les matelots que l'on peut trouver, pour en presser l'armement; mais quand aprez cela il faudra venir a armer les autres pour composer cette armée navale dont je vous ay parlé dans ma précédente, on n'y parviendra que fort difficilement et fort tard.

'Je ne vous parle point de ce que Monsieur de Chanlay a fait a Pignerol. On a seu en Hollande le succez de sa négociation. On va imprimer incessamment pour le rendre public ce qui s'est passé de plus important dans son voyage, et comme ces sortes d'imprimez passent en Hollande comme par tout ailleurs, je ne vous en diray pas davantage sur ce sujet.

'Vous aurez appris par la voye publique, comme je vous l'avois mandé, qu'il a passé d'autres troupes qui s'en vont joindre Monsieur de Catinat, et que celles qu'on avoit retirées de cette armée pour les faire marcher du costé de Flandres n'estoient que pour persuader que l'on ne songeoit point à attaquer Yvrée, qui est pourtant la seule place qu'il convient d'attaquer pour embarrasser le Duc de Savoye.

'Je vous prie de me donner de vos nouvelles le plus souvent que vous pourrez, et me croire tout à vous'.

1½ pp. *Copy. French. At the foot, in Jurieu's hand:* 'La Confidente. Cette lettre est de nostre principal correspondant et il seroit necessaire que le Roy avant que de partir fut informé par Milord de cette affaire et que la resolution fut prise de ce qu'on veut faire pour luy et pour l'homme quil a envoyé qui est tousjours icy.' *Endorsed by Nottingham as received 10 March.*

D9. 'La Confidente' to Braconnier. 1692, March [15/] 25. 'Je n'ay pu repondre plutost a vostre derniere lettre; tout ce que je puis vous mander aujourd'hui pour contenter vostre curiosité est que le Roy a esté averti du proces que les alliés avoyent fait de se saisir de la ville de Geneve, et que l'on prend toutes les mesures convenables pour faire echouer ce dessein. Ce qui comme vous le jugerés aysement ne sera pas difficile des qu'il est decouvert.

'Les propositions dont le Sieur de Chanlest estoit chargé dans son voyage d'Italie ont esté imprimées a Paris et vous pourrés les recevoir aussi tost que cette lettre si vous estes curieux de ces sortes d'imprimés.

'Lon a eu divers advis par l'Angleterre et par la Hollande que les alliés ont dessein de tenter quelque descente sur les costes de France. On prend diverses mesures pour s'en garantir, dont l'une est de tenir les vaisseaux prêts dans la rade de Brest pour pouvoir marcher au premier ordre, et l'autre de faire marcher des troupes dans la province de Normandie, et autres lieux où l'on a le plus sujet de craindre ces sortes d'entreprises. Mais cecy pourra bien diminuer les forces des armées du Roy sur les frontieres.'

At the foot: 'Cette lettre du 25 mars a esté recue le premier d'avril. Elle a esté retardée d'une poste.'

1½ pp. *French. Copy in Jurieu's hand. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 26 March. Enclosed in no. B33.*

D10. 'La Confidente' to Braconnier. 1692, [March 29/] April 8. 'Je vous ay fait scavoir par ma dernière que l'on avoit fait imprimer un mémoire contenant les propositions que Chanlay avoit en ordre de faire au Duc de Savoye. J'ay appris depuis ce temps là que Monsieur de Croissy par ordre du Roy a envoyé des copies de ce mémoire a Monsieur le Cardinal de Janson pour les communiquer au Pape, a Monsieur De La Hayé ambassadeur a Venize, a Monsieur Hamelot ambassadeur en Suisse, au résident de Geneve, et généralement a tous les résidents que le Roy tient auprez des princes d'Italie pour leur faire connoistre a tous les facilitez que sa Majesté a voulu apporter au rétablissement du repos de l'Italie.

'Les advis qu'on reçoit icy par tous les ordinaires d'Angleterre et de Hollande obligent le Roy, quelque envie qu'il ayt d'avoir des forces considérables en

Flandres, de faire passer beaucoup de troupes sur les costes pour prendre toutes les seuretez que l'on pourra de ce costé la.

'Le Mareschal de Bellefonds part demain pour aller commander les troupes qui seront sur les costes depuis Abbaville jusques a l'extrémité de la Normandie. Quoy qu'il y ayt longtemps qu'il n'ayt servy, le Roy la choisy pour ce commandement a cause de la connoissance particullière qu'il a des costes de Normandie ou est sa maison qu'il a longtemps habitée pendant sa disgrace.

'Les milices de Bretagne ont ordre de se tenir en estat; et la noblesse de cette province doit s'assembler incessamment. Monsieur le Duc de Chaunes qui en est gouverneur et Monsieur de Lavardin lieutenant général se disposent a y aller bientost. Monsieur le Mareschal d'Estrées qui y commande a présent y demeurera jusques a ce que ces messieurs soient sur le point d'y arriver.

'Par l'estat des guerres que j'ay vû il doit y avoir en Flandres prez de 150,000 hommes.

'Je vous envoie le passeport que vous m'avez demandé, mais je ne l'ay pû obtenir que pour vous seul, et avec beaucoup de peine. On est devenu tres difficile sur les passeports pour les gens qui viennent de Hollande par ce que l'on sait que le Roy Guillaume se sert de toutes sortes de moyens pour estre adverty de ce que se fait, et que les advis reitérez des préparatifs pour tenter une descente en France redoublent l'attention pour ne laisser entrer personne dont on ne soit bien assuré des intentions. On craint sur tout le commerce des ministres dans les provinces, ainsy j'ay esté obligé d'user de beaucoup de précautions pour obtenir celuy que je vous envoie.

'Il est arrivé ces jours cy un courrier de Monsieur Amelot pour donner avis que les 13 cantons assemblent une diette générale, affin de pourvoir à la sureté de Genève d'une manière qui oste pour toujours aux alliez l'espérance d'entreprendre avec succez de donner atteinte a sa liberté.'

1½ pp. *Copy. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 16 April. Enclosed in no. B39.*

D11. Braconnier to Bernard. 1692, [April 22/] May 2. Paris. 'J'ay veu ma confidente qui commençoit desja a estre en peine de moy. Voicy le temps auquel elle ne s'endort pas comme vous le connoistrez. Voicy ce qu'elle m'a dit de vous mander comme choses asseurées et sur lesquelles vous pouvez faire fond, sans vous mander les particularitez dont les gazettes font mention.

'Il n'y a rien de plus seur que la dessente en Angleterre, et voicy comment, et a quelle fin.

'La Princesse de Dannemark, soeur de la Reyne, est du complot, avec plusieurs seigneurs qui ont promis qu'en cas que les peuples paraissent

affectionnez au Roy Jacques ils promettoient de se mettre a leurs testes, autrement ils se tiendraient a couvert jusques a la première occasion.

‘Que la dessente obligera le Roy Guillaume a faire repasser de ses troupes de Flandres en Angleterre, et d’y passer luy mesme, affin que par sa présence il retienne ses peuples dans leurs debvoirs et son obeissance, et que pour lors n’y ayant point de chef considérable en Flandres, le Roy de France pourra plus facilement venir about de ses desseins en Flandres, où il y aura 130 mil hommes.

‘Le 25 d’avril la flotte a commencé a sortir du port de Brest. Ce coup d’importance ayant esté tiré, le Roy en a reçu la nouvelle par un courrier de Monsieur de Tourville, qui a ordre d’empescher la jonction des flottes angloise et hollandoise autant que faire se pourra, et sur tout auparavant la dessente.

‘Il y a 26 mil hommes de débarquement avec quantité d’instruments, des pierres, et de la chaux, sans doute pour eslever quelques forteresses ou ils débarqueront, et on parle sourdement du chasteau de Douvre.

‘Quant a moy ma confidente a trouvé que je m’hazarde beaucoup a m’exposer a aller a l’armée de Flandres, mais luy ayant dit que je voulois tout hazarder dans ces conjonctures, il a travaillé a cela, et m’a dit qu’il me trouveroit une place chez Monsieur de Luxembourg, ou chez le Duc du Mayne, ou chez Monsieur de Chamlays; tous ces trois sont bons, mais le dernier est le meilleur. Pour cet effect il me faut faire réponse incessamment. M’envoyes une adresse seure a Bruxelles, et supposé que Mylord Portland ne soit pas en Flandres, me mander a qui je m’adresseroy qui en vaille la peine et qui soit seur. Il faudroit se dépescher car je seray obligé de partir incessamment.

‘Le Roy part sans faute le dix, dans la résolution de demeurer toute la campagne en Flandres sans qu’on puisse encore pénétrer quels sont ses desseins.

‘Il seroit fort a propos que le Roy Guillaume donnasse seulement bon ordre en Angleterre et qu’il continue ses desseins en Flandres. Cela produiroit de bons effets, car autrement nous appréhendons quelques desordres.

‘Vous aurez la bonté de me faire réponse incessamment, et pour cette seule fois icy, vous ferez vostre adresse sur l’enveloppe: “A Madame Madame de la Chatiere chez Madame Garnier, rue Neuve St. Roch a Paris”. Et sous enveloppe: “A Monsieur Sicop”.

‘Vous m’avez promis d’écrire incessamment pour me donner une adresse seure chez quelques marchands de vostre connoissance et cela seroit fort bon.

‘Mon valet de chambre se porte bien. Il est aprésent entre les mains des messieurs que vous luy avez marqué, et il souhaiteroit lors que vous escrivez

a ces messieurs en sa faveur comme vous luy avez promis, ce que n'ayant point fait cela me met en peine de l'estat de vostre santé. Au nom de Dieu, faites response incessamment, pour nous tirer de peine, vous priant d'estre bien persuadé que je suis, et seray toute ma vie à vous et à Mademoiselle tres humble et tres affectionné serviteur.'

2pp. *Copy. French. In the same hand as nos. D8 and D10.*

D12. Braconnier to Bernard. 1692, Oct. [21/] 31. 'J'espere qu'apres avoir fait toutes les recherches possible, vous n'aurez pas seulement trouvé apparence de ce dont vous m'avez accusé, et qu'a present vous este fort persuadé de mon innocence.

'Il se presente une occasion fort favorable, et dans laquelle je pouré moy seule rendre de bons services. C'est que je trouve moyen d'aller en qualité de gentilhomme avecque Monsieur de Bon Repos a l'embassade extraordinaire en Dannemarkq. Je scay que c'est la ou se trameront toutes les intrigues, qu'il y a deja de grandes intelligences avecque les coronnes du Nort, l'Evesque de Munster et l'Electeur de Brandebourg. Tout cecy est tres veritables, ainsy donnant advis de tous les desseins et progres de l'ambassade je pouré rendre de plus grand service qu'en aucun autre endroit. J'attent vostre reponce incessamment, puisque nous partiront au plus tard dans quinze jours. Je prends la liberté de presenter mes respects a Mademoiselle, en la suppliant de me rendre justice.'

2pp. *French. Holograph. Unsigned. Enclosed in no. B59.*

D13. Braconnier to Bernard. 1692, [Nov. 21/] Dec. 1. Paris. 'Ont parle sourdement, et c'est une chose quassy determiné, que le Roy fera le voyage de Lion, au moy d'avril, et dela ont croit qu'il ira en Piedmont, ou ont fait defiler des troupes continuellement et il y aura asseuerement plus de cinquantes milles hommes dans ce pays la. Je vous assure que les Vaudois ont voulu s'accoumoder avecque la France. C'est une chose tres asseuré et qui ma beaucoup etonné. C'est le frere de Monsieur de Bon Repos, commandant de Pignerolle, qui avoit conduit cette affaire.

'Monsieur de Croissy et Monsieur de Bon Repos furent le 26 du passes en grande diligence ches le Roy Jaques luy porter quelques nouvelles d'Angleterre et il parut [? en] un grande joye [?], ont en a parlé diversement. Cequi est de vray c'est qu'asseurement il y a beaucoup de mal intentionné en Angleterre, et que la Princesse de Dannemark conduit la bande. C'est par le resident du Roy de Dannemarkq que la plus part des chosses se trament.

'Les affaires de la marine se racomode icy, et ont y travaille avecque toute la diligence possible. J'ay decouvert avecque beaucoup de pennes et d'argent

la personne qui a fait prendre Monsieur Sualsecq [?], Monsieur de l'Etan, Monsieur de la Bastide et mon valet de chambre. C'est une femme de l'isle de Jersey marié a un Francois menuisier qui s'appelle Moquet demeurant proche l'abaye de St. Germain. C'est elle qui alloit au Manche et qui acheptoit toutes choses pour Madame de la Contodiere chez qui ces messieurs alloit quassy tous les jours, en presence de cette femme qui les depeignoit et les faisoit suivre. J'ay veu sur le livre de Monsieur des Granges comme elle a eu sept cents francs pour le valet de chambre, une pareille somme ayant esté donné a une autre personne avecque laquelle elle avoit travaillé conjointement. J'ay encor veu une autre endroit du mesme livre, ou elle a receu cent pistolles pour Monsieur de la Bastide. A la premiere occasions je verré cequ'elle a receu des autres. La dame chez qui Monsieur de la Bastide a esté arresté est dans un convent a Auxerre, fort innocente, quoyque comme vous savez ont l'en aye accusé, mais la verité se decouvre toujours.'

4pp. *French. Holograph. Unsigned. Enclosed in no. B59.*

D14. Braconnier to Bernard. 1692, Dec. [9/] 19. 'L'ambassadeur de Dannemarkq a depuis quelques temps de continuelles conferences avecque Monsieur de Croissy ministre et Secrétaire d'Estats. Ont croit que c'est pour trouver des moyens pour que le Roy de Dannemarq puisse [*sic*] quitter la neutralité avecque assurance et avantage, et ont m'a assuré qu'il avoit promis de le faire, si ont y peut aussy engager la Suede. Vous ne devez pas doubter qu'ont ne fasse icy tout cequi se pourra pour en venir à bout, et il ne sont pas asseurement fort éloigné de ces sentiments.

'Il seroit fort a propos que Monsieur de Scomberg demeura en Piedmont, et qu'ont luy donne un nombre de troupes raisonnable qu'il puisse commander absolument, car je croit que c'est le seul qui agisse sincerement. Je peut vous assurer avecque quelques assurances qu'il y a du detours dans le gouverneur du Milanez. J'ay entendu dire a des principaux des choses fort avantageusses a Monsieur de Scomberg et a sa fidelité, et tout le contraire de l'autre, jusques a dire, ce n'est pas luy qui nous fera du mal. Monsieur de Bon Repaus n'attent que ses passeports pour partir. Vous recevré incessamment une lettre de l'escriture de femme, elle sera de moy, elle contiendra des choses que je n'ose pas escrire, et selon qu'elles paroistront utiles nous prendront des mesures pour les faire reussir.'

2½ pp. *French. Holograph. Unsigned. Enclosed in no. B61.*

D15. Braconnier to Bernard. [1692, cDec. [9/]19.] 'Vous ne serres peustestre pas faché de savoir cequi est arivey dans la fameuse maison de St. Cirre, situé entre Versaille et Marly. Madame Bernau, qui en estoit la

directrise sous Madame de Maintenon, s'est trouvée hermafrodite. Voisi comme la chose cest decouverte. La dite Bernau prenet des plus jolie comme vous pouver croire, et les menoit coucher avec elle. Quelques unes qui nestoit pas encore bien setillée [?], et qui avoit encore des remors de consiense, sen sont confaisée a leurs directeur, qui leurs a defandu de coucher davantage avec leurs directrise, laquelle layant sceu par les mesme petite fille, a voulu par desous main faire chasser de St. Cir le directeur, qui estoit for bien aupres de Madame de Maintenon, la quelle nonobstan a este obligee de luy donner son conge, a linstante sollicitation de la directrise. Le directeur, enragé de perdre sa fortune, proposa a Madame de Maintenon que si on vouloit luy permettre de tout dire, et mesmes ce quil savet de la confession, quont aprandret de belle chose. Madame de Maintenon, curieuse de tout savoir, luy repont de tout. Le directeur coumansa a luy dire que Madame de Bernau estoit hermafrodite, quelle estoit plus homme que femme, quelle avoit debauche plus de deux cent des filles de St. Cir, sans conter celle qui ne cen estoit pas confesse; quelle les faisoit coucher trois ou catre fois avec elle selon quelle luy plaisoit, et ainsy tour a tour. Madame de Maintenon fort estonnee vat trouver le Roy, et luy raconte le tout; a quoy le Roy, quoyque fort fache, luy repondit quelle ne pouvoit pas jamais mieux choisir, quil faloit poutant [*sic*] tenir sela fort secret et mettre Madame Bernau en lieu de surety, ce que ont a fait. Madame de Maintenon se transporta a St. Cir, mena main forte avec elle, visita Madame Bernau, quelle trouva comme ont luy avoit dit, laquelle a este menee danst un couvent proche St. Clou, enfermee entre catre muraille. Il est a remarquer que la dame Bernau passoit pour une sainte, elle preschoit toute les semaines, ou Madame de Maintenon et plusieurs evesque se trouves avec applaudissement.

'Je connoist un de mes amis directeur des vivres sous Monsieur du Pille, qui a un secret pour faire gater toute la farine de un magasin danst 24 heures; comme il a direction danst tous les magasin d'Allemagne, et quil peut y entrer fasillement, il pouvoit nous rendres servise, si ont vouloit luy faire sa fortune. Faite moy reponse insessamment, et a mot couvert.'

2½ pp. *French. Unsigned. Enclosed in no. B61.* (This is evidently the letter 'de l'écriture de femme' referred to in no. D14. The seal is not Braconnier's usual one, nor is the letter in his hand. For Jurieu's answer to the last paragraph see no. D16.)

D16. Jurieu to Braconnier. [1692, Dec. 29/] 1693, Jan. 8. 'Je n'ay pu répondre plutost a vostre dernière. Vous en pouvez diviner les raisons. On n'entend pas trop bien la proposition que vous faites au sujet des magasins. Mais contés que nostre cour ne pourroit se resoudre a se servir d'empoisonnemens et d'assassins, chose dont on ne fait pas de conscience

dans la vostre. S'il s'agit dont [*sic*] d'empoisonner des magasins et faire par la périr les hommes, on n'y veut point entendre. Mais s'il s'agissoit de ruiner les magasins, et de rendre les fruits et les grains inutiles, on y entendroit. Mais il faudroit sçavoir ce qu'on prétend faire, et ce qu'on prétend de récompense. Je n'oserois vous donner espérance d'un payement par avance. Car en ces sortes de choses on craint d'estre trompé. Mais si on voyoit un service considérable rendu, j'ose vous assurer qu'on ne seroit pas ingrat. Contés ladessus et voyez.'

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Copy. French. Headed in Jurieu's hand: 'Copie de la reponse faite a Braconnier'.*

E. LETTERS FROM SAMUEL POULION*

E1. 1691, Dec. [7/] 17. Paris. 'On parle toujours de mieux en mieux du Roy Guillaume et chacun souhaite la paix avec luy.

'Monsieur de Guiscart a pris congé du Roy pour s'en retourner a Dinan. Le Roy luy dit qu'il pourroit bien l'y aller voir. Sa Majesté luy a donné la survivance du gouvernement de Sedan que possède son père Monsieur de la Bourlie, qui est âgé de plus de 80 ans. Il est malaisé de pouvoir encore pénétrer les desseins de Flandre. Mais tous ces mouvements ne se font pas sans sujet. Il n'y a pourtant aucune apparence que dans la saison où nous sommes on entreprenne un siège.

'Le bruit court que le Comte Tékely et Pétrozzi ont esté arrestez par le Cam des Tartares, et qu'on travaille à la paix du Turc.

'Le Roy Jaques est allé à Brest, pour y recevoir les Irlandois. Le Roy a gratifié les deux capitaines de vaisseaux anglois qui ont escorté la flotte de chacun un portrait enrichy de diamants, avec permission de charger sur leurs vaisseaux tout ce qu'ils voudront sans payer aucuns droits. On les a fort bien régalez. On parle toujours de la grossesse de la Reyne epouse du Roy Jaques, comme d'une chose assurée.

'Monsieur de Canaples a présenté requeste au Parlement pour s'opposer au mariage de Monsieur le Duc de Lédiguières avec Mademoiselle de la Trimouille, que Madame de Lédiguières vouloit faire sans la participation des parens. Messieurs de Crequy, de Villeroy et Le Grand se joignent à luy pour l'empescher quoy que le mariage soit *in fieri* acause du bas âge du Duc de Lédiguières. Il[s] disent qu'il n'est pas permis à un tuteur de marier son pupile, sans le consentement des parens.'

1½ pp. *French.*

E2. [1691, Dec. 28/] 1692, Jan. 7. Paris. 'On ne sait point encore si Montméliand sera rasé. Monsieur de Chanlay est allé en ce pays-là, et non en Flandres comme on l'avoit dit. Il doit conférer avec Monsieur de Catinat. Quelques gens croient que c'est pour tascher de renouer quelque accommodement avec le Duc de Savoye, à qui l'on feroit bonne composition, s'il y vouloit mordre.

'Il est encore incertain qui sera colonel du regiment des gardes, ou Monsieur de Bouflers ou Monsieur Catinat.

* He is nowhere named. Unless otherwise stated, all documents in this section are transcripts in the hand of Jurieu's secretary Legoux.

'Monsieur de Tourville a eû des conférences particulières avec le Roy, ce qui fait croire qu'il commandera encore sur mer cette année.

'Monsieur de Barbesieux est malade, et a la fièvre depuis quelques jours. Sa maladie jusqu'à present ne passe pour dangereuse.

'On croit qu'à la fin on conviendra avec Rome, et qu'on luy accordera plustost tout ce qu'elle demande.

'Pour ce qui regarde la Flandre, on a dessein d'y avoir trois armées, l'une commandée par Monsieur de Luxembourg, l'autre par Monsieur de Bouflers, et la 3^{me}. par Monsieur Catinat, en cas qu'on demeure seulement sur la défensive en Piémont, comme on le croit.

'Le Roy Jaques a distribué les Irlandois en régiments, et nommé les officiers. On parle toujours bien du Roy Guillaume.

'Il est certain qu'on use de violence à la campagne pour faire des soldats.

'Monsieur Catinat est à Ambrun, pour mettre toutes les troupes en quartier d'hyver. On a quelque dessin sur Cauny.'

1p. *Extract. French.*

E3. 1692, Jan. [4/] 14. 'Il y avoit longtemps que le mariage de Monsieur le Duc de Chartres avec Mademoiselle de Blois avoit esté proposé, et qu'on avoit mis sur le tapis une double alliance. Savoir, ce mariage-cy et celui de Monsieur le Duc de Maine avec Mademoiselle. Enfin mécredy au soir le Roy déclara le premier de ces deux. Le Roy donne 3 millions d'argent comptant, 150 mil livres de pension, 1,200 mil livres de pierreries, 200 mil livres pour la toilette et frais de noces. Le Palais Royal en propre avec les meubles; et, en cas de mort de Monsieur, 200 mil livres de rente d'augmentation, pour le payement des officiers et de sa maison. On a aussy tost dépesché un courrier à Rome, pour avoir la dispense, et d'abord qu'on l'aura reçue le mariage se consommera. Madame n'avoit jamais voulu consentir à ce mariage, ayant représenté au Roy qu'après sa mort les affaires pourroyent changer de face, et que les enfans de Madame de Montespan pourroyent passer pour estre à son mary. Mais l'affaire a esté menagée par le Chevallier de Lorraine qui en a esté récompensé par sa Majesté avec laquelle il y a longtemps qu'il n'estoit pas bien. Quoyqu'il en soit, mécredy 9^e. du courant, Monsieur le Dauphin prit Monsieur le Duc de Chartres aux appartements, et le mena dans le cabinet du Roy, qui luy proposa ce mariage. Il fut quelque temps sans répondre, enfin il dit que le Roy estoit le maistre, et qu'il obeiroit. On envoya à Madame, pour l'y préparer, ce qu'elle renvoya bien loin, sans en vouloir écouter la proposition. Monsieur le Duc de Chartres se présenta luy mesme. Elle luy donna un coup de poing dans l'estomach, et luy dit qu'il estoit un lasche, indigne du sang dont il sortoit. Elle s'enferma ensuite dans sa

chambre, ou elle se promena longtemps à grands pas. Toute la cour l'a esté voir, sans oser luy parler de l'affaire.

'A l'égard de Monsieur le Duc du Maine, qui savoit la répugnance que Madame avoit de son mariage proposé avec Mademoiselle, il alla honnestement prevenir le Roy, à qui il dit que puisque sa Majesté souhaittoit qu'il se mariast, il la supplioit de trouver bon qu'il luy représentast qu'il estoit assez grand seigneur, par les graces dont il avoit plu à sa Majesté de le combler, pour honorer une femme et non pour en estre honoré, ce dernier party n'estant pas propre pour le rendre heureux. Mais la plus forte raison, c'est qu'il est amoureux de Mademoiselle d'Armagnac, la plus belle princesse de la cour, de chez qui il ne bouge. On croit qu'il se mariera avec elle. Il avoit deja aimé l'aisnée mariée au Prince de Monaco. On dit que le Chevallier de Lorraine a conduit aussy cette intrigue.

'Madame de Maintenon envoya le mesme jour à xi heures du soir porter à Madame de Montespan cette nouvelle par le Marquis d'O. La dame estoit couchée, qui fut effrayée d'abord d'apprendre qu'on avoit quelque chose à luy dire de la part du Roy. Mais elle fut fort aise d'en savoir le sujet. Elle fit réponse sur le champ à Madame de Maintenon.

'Au reste, Monsieur de Montespan n'est pas mort, comme la nouvelle s'en estoit répandue. Il a esté à l'extremité d'une opération pareille à celle du Roy. Il est fort surpris du mariage.'

2pp. *Extract. French.*

E4. 1692, Jan. [4/]14. Paris. 'Il y a 36 galères, 20 frégates et 6 galiottes à bombes prestes à mettre à la voile dans la Mediterranée.

'On arme 80 vaisseaux de ligne sur l'ocean, et Monsieur de Tourville commandera, comme l'année passée.

'Il s'est fait une promotion à la marine; mais seulement de subalternes. Il y a 1,500 jeunes gens, qui se sont présentez pour estre gardes de marine. On n'en a pris que 400. Il en reste 1,100 à pourvoir.

'Monsieur de Chanlay est à Chambéry avec Monsieur Catinat, Messieurs Bouchu et de la Hoguette. On ne sait si c'est pour régler la démolition ou le rétablissement de Montméliand, ou pour tascher de renouer quelque négociation avec Monsieur le Duc de Savoye, ce qui a plus de vraysemblance.

'Les dernieres nouvelles d'Italie portent qu'on fait observer une exacte discipline aux troupes, et que les gens du pays leur fournissent tout ce qui leur est nécessaire et ordonné.

'Les affaires de Rome sont toujours en mesme estat. Monsieur de Rebenac y va pour quelque négociation. Il a passé à Florence, où il a agité les mesmes

choses qu'à Gennevilliers, et où il a eû mesme réponse. Si l'on desire avoir le détail de tout ce qui se passe de [ce] costé-là, on l'envoyera.

'Il y a eû icy de grands démeslez à la comédie entre les gens de Madame d'Hannover et ceux de la maison de Bouillon. Ces derniers auront du dessous, parce qu'on cherche à s'entretenir en bonne intelligenec avec la maison de Lunebourg.

'Il y a un edit parmi ceux qui ont esté vérifiez au Parlement à la décharge des comptables, avant l'année 1670, à la réserve de quelques uns. Le forfait du traité est de 3 millions 500 mil livres. Comme il sert à procurer le repos de quantité de familles, il ne faut pas douter que ce forfait ne s'accomplisse, et mesme n'aille bien au delà. Quoy que cette forme de décharge soit extraordinaire et nouvelle, elle est fort juste; ainsy l'edit est receû fort agréablement. Jusqu'à présent on n'avoit pu trouver le moyen de parvenir à la décharge des comptables, ce qu'on trouvoit pourtant estre plein de justice.'

1½ pp. *Extract. French. On the same sheet as no. E3.*

E5. 1692, Jan. [11/] 21. 'Pour commencer à répondre à ce que vous me demandez, je vous diray que cy apres je pourray vous envoyer un etat exact des flottes, mais on ne l'a pas encore. Tout ce que je vous puis dire présentement c'est qu'il peut y avoir 30 ou 35 vaisseaux à Rochefort. Presque tout le reste est à Brest. On fait etat de 88 vaisseaux de ligne, qui seront tous employez sur l'ocean. Pour ce qui est des galères, celles qui avoyent esté faites pour l'ocean sont détruittes; on ne compte plus là dessus. Il y a à Toulon 36 galères prestes à marcher, avec 20 frégates et 6 galiottes à bombes. Monsieur de Vauvray, l'intendant de ce port, est sur son départ pour aller mettre cet armement en etat de partir dans le mois de mars. Monsieur le Comte Destrées commande cet armement, dequoy il n'est pas trop content, parce qu'il espéroit commander en Ponant. Mais il ne veut pas servir sous Monsieur de Tourville, qui y commandera. Monsieur de Sandricourt [Vaudricourt] est party avec 8 vaisseaux ou frégattes de 30 à 40 pièces de canon, au mois de septembre, pour convoyer les vaisseaux marchands et porter des provisions aux isles de l'Amerique. On a fait 5 ou 6 vaisseaux neufs, de 50 à 60 pièces. Il y a icy un homme qui vient d'Angleterre qui a rapporté que le Roy Guillaume y fait construire 20 galères. On fait revenir du Piémont en Flandres 4 régiments de cavallerie, scavoir Molac, Cervon, Nassau, Sibours, et 2 regiments de dragons, scavoir Languedoc et Ranes, et 22 bataillons d'infanterie. Ainsy on croit que le dessein n'est que de se tenir sur la défensive. On a fait courir le bruit qu'on avoit eû quelque pourparler de paix ou de trêve avec le Duc de Savoye; mais on ne le croit pas, et l'on dit qu'on doit rétablir Montméliand.

'On compte sur 20 mil Irlandois, y compris ceux qui sont encore en chemin;

et comme on augmente les compagnies de 10 hommes, c'est un 5me. ou 6me. d'augmentation.

'Le bruit avoit couru que le Roy donnoit la charge de colonel des gardes à Monsieur de Luxembourg, celle de colonel des dragons de Monsieur de Boufflers à Monsieur le Comte de Tessé, et celle de capitaine des gardes à Monsieur de Boufflers. Mais quoy que ce bruit vint de tres bonne part, il s'est trouvé faux jusqu'icy. On croyoit que cela se devoit déclarer dans la revue des gardes que le Roy fit samedy dernier. Bien des gens ne laissent pas de croire encore que cela sera vray dans la suite.

'L'affaire du mariage de Monsieur le Duc de Chartres a esté menagée de longue main par le Chevallier de Lorraine, et Madame ne se peut consoler de ce que son filz luy en a fait finesse.

'Toutes les provinces sont allarmées des violences qui se commettent par les officiers de guerre, pour la levée de recrues et nouvelles troupes. Tous les paysans se cachent, les marchez sont desertez, et on en vient jusqu'à forcer les maisons, et prendre les gens dans leurs lits. À Poitiers un filz de musnier ayant esté pris par force, et mené par l'officier devant l'Intendant, voyant qu'on ne vouloit pas le relascher, donna en présence de l'Intendant d'un pistolet dans la teste de l'officier, qui en mourut sur le champ, et il en auroit fait autant à l'Intendant mesme s'il n'en eust esté empesché. Il fut roué vif.

'À Compiègne un garde du corps, ayant pris un jeune homme, qui s'échappa de ses mains et se sauva dans une eglise, où il se jetta au pied de l'autel, le garde s'y suivit, et le voulant saisir, les moines s'y opposèrent, et il tira son épée que les moines luy ostèrent. Comme il vid cela, il tira une bayonnette, dont il blessa 2 ou 3 moines, et remplit de sang l'église, ce qui fit une emotion populaire dans la ville.'

2pp. *Extract. French.*

E6. 1692, Jan. [11/] 21. Paris. 'Les grandes levées de troupes qui se font icy obligent les officiers à des stratagèmes pour en venir à bout. Il y a quelques jours qu'un officier s'avisa d'un assez plaisant. Il s'habilla en gueux et fut à diverses eglises, pendant quelques jours. Les archers qu'on appelle de l'ecuelle, qui prennent les gueux, ne manquèrent pas de se jeter sur luy, pour le mener à l'hospital. Il joua son rolle à merveilles, faisant semblant de se vouloir tirer de leurs pattes. Ils s'amassèrent 9 autour de luy. Il leur dit qu'il n'y avoit pas longtemps qu'il faisoit le métier, et qu'il y avoit pourtant amassé une dizaine d'écus, que s'ils vouloyent le laisser il leur donneroit à chacun un ecu, et qu'ils en boiroient un ensemble. Ils s'y accordèrent. Il les mena dans une mechante petite chambre, où il leur distribua à chacun leur ecu, et comme ils buvoient l'autre, tout d'un coup 5 ou 6 officiers cachez parurent,

et dirent qu'ils estoient enrollez, ayant pris l'argent du Roy. Cette manoeuvre estant allée aux oreilles de sa Majesté cela fit rire, et l'on dit qu'il falloit qu'ils marchassent.

'Mademoiselle de Blois a eû la rougeolle, mais elle en est guérie. On attend la dispense, et cependant on fait les préparatifs des noces. Monsieur le Duc de Chartres donne un grand bal demain, où toute la France sera.

'Mardy dernier Monsieur de Sigougne, frère de Madame de Lencôme, neveu à cause de sa mère de Monsieur Scarron, et par conséquent ayant quelque relation avec Madame de Maintenon, se donna un coup de pistolet au travers du corps, dont il mourut sur le champ, et fut enterré le lendemain. On a fait courir le bruit qu'il s'estoit tué par megarde, en accommodant ses pistoletz; mais la verité est que ça esté un coup de desespoir. Il recherchoit en mariage Mademoiselle Scarron sa cousine germaine. Le mariage estoit arrêté. La demoiselle sur le poinct de la conclusion luy fit dire qu'elle ne vouloit plus en entendre parler; il y eut diverses lettres de part et d'autre; enfin voyant qu'il ne la pouvoit reduire, il s'abandonna à son desespoir. Il peut estre entré là dedans un chagrin extrême de ce que, bien loin que la faveur servist à sa fortune, elle y avoit nuy, Madame de Maintenon éloignant assez tout ce qui porte le nom de Scarron.

'La suite des aventures du Reverend Père Mauroy est assez funeste pour luy. Vendredy à 3 heures il fut amené en carrosse au Châtelet, où le mesme jour il fut interrogé par Monsieur le Lieutenant Civil jusqu'à xi heures du soir. On ne croit pas qu'il courre risque de sa vie, s'il peut trouver des ajustements avec ses créanciers. Il en sera quitte apparemment pour estre enfermé le reste de ses jours, et recevoir de temps en temps quelques coups de discipline. Au lieu de sortir du royaume, on a scû qu'il n'avoit fait que courir deçà et delà. Il est certain qu'il y a 18 jours qu'il vint en habit déguisé à Paris, où il alla chez sa soeur Madame d'Usez, autrefois Madame Pomy, où il croyoit trouver cete cassette fameuse, qui intéresse tant de dames. Il fut fort étonné d'apprendre qu'elle estoit entre les mains de la justice. Cependant du plus grand sangfroid du monde il prit un carrosse avec 2 filles de joye, qu'il mena à St. Denis où il coucha, et les renvoya le lendemain fort satisfaites du payement et de la bonne chère. Depuis ayant couru en divers endroits et enfin ne sachant quel party prendre, il vint se rendre à une abbaye fort régulière, nommée Séfonds dans le Bourbonnois, où il exposa à l'abbé qu'il vouloit se faire moine, se disant officier las de la guerre, aussy étoit il en équipage à le faire croire. On luy donna l'habit de novice. Mais il fut découvert par un valet, qu'il avoit laissé à Orleans avec un cheval malade, qui révéla le secret. On a eû une lettre de cachet, en vertu de laquelle on est allé le prendre. On l'a amené partie du chemin à cheval, partie en carrosse, au Chatelet. Icy finit le roman.'

E7. 1692, Jan. [18/] 28. 'J'ay satisfait à ce que vous m'avez demandé touchant les vaisseaux autant que j'ay pu, en attendant que l'estat soit fait au juste.

'Pour les mouvements de Flandres, on ne croit pas qu'il se fasse de siège, ou les desseins en sont inconnus. Je croy bien qu'on a de grandes vues sur Namur, dont on dit que la ville est aisée à prendre, et qu'estant prise, le chasteau se prendroit assez facilement. J'ay ouy dire qu'on estoit instruit de tous les travaux qui s'y estoyent faits, et qu'on en a un plan fort exact.

'On n'a nul dessein sur Genève. C'est une terreur panique. Nous avons trop d'intérêt d'estre en bonne intelligence avec les Suisses. À l'égard de la paix des Turcs, on est assez content de Monsieur de Chateauneuf. Il est aisé de juger que l'on met tout en usage pour l'empescher, argent et présents.

'Les plus habiles ont peine à deviner de Hannover ce qu'on en peut espérer, outre la neutralité. Le bruit du monde avoit bien esté que le Roy de Suede, luy et Munster mettroient une armée sur pied pour se déclarer contre ceux qui ne voudroyent pas la paix. On nous a assuré nouvellement que cette maison a traité avec l'Empereur pour luy fournir 10 mil hommes de leurs troupes. Munster étoit aussy en quelque traité pareil de sorte que les pensions du Duc d'Hannover n'aboutiront qu'à ne point paroistre en personne. Dans l'estat où sont les choses aujourd'huy l'intérêt du Roy Jaques ne seroit plus un obstacle à la paix. On est fort désabusé de cette protection; et la difficulté seroit peut-estre à l'égard du Prince de Gales.

'On ne sait rien des princes d'Italie que ce qui se negocie par Monsieur de Rebenac, qui ne manque pas de faire connoistre la conséquence de l'autorité que l'Empereur se donne en ce pays-la.

'À l'égard de la religion, tout ce qu'on peut espérer est une tolérance. Mais pour d'exercice, à moins d'un grand changement il ne s'en faut point flatter. On ne dit rien à personne, ny pendant la vie, ny à la mort. Mais pourtant il y a encore quantité de prisonniers qu'on ne relasche pas, ce qui surprend fort. Présentement sur le fait de la guerre, le Roy consulte à fondz Messieurs de Vauban et Chanlet, et quelquefois les generaux, tantost ensemble, tantost en particulier. Mais tout se décide dans le cabinet, en presence de Madame da Maintenon, qui a grand' part aux affaires. Monsieur de Barbesieux est toujours bien avec sa Majesté quoy que tout le monde se plaigne qu'il n'expédie point, et plusieurs croyent qu'il ne subsistera pas dans cet employ, et Monsieur Pelletier de Souzy, qui, comme vous savez, a esté long temps intendant d'armée en Flandres, pourroit bien y succeder.

'Dans les affaires de finance Monsieur de Pontchartrain est le maistre. Et dans toutes les autres affaires le Roy écoute bien les conseils des ministres. Mais, encore un coup, tout se décide dans le cabinet avec Madame de Maintenon.

‘Certains gens, qui croyent savoir du particulier, prétendent que Monsieur de Louvois, lors de sa mort, n’étoit pas bien avec le Roy, et qu’il couroit risque de quelque disgrâce, sa Majesté luy imputant de l’avoir engagée dans trop d’affaires, et en dernier lieu dans celle de Savoye. Depuis peu on avoit fait courre le bruit de quelque negociation avec ce duc, et l’on disoit mesme qu’on ne savoit ce qu’estoyent devenus Messieurs de Catinat et Chanlet; on dit mesme que le Duc, sous prétexte de quelque expédition, avoit tiré les Espagnols et Alemands de sa citadelle, et qu’il avoit mis en leur place des milices, que les Espagnols ont demandé à faire entrer 2 mille hommes de leurs troupes dans Verceil, qu’il les a refusez, et les a mis à Vérue et ailleurs. Avec tout cela, les plus sensez ne croyent point d’accommodement avec luy.

‘Il y a quelque temps que le Comte de Gramont, voyant passer Monsieur de Courtenvaux, dit, voilà le filz de ce grand ministre qui gouvernoit tout, et qui a bien damé le pion au Cardinal de Richelieu,* lequel avoit uny tous les Protestans du royaume pour abaisser la maison d’Autriche; et luy a si bien fait, qu’ils les a tous réunis à cette maison; en sorte que tout est contre nous. Et cependant le Roy les bat tous ensemble. Mais gâre la queue! etc. Il est en possession, comme vous savez, de dire tout ce qu’il veut, témoin ce que je vous manday, il y a quelque temps, qu’il disoit au Roy, voyant Monsieur de Lauzun qui entretenoit en particulier le Roy Jaques, pendant que tous les courtisans estoyent aupres du Roy, qui jouoit. Voyez, dit il, comment Lauzun obsède le Roy d’Angleterre! Il n’y a pas un courtisan qui l’ose approcher. Si cela dure, vous verrez que nous serons tous obligez à faire la cour uniquement à vostre Majesté.

‘Je vous ay déjà mandé que l’opinion commune touchant le livre de l’avis aux réfugiez† est que Monsieur Bayle en est l’auteur, au moins de ceux qui connoissent son stile, outre d’autres preuves qui confirment ce sentiment. On ne void point encore l’édition nouvelle qui s’en fait icy par les soins de Monsieur Pelisson. On y a fait quelque petit changement, mais fort peu de l’essentiel. Je ne doute pas qu’il n’y avoit un privilège.

‘Le Père Mauroy a esté traduit à l’officialité, où il se défend bien. Je vous conteray au premier jour la suite de son affaire. Vale.’

3pp. *Extract. French.*

E8. 1692, [Jan. 22/] Feb. 1. Conclusion of the letter from Paris of [18/] 28 Jan., which there was not time to decipher, copy and send by last Friday’s packet-boat. [This implies that it was received in Rotterdam on Friday 19/29

*Gone one better than Richelieu (literally, crowned his pawn). The Marquis de Courtenvaux was the eldest son of the Marquis de Louvois, who had died the previous July.

† *Avis important aux refugiez sur leur prochain retour en France* (1690), of which a revised edition was published in 1692.

Jan., the day after its Paris dateline. However, the first paragraph is a repetition of the first paragraph not of E7 but of E6, the letter of [11/21 Jan.: 'Les grandes levées... qu'ils marchassent.']

'...Vous avez seû que le Père Mauroy avoit esté découvert et arrêté dans l'abbaye de Séfonds en Bourbonnois, et de là conduit au Chatelet, et interrogé par Monsieur le Lieutenant Civil, depuis il a esté traduit à l'officialité, où il se défend fort bien. À l'égard de ses dettes, il a répondu qu'on n'a pas sujet de se plaindre de luy, que ses billets n'estoyent point encore échus, et qu'ils les payeroit à leur échéance. Quant à l'abandonnement qu'il avoit fait de l'ordre de St. Lazare, il a dit que c'estoit pour se retirer dans un ordre plus severe, ce qui estoit permis, et qu'à l'égard des galanteries dont il estoit accusé, il ne se trouvera pas qu'il ait esté confesseur d'aucune des dames avec lesquelles on disoit qu'il avoit eû commerce trop familier. Qu'au surplus on n'avoit jamais fait le procez à personne pour ces sortes de choses, témoin Monsieur le Cardinal le Camus, qui en avoit fait beaucoup plus que luy, sans parler de plusieurs autres messieurs du clergé. Quoy qu'il en soit, on ne croit pas qu'il luy arrive rien. Et quand il retomberoit entre les mains de Monsieur Joly, général de cet ordre, il luy a tant fait de plaisirs qu'il seroit obligé d'avoir de l'indulgence pour luy.

'Je ne vous dis point que 4 de nos evesques ont esté préconisez à Rome. La Gazette vous l'apprendra. Ceux là ne se sont point trouvez dans l'assemblée du clergé de 1682; au premier jour ils recevront leurs bulles. Il y en a encore une vingtaine qui seront aussy préconisez et par consequent auront leurs bulles. À l'égard des autres au nombre de 20 ou 21 qui ont assisté à ladite assemblée, l'affaire est surcise, et en attendant le Roy leur a accordé la jouyssance du total de leur revenu; ainsy ils sont déchargez du tiers, qu'ils estoyent obligez de restituer pour les oeconomats. De sorte qu'ils attendront fort patiemment qu'il plaise à sa Sainteté leur envoyer leurs bulles. L'accommodement de Madame d'Hannover, dont les valets avoyent eû un grand démeslé à la Comedie avec ceux de la maison de Bouillon, est fait; c'est à dire que de part et d'autre on a oublié tout ce qui s'est passé, sans entrer en discussion de rien. On attend la dispense de Rome, qui doit arriver incessamment pour le mariage de Monsieur le Duc de Chartres, et cependant il y a eû 2 grandes festes, l'une mardy chez Monsieur, et l'autre jeudy chez Monsieur le Comte de Tonnerre, premier gentilhomme de sa chambre, où tout Paris a esté en masque.

'Madame n'a guère pris de part dans toutes ces réjouyssances par 2 raisons. La premiere parce que ce mariage ne luy plaist pas, la seconde à cause de la mort de Sinsans, pour qui elle avoit beaucoup d'amitié. Et luy mesme, qui étoit dans les Gardes du Corps, avoit donné des soubçons. Monsieur de Duras se plaignit au Roy de la trop grande familiarité de Sinsans avec

Madame. Le Roy ne luy conseilla pas de faire éclatter cette affaire. Cependant elle fit beaucoup de bruit, et Monsieur de Duras en eut de grosses parolles avec son mary. Madame avoit de la consideration pour Sinsans, et cela ayant esté remarqué on l'obligea de sortir des Gardes du Corps; et depuis il avoit esté fait capitaine lieutenant des dragons de Bourgogne. La médisance a voulu dire que Madame le voyoit tous les jours chez Madame de Beuvron, qu'elle avoit permission de voir au Port Royal, où elle passoit presque toutes les apresdisnées avec un attachement singulier. Sinsans est tombé malade, et sentit de grands maux d'estomac et de ventre, dont enfin il est mort, creû empoisonné, quelques jours avant le bal de mardy chez Monsieur. Madame de Beuvron en ayant appris la nouvelle à Madame, elle tomba dans une affliction extrême, criant et pleurant à outrance. Elle revint chez elle, où elle s'enferma, sans vouloir voir personne; et comme on dit qu'elle estoit malade, le bruit se répandit qu'elle estoit empoisonnée. On ajoûte qu'elle n'a point voulu paroistre en public pendant les festes; et qu'ayant envoyé dire, par son confesseur, à Monsieur que Sinsans étoit mort empoisonné, il répondit qu'il voyoit bien qu'on vouloit dire que luy ou Monsieur de Duras en étoient les auteurs, et ajoûta par raillerie que si Madame vouloit, il en porteroit le deuil. Depuis ce temps là elle a fait dire à Monsieur que son confesseur pouvoit luy rendre témoignage s'il y avoit aucun crime dans son commerce; et que les personnes de sa qualité estoient bien malheureuses de ce qu'on ne leur pouvoit permettre d'estime particulière pour personne, sans des soubçons mal fondez.'

3¼ pp. *Extract. French.*

E9. 1692, [Jan. 25/] Feb. 4. 'Depuis cette guerre on construit tous les ans environ une douzaine de vaisseaux neufs; et si l'on vouloit presser davantage on en feroit encore plus. Mais outre que la dépense est grande, on les fait si forts, et si gros, qu'on ne veut pas forcer les constructions. Ce qu'on a remarqué est que ce n'est pas tant le nombre que la force des vaisseaux qui fait le plus grand effect. C'est pourquoy on s'attache à les faire extremement forts. On a remarqué que les vaisseaux pris sur les ennemis, se trouvant beaucoup plus foibles, estoient percez de part en part de nostre canon, et mesme de la poupe à la proue, au lieu que les nostres sont d'une manière que le canon n'y fait que son trou, et le plus souvent sans percer, outre qu'un gros vaisseau résistera à 2 ou 3 médiocres. Il s'en fait ordinairement 3 ou 4 à Toulon, 2 à Rochefort, 2 à Port Louis, 2 à Brest, 2 au Havre, et autant à Dunkerque.

'Nous avons plus de 6 vaisseaux de 100 pieces de canon, 12 ou 15 de 80 pièces et plus; et l'on n'estime pas un vaisseau fort s'il ne passe 60, n'y en ayant presque plus au dessous de 50. Ainsy 20 vaisseaux de plus des ennemis

ne font pas peur à nostre flotte. On a donné des plans pour faire un port au Havre considérable, en sorte qu'on y pourroit tenir toujours une assez grande quantité de vaisseaux pour tenir les costes d'Angleterre et la Manche en respect. Mais ceux qui ont envisagé la chose de plus pres, y ayant trouvé trop de difficulté, cela a fait jetter les yeux sur La Hogue, qui est un port naturel vers la Bretagne, où tous les vaisseaux peuvent aborder en basse mer, comme en pleine. Ainsy ce seroit là qu'on travailleroit, si la dépense s'en pouvoit faire commodément.

'Une frégate de 30 pièces a esté battue par les ennemis vers St. Malo, convoyant des vaisseaux chargez de sel, qui sont échappés pendant le combat; et la frégate, toute maltraitée qu'elle étoit, s'est sauvée à St. Malo. On dit pourtant qu'on nous en a coulé une à fond, mais je ne le say pas au vray.

'On croit toujours que Monsieur de Tourville commandera la flotte et l'on dit aprésent que Monsieur le Comte d'Estrées servira sous luy, ce qui ne luy plaist guère; outre qu'il est fort incommodé d'une maladie de jeune homme, qui l'obligera à faire quelque voyage forcé. On ne compte plus sur les galères, à l'égard de l'océan; les corps, comme je vous l'ay dit de celles de l'an passé, ayant été détruits.

'On ne parle plus de la paix de Savoye. Monsieur de Chanlet n'est pourtant pas encore arrivé. Quelques gens assurent que Monsieur le Duc de Savoye s'est moqué de nous, en faisant des demandes ridicules. On fait revenir toutes les troupes de ce pays-là pour les rafraichir, et l'on dit qu'on rétablit Montméliand. L'espérance qu'on avoit de cet accommodement faisoit grand plaisir à la cour. On assure que le Roy d'Espagne, pour affermir ce prince dans son party, le faisoit gouverneur perpétuel du Milanois; et qu'il y passoit des troupes de Hesse, pour remplir les Alemans que le Duc de Bavière en a tiré.

'On ne parle plus à la cour de la grossesse de la Reyne d'Angleterre. Ainsy il y a tout lieu d'en douter.

'Après le mariage de Monsieur le Duc de Chartres, le Roy, et toutes les dames, iront le 20^{me}. du courant à Villers-Cotéréts, pour y faire la revue de sa maison. Le bruit avoit esté qu'il iroit à Compiègne, mais il ne passera pas Villers-Cotéréts. Ainsy on ne tire plus à consequence ce voyage, comme on faisoit, n'y ayant nulle apparence d'autre dessein, quelque chose qu'on en dise.

'Monsieur de Boufflers est reçu aujourd'hui, à la teste du régiment des gardes, et prete le serment entre les mains du plus ancien Maréchal de France, qui représente le Connestable; après quoy il part des demain. Cette faveur extraordinaire luy attire une foule de félicitations de courtisans, envieux de sa bonne fortune. Monsieur de Vandosme mesme avoit demandé

cette charge. Le Roy luy a donné aussy le logement de Monsieur de la Feuillade dans Versailles. Il se défait de sa charge de général des dragons en faveur de Monsieur le Comte de Tessé, qui a eû l'agrément du Roy. Il en donne 400,000 livres, et est apres à se defaire de la sienne, dont on luy offre déjà 250,000 livres. Messieurs d'Aleigre luy prettent, ayant beaucoup d'argent comptant. Il faut que Monsieur de Boufflers paye 270,000 livres de brevet de retenue à Monsieur de la Fueillade [*sic*], le filz du défunct. On croit qu'il sera des premiers fait Mareschal de France.

'Le Roy a dit plusieurs fois qu'il auroit en Flandre 20,000 hommes plus que les ennemis. On compte sur toutes les recrues, et sur l'augmentation que l'on fait par compagnie, ce qui sera très difficile à faire. Monsieur de Barbesieux a eû déjà divers démeslez avec sa femme, jusqu'à en venir à l'imposition des mains. On a de la peine à croire qu'il subsiste dans la place où il est.

'Ce que le Roy a bien voulu que quelques evesques prissent les bulles accordées par le Pape est l'ouvrage de Monsieur de Pompone, dans le dernier voyage de Fontainebleau, où il remontra à sa Majesté qu'il croyoit qu'il étoit avantageux de recevoir ce qu'on vouloit donner, pour diminuer le nombre des vaquans. Le Roy dit qu'il avoit en cela suivy l'avis de son conseil, et luy demanda une mémoire sur ce sujet, sur lequel il demanda l'avis en particulier de chacun d'eux, qui, voyans que sa Majesté avoit inclination de prendre cet expédient, chacun en convint. Ainsy on a déjà préconisé les 4 que vous savez, et de quinzaine en quinzaine on en préconisera 4. L'Archevesque d'Auch en dernier lieu a esté du nombre. Et à l'égard de ceux qui estoyent en l'assemblée de 1682 ils sont surcis. Mais ils jouyront de l'entier revenue de leurs eveschez, que le Roy leur a accordé, les déchargeant du tiers des oeconomats. Ainsy chacun se presse d'envoyer de l'argent à Rome, *sine quo nihil*.

'Le courrier qui avoit esté envoyé à Rome pour apporter la dispense pour le mariage de Monsieur le Duc de Chartres l'a rapportée il y a 3 jours. On croyoit que le mariage se feroit dimanche prochain, mais comme Mademoiselle de Blois a eu la rougeolle, quoy qu'elle en soit guérie, Madame a demandé qu'on différast encore une quinzaine pour luy donner le temps de se rétablir entièrement et oster tout soubçon d'un reste de venin. Les courtisans et les dames en sont fort aises, parce que leurs parures n'estoyent pas encore prestes, et que les uns et les autres n'avoient pas eû le loisir de se faire habiller magnifiquement comme on le doit estre dans une aussy grande feste. Le Roy a nommé tous ceux qui en devoyent estre. Il y aura ce qu'on appelle un festin royal, avec toutes les cérémonies pratiquées en pareilles occasions. Et le Roy en personne fera les honneurs du bal, c'est à dire qu'il y dansera, se trouvant dispensé, en cette rencontre, de la loy qu'il s'est imposée de n'aller plus à comedies, opera, ny à bal.'

4pp. *Extract. French.*

E10. 1692, [Jan. 29/] Feb. 8. Paris. 'Le petit Duc de Richemont est party de Paris en poste, et sans prendre congé. Il est allé à Basle, pour de là se rendre en Angleterre par vos quartiers. La plus part des gens trouvent qu'il a bien fait, parce qu'il a là beaucoup de bien, et qu'icy il se plaignoit qu'on ne faisoit rien pour luy. Il y a longtemps qu'il estoit capitaine de cavallerie, et qu'il demandoit un régiment, qu'on luy refusoit. De plus, Monsieur de Barbesieux luy ayant écrit une lettre, comme à tous les capitaines, pour remettre sa compagnie, dont les termes ne luy plaisoyent pas, et en ayant fait ses plaintes au Roy, qui ne le satisfit pas, il prit sur le champ son party. Sa mère en est fort affligée. Mais c'est une dame qui dépense tout et donne tout à son plaisir. Le jeune homme s'estoit fort jetté dans la débauche, comme tous les autres de son âge.

'On disoit hier que Monsieur de Chanlet estoit de retour; mais je ne l'assure pas. Quoy qu'il en soit, les affaires de Savoye ne s'accommodent point. On a seu qu'on avoit surpris un homme qui mettoit des lettres dans le tronc d'un arbre creux, et y en alloit prendre, à une lieue de Turin; qu'il donnoit avis que le Duc devoit aller avec 20 gardes du costé de Cony, où on luy devoit mettre une embuscade pour l'enlever; qu'il avoit esté pendu; et que le Duc estoit entré en colére contre sa mère, qu'il avoit menacée de mettre dans un couvent, la soubçonnant de quelque intelligence avec nous. On attend des nouvelles plus précises de cela. Mais enfin dans la disposition des troupes on destine 58 bataillons pour aller en ce pays-là, ce qui marque assez qu'on y veut faire la guerre.

'Il y a des lettres de marchands qui disent qu'il y a du remuement en Espagne, que la Reyne mesme, reconnoissant son filz d'une double incapacité, et de gouverner et d'avoir des enfans, donnoit les mains pour le mettre dans un couvent, et disposer des etats, en faveur de la maison d'Autriche, suivant les intentions des testateurs. Un peu de temps manifestera la verité. Ce qu'il y a de certain c'est que l'indult pour l'affaire des galions n'est pas encore terminé, les prétentions de cette cour estant trop grandes.

'Après le mariage de Monsieur le Duc de Chartres, le Roy partira le 3 de mars pour aller à Compiègne. Il est certain qu'il a dit que lors que son armée de Flandres s'assemblera, il ira sur la frontière pour la voir en corps, c'est à dire vers le mois de may. Il y a des gens qui veulent parier qu'avant l'ouverture de la campagne il y aura un siège. Mais la plus part ne le croient point. Monsieur de Boufflers, apres avoir presté serment lundy en présence du Roy entre les mains du Maréchal d'Humières, vint icy le lendemain et partit le jour d'apres. Il a obtenu en faveur des officiers subalternes que comme les capitaines ont rang de colonel, les lieutenants commanderont à tous les capitaines des autres corps, et les enseignes aux autres lieutenants. Bien des

gens sort mortifiés de la grande faveur de Monsieur de Boufflers, qui sera des premiers Mareschaux de France.

‘Monsieur de Barbesieux a reçu de petites mortifications de temps à autre, qui font douter si sa faveur, qui pourtant règne, durera longtemps. Il y a quelques jours qu’ayant refusé une commission de capitaine à un gentilhomme, Monsieur de Noailles, qui l’appuyoit dans la chambre de Madame de Maintenon, où Monsieur de Barbesieux étoit, et où, en sa présence, il demanda au Roy cette commission, qui luy fut accordée sur l’heure.

‘Les gens du monde assurent que Madame la Marquise du Roure, fille de Monsieur Delaforce, et dont le mary est mort depuis assez longtemps, est grosse. On accuse le Prince de Turenne. Il n’y a qu’une petite difficulté, c’est qu’il passe chez les dames pour absolument impuissant. Ce n’est pas pourtant du fait de Monseigneur, car il ne la voit plus. Elle a esté longtemps fort changée, ce qui fait croire qu’elle pourroit bien avoir pris quelque remède pour forcer nature.

‘Il y a quelques jours qu’une demoiselle qu’une des filles d’honneur de Madame la Princesse de Conty avoit pris à son service, fort belle et pour qui cette princesse avoit pris un attachement extreme, estant dans la chambre de la princesse, fit un grand cry, se trouvant mal. On n’eut que le temps de la porter dans sa chambre, où en arrivant elle accoucha. Elle n’a jamais voulu dire qui luy avoit fait cette opération, et jura qu’elle ne le diroit jamais. Cela fait soupçonner le Prince de Conty.’

2½ pp. *French.*

E11. 1692, Feb [1/] 11. Paris. ‘Vous ayant écry vendredy, je n’ay pas grand’ chose à vous mander par cet ordinaire. La ville de Briançon dans le Dauphiné, qui est, à ce qu’on dit, la plus haute de France, a esté entièrement brulée. C’est, dit-on, par la faute de quelques soldats de recrue.

‘Monsieur de Chanlet n’est point de retour de Pignerol, comme on l’avoit dit. On prétend qu’il a eû là des conférences avec des gens déguisez. Cependant on confirme ce qui s’est passé à Turin, sur l’espion qui avoit donné avis d’un voyage de Monsieur de Savoye à Cony; et l’on ne compte plus sur aucun traité ny accommodement.

‘Le mariage est toujours pour le lundy gras, et le voyage du Roy à Compiègne pour le 3me. mars.

‘Les vaisseaux de la Méditerranée n’ont d’autre dessein que de passer, dans le mois prochain, le Détroit, pour se joindre à ceux de l’océan. Il n’y aura que quelques frégates sur la Méditerranée. Quoyque nostre Gazette dise de l’indult d’Espagne, il y a des particuliers qui disent qu’il n’est pas réglé; et

qu'on soudroit bien en tirer la plus grande partie de ce qui appartient aux Francois, et aux nations neutres, à qui pourtant on donneroit des assurances de le rendra.

'Le bruit s'est icy répandu parmy le peuple que le Roy Guillaume avoit fait construire des bateaux plats, pour des descentes, ce qui donne à penser.

'On prétend que les Suisses veulent s'entremettre de l'accommodement avec la Savoye. Il y a eû bal chez Monsieur depuis 2 jours, mais Madame n'y assiste point, quoy qu'elle renferme son chagrin *in petto*.

'On fait de grands préparatifs à Mons pour l'artillerie et autres munitions.

'Les officiers de marine se plaignent de ce qu'on ne leur fait pas justice dans leurs prises, ce qui est cause, à ce qu'ils disent, qu'ils en laissent beaucoup passer qu'ils pourroyent prendre. On enleve icy beaucoup de gens par force pour les enroller.

'On mande des provinces que les neiges y sont d'une hauteur extraordinaire. Sans le grand commerce des voitures, et le soin qu'on a de la ramasser icy, on ne pourroit pas cheminer dans les rues.

'On croit icy que c'est le Roy Guillaume qui porte les Suisses à renvoyer les réfugiés, dans le dessein de peupler l'Irlande. Mais on croit pourtant que peu prendront ce party-là parce qu'il faut de l'argent, et des hommes propres au travail, pour défricher des terres incultes. Outre que l'on dit qu'autrefois on y a voulu travailler, mais que la plus part des terres ne sont pas propres à rapporter du bled.'

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French*.

E12. 1692, Jan. 26/ Feb. 5. Geneve. 'Je vous écrivis vendredy l'estat des affaires de ce pays. Il n'y a rien de nouveau depuis, sinon que Monsieur Amelot offre à messieurs les cantons de payer 12,000 hommes s'ils veulent avec cela défendre la Savoye. Je ne croy pas qu'ils donnent dans ce panneau. Je trouve que l'on abandonne fort chez vous et en Angleterre les cantons protestans. Si le Roy y envoyoit un homme de grande qualité, et de teste, avec un peu d'argent, il ne le pourroit, entre nous, mieux employer.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Extract. French. On the same sheet as no. E11.*

E13. 1692, Feb. [5/] 15. Paris. 'Le départ du Roy pour sa revue à Compiègne est remis au 12e. du prochain. Et pour ce qui est de se mettre à la teste de son armée, on croit que cela dépendra de l'accommodement avec la Savoye. Les projets sont, ou étoient, d'y engager les Suisses, comme cantons et entremetteurs du traité. Car on propose de leur consigner les places que le Roy tient à ce Duc, jusques à la paix, que pendant la guerre le

Roy donneroit au Duc 2 millions, par an, de dédommagement, et comme on donne aussy à la Duchesse et à la Douairière, comme aussy à d'autres gens qui s'entremettent, cela irait a 2,400,000 livres. Si cela s'exécutoit, le Roy pourroit bien paroistre à la teste de ses troupes en Flandres, et peut-estre y passer une bonne partie de la campagne. Le Duc de Savoye paroît fort déchainé contre l'accommodement, mais on dit qu'en secret ce n'est pas de mesme. Le retour de Monsieur de Chanlet nous éclaircira de l'affaire. Cependant par des tiltres qu'on a recherchez on prétend justifier que Nice est une usurpation des Ducs; ce qui fait connoistre qu'on a dessein de la retenir toujours. Monsieur Dusson, frère de Monsieur de Bonrepaux, qui a commandé dans Limerik, s'en va à Suse commander en la place de Monsieur du Plessis Bellière, qui y est mort. Vous savez sans doute qu'il est mareschal du camp. Il est en estime et fort bien à la cour.

'On crée dans chaque province 4 soulieutenants généraux, à qui on attribue 2,000 livres de gages, et qu'on veut vendre 40,000 livres. Je ne say si cette marchandise se débitera. Car déjà ny les lieutenants généraux ny les gouverneurs n'ont pas trop de crédit ny d'autorité, depuis qu'il y a des commandants des troupes, et les intendants y font tout.

'On fait courir le bruit à Versailles que le Duc de Bavière a envoyé un courrier en Espagne pour faire savoir qu'il ne pouvoit venir en Flandres, s'il n'estoit assuré d'une armée de 30,000 hommes, et de 12 millions d'argent pour les faire subsister.

'Mardy dernier sur les 6 heures du soir Desgrais alla dans une maison dans la rue St. Germain, où il trouva une assemblée de 12 à 15 personnes. La maitresse de la maison trahit. On prit La Bastit, ministre, et 13 personnes, desquelles étoit Madame de Contaudière, fille de madame d'Harambure mariée à un gentilhomme de ce nom, Monsieur du Passage aussy gentilhomme de Poitou. Les autres sont inconnus. Ce dernier étoit venu à Paris, où il avoit une affaire extraordinaire. On luy dispute un mariage, et on veut déclarer ses enfans batards, sous prétexte qu'un prestre les a épouzez, sa femme et luy, sans les formalitez prétendues et non en face d'église. C'est l'Evesque de Lusson qui l'a fait condamner devant les juges ordinaires du pays, dequoy il est appellant icy. Le ministre et les autres déclareront sans déguisement qu'ils estoient assemblez pour prier Dieu. On les a amenez, savoir le ministre et 3 autres, à la Bastille sans scandale et en carrosse. Les autres sont chez Desgrais. On attend les ordres de la cour.'

14³ pp. *French.*

E14. 1692, Feb. [5/] 15. Paris. 'Quatre vaisseaux du Roy, scavoir le *Maure* de 54 pièces de canon commandé par Monsieur le Chevalier des Augers, le *Joly* de 36 pièces de canon commandé par Monsieur de Serpent,

l'*Opiniatre* de 16 pièces commandé par Monsieur du Vignau, le *Seditieux* commandé par Monsieur le Chevalier Damon, attraperent a la hauteur des costes de Biscaye un convoi de 22 vaisseaux hollandois qui alloient en Espagne escortés par 2 vaisseaux de guerre l'un de 54 et l'autre de 44 pièces de canon. Monsieur des Augers commanda a Messieurs de Serpan et du Vigneau d'attaquer le vaisseau de guerre de 44 et il s'attacha à l'autre. Apres 4 heures de combat l'un et l'autre de ces vaisseaux ennemis ont esté coulés à fonds, il ne s'est sauvé de celuy de 44 que le capitaine nommé Crouk et 13 matelots. Pendant le combat le Chevalier Damon a pris deux gros vaisseaux marchands, et deux armateurs de St. Jehan de Luts qui s'estoyent approchés au bruit du canon en ont pris trois autres. Les vaisseaux du Roy et la prise sont venus a Bayonne d'ou Monsieur de Vautron lieutenant de Monsieur de Serpant en a porté la nouvelle au Roy. Un lieutenant de vaisseaux qui commandoit un navire du Roy armé en course auquel Monsieur d'Estrée a interest a pris entre Livourne et Genes un vaisseau anglois chargé de canelle et d'indigo qui vaut bien deux cent mille livres.'

1½ pp. *French. In Jurieu's hand. On the same sheet as no. E13.*

E15. 1692, Feb. [5/] 15. 'Suite des nouvelles de Paris.' 'Tout se prépare avec grande magnificence pour la noce de lundy prochain, rien n'est oublié pour la beauté des habits, les préparatifs d'un grand bal, et la sumptuosité des festins. Le Roy, ces jours passez, envoya chercher Monsieur le Prince, pour luy demander s'il avoit donné tous ses ordres pour le festin royal; apres quoy il luy dit qu'il avoit pensée de marier sa fille, ou l'une des deux. Sur quoy Monsieur le Prince ayant répondu avec sa soumission ordinaire, le Roy luy dit qu'il y avoit une petite difficulté, parce qu'il demandoit Mademoiselle de Charolois sa cadette, et qu'il la luy demandoit pour Monsieur le Duc du Maine. Monsieur le Prince dit qu'il en parleroit à l'aisnée pour la disposer à souffrir cette préférence. En effet il luy en a parlé, cela la fit pleurer. Mais enfin elle a pris patience, et le mariage a esté ainsy résolu. Sa Majesté en écrivit à Mademoiselle de Montpensier une lettre fort honneste, la priant d'agréer ce mariage, dont il remet la conclusion à sa disposition. Vous n'ignorez pas que Mademoiselle a fait Monsieur le Duc du Maine son principal héritier. On ne doute pas même que le Roy ne l'engage à luy donner tout son bien. J'oublois à vous dire que la Mareschale de Rochefort est dame d'honneur de Madame la Duchesse de Chartres, et Madame la Marquise de Mailly dame d'atour.

'L'affaire de Monsieur le Prince d'Auvergne est assoupie. Il en coute la vie à un laquais de Monsieur le Prince de Rohan, filz de Monsieur de Soubise, et puis c'est tout. On a fait voir au Roy que le Prince d'Auvergne n'avoit pas tort. Et puis, quand il s'agit *de anima vili*, on n'en fait pas grand compte en

ce pays-cy. Il n'y avoit que l'injure qui reja[i]llissoit sur le Prince de Rohan.'

On the same sheet: 'Chansonnette de la cour de France. Sur la débauche de Mesdames de Bournonville et Lavardin avec le Chevalier de Noailles, et le Comte du Luc capitaine de galère, dont a esté parlé cy devant.

'Bournonville et Lavardin
Signalent leurs prouesses.
Quand elles sont dans leur vin,
Chacune prend son blondin
Aux fesses, aux fesses, aux fesses.

'Lavardin n'est pas cocu,
Sa femme est trop modeste,
Quand son amant est tout nu,
Elle court plustost au cu
Qu'au reste, etc.

'Lavardin, qui le croiroit?
Baiser le cu d'un homme,
Pourquoy choisir cet endroit?
Est-ce ainsy qu'on vous baisoit
À Rome, à Rome, à Rome?'

2pp. *French.*

E16. 1692, Feb. [8/] 18. Paris. 'Il y a déjà quelque temps que le Roy a ordonné à tous les officiers généraux de faire armer de cuirasses tous les officiers sur peine d'estre cassez sans rémission. C'est pourquoy Monsieur Tithon, qui est, comme vous savez, le fournisseur et le maitre du magasin royal de la Bastille, travaille en diligence à en faire faire, et il en a déjà bonne provision, et de toutes sortes d'armes. Depuis le combat de Leuse on a pris cette résolution.

'Jeudy dernier le Roy fut en grande et longue conférence avec le Roy Jaques, où les officiers de marine furent apelez, le Roy leur ayant parlé et en general et en particulier, sans qu'on sache encore dequoy il est question. On détache une escadre, dont on ne sait pas encore la destinée. Comme on a eû avis que la croisière de derrière l'Ecosse est bonne, et que tous les vaisseaux marchands prennent cette route, on pourroit bien y envoyer des vaisseaux.

'Monsieur de Chanlet n'est pas encore de retour. Son valet de chambre arriva ces jours passez en poste. On ne paroist trop content de ses négociations. Il est pourtant certain qu'il y a eû des conférences secrettes, mais on ne compte pas beaucoup là dessus.

'Monsieur de Vauban prend le superius et est fort considéré du Roy. Aussy est-ce un fort honneste homme, et qui a les intentions droittes. Il parle fort

librement et le Roy ne le trouve pas mauvais. Madame de Maintenon a toujours part aux secretz. Elle a tenu mesme assez long temps la plume, en présence du Roy et de ses ministres, lors qu'on travaille dans sa chambre, pour écrire les mémoires pour le Roy. Depuis, sa Majesté a voulu qu'elle se déchargeast de cette fatigue, et qu'une de ses confidentes écrivist. Cela est particulier.

'Au reste, Monsieur le Duc du Maine n'estoit pas trop disposé à épouser Mademoiselle de Charolois cadette de Monsieur le Prince; mais Madame de Maintenon luy a fait comprendre qu'il estoit nécessaire qu'il s'appuyast de l'alliance des princes du sang, parce que dans un changement de gouvernement que la mort pourroit apporter, il y avoit des chicannes à faire sur sa naissance, qui pourroyent luy préjudicier.

'Le départ du Roy est toujours différé jusqu'au 12 de mars. Il dispense Monsieur d'aller à ce voyage. Mais Monsieur le Duc de Chartres ira, et les dames aussy. Il ne sera que de 8 jours, et ne doit point estre tiré à consequence suivant l'avis commun. On ne croit point qu'on songe à faire de siege, et apparemment on se tiendra sur la défensive. Le Roy a donné à Monsieur le Prince de Talmont 2 mil écus de pension.

'On fait toujours de nouvelles histoires de Monsieur de Barbesieux. Il y a quelques jours que Monsieur le Premier Président, du sérieux dont vous le connoissez, estant dans l'antichambre du Roy, Monsieur de Barbesieux y vint, qu'il salua fort humblement. Au lieu de répondre à sa civilité, il s'aprocha du miroir en se peignant, et ne fit que chanter avec de jeunes gens qui estoyent là. Monsieur le Premier Président dit assez haut, pour estre entendu de tout le monde, en se tournant du costé de son filz, "Voilà un ministre qui chante bien!" Monsieur D'Arménonville, beaufrère de Monsieur Pelletier, luy ayant présenté un jeune homme, qui vouloit acheter une charge de commisaire des guerres, et le priant de luy vouloir donner un bon département, il luy répondit, je le veux bien, pourveu que vous luy donniez un précepteur d'age compétant, pour le faire acquiter de sa charge. Monsieur l'Archevesque de Rheims a voulu employer son crédit, il n'a fait que de l'eau toute claire. Monsieur de Pontchartrain, à qui on a fait connoistre que ces difficultez nuisoyent à la vente de ces charges, s'en est meslé; il a répondu à tout cela qu'il faloit que le service se fist, et qu'à moins d'un ordre du Roy il n'en feroit rien. C'est que cela luy oste beaucoup d'employs qu'il donnoit.

'Au reste, l'argent vient plus lentement qu'on ne croyoit. Les pensions sont reculées, et on a peine à subvenir à tout, pourveu encore que la famine ne nous vienne pas ataqer. Car il y a des profètes de malheur, qui nous en menaënt.

'L'affaire de Monsieur Mauroy, qui comme vous savez a esté transferé à

l'official, n'est pas encore jugée. Dans l'interrogatoire qu'il a suby, lors qu'on luy a demandé à quoy il avoit employé ses propres, et l'argent qu'il avoit emprunté, il a répondu que c'estoit à des charitez pour les pauvres, et à des fragilitez humaines, et choses semblables. On croit qu'il en sera quitte pour estre renfermé le reste de ses jours.

'Après une gelée de 3 mois et des neiges effroyables, voylà le temps qui se débande; il dégele et il pleut. Les ruisseaux sont des rivières, et l'on court risque de se noyer. Mais sans le dégel nous serions affamez ce caresme.'

3pp. *French.*

E17. 1692, [Feb. 22/] March 3. 'Il n'y a point de mystère au voyage du Roy. Les dames vont avec luy, et le temps auroit retardé le voyage si toutes les mesures n'avoient pas esté prises. Il a donné rendez-vous à Monsieur de Guiscar pour le venir trouver à Compiègne, où Monsieur de Chanlet doit aussy se rendre. Il y a des gens encore assez fous pour vouloir gager que la paix de Savoye se fera. Mais on ne parle plus comme cela parmy le monde bien instruit. On craint à la cour pour Cazal; et l'on fait rétablir les murailles et les fossez de Grenoble.

'Monsieur de Bonrepaux est party pour le Havre, et de là à Brest, pour disposer toutes choses concernant la flotte, qu'on dit que le Roy Jaques avoit demandé de commander, ce qu'on n'a pas jugé à propos.

'Monsieur le Duc de Chartres, étant animé l'autre jour d'un peu de vin, se mit à goguenarder avec les dames, en présence de Monsieur. Il dit que le vin de Brie étoit les femmes, le vin de Champagne les maitresses, le vin de Surenne les demoiselles, et que pour le vin d'Orleans, c'étoit pour une autre affaire. Là dessus Monsieur s'éleva et luy dit de prendre garde de ne point trop pousser la raillerie; ce qui obligea Monsieur le Duc de Chartres de se taire. Mais les dames prièrent Monsieur de ne le point empescher de rire si bien qu'on se mit à plaisanter tout de nouveau. Monsieur le Duc du Maine n'est pas trop content de la femme qu'on luy donne, qui est d'une petitesse extraordinaire. Il recule tant qu'il peut, et son mariage apparemment ne se fera qu'après Pasques. On parle de luy donner l'hostel de Guise. Le procez est accommodé pour raison de la succession de Guise.

'Monsieur de Baille, ayant appris que le Sieur Vivens, qui a tant fait parler de luy par ses travestissements et ses voyages en Dauphiné et[oit?] en Vivaretz, a fait marcher un officier avec des troupes, pour le prendre en Vivarets. Il se défendit avec les gens qui étoient avec luy. Mais dans le temps qu'il couchoit en joue le commandant, on luy a donné d'un coups de fusil dans le corps, dont il tomba mort. On y a fait quelques prisonniers, et mesme on a arrêté 2 capitaines de dragons, soupçonnez d'estre d'intelligence avec luy. On ne

pardonne pas aux assemblées de ce pays-là, plus suspectes qu'en un autre lieu. 'Le ministre Bastide, qui fut pris il y a quelque temps, a esté mené à la Bastille, d'où on ne sait s'il n'a point esté transferé à Vincennes. On n'a point de nouvelles seures de luy, ny des autres. On dit en gros qu'ils ne sont point mal-traitez. Monsieur de la Reynie, nostre lieutenant de police, quoy que plus vigoureux qu'à l'ordinaire, n'est pas trop mal satisfait de ce dernier, qui luy a dit qu'il avoit détourné quantité de gens de sortir du royaume, qui en avoyent fort envie, leur remontrant qu'ils y pouvoyent et devoient demeurer, moyennant *salvâ conscientiâ*. À l'égard des particuliers, ils sont demeurez quelque temps chez l'huissier. En suite, on dit qu'on a mené Madame de la Contaudière aux Nouvelles Catholiques, et d'autres dans les prisons ordinaires.

'Un officier, ayant présenté un *placet* au Roy, pour supplier sa Majesté d'accorder la liberté à son père, detenu acause de la religion, parce qu'il ne pouvoit pas servir, si son père ne vaquoit à ses affaires, le Roy parut chagrin, et après avoir resvé quelque temps, et froncé le sourcil, il dit que cela ne se pouvoit pas; et qu'il attendist la fin de la campagne. Il a fait cette mesme réponse à d'autres; ce qui fait juger qu'il pourra y avoir quelque réglemant. Plusieurs ont déjà proposé l'exécution de l'edict qui accorde liberté et paisible jouyssance de leurs biens, et de commercer sans recherche pour la religion.

'On continue de dire que le Roy ira au mois de may voir son armée. Plusieurs ajoutent qu'il pourra bien passer une partie de la campagne à Cambray, pour estre plus à portée de donner ses ordres pour l'armée.

'L'argent devient rare au Trésor Royal. On recule les payemens. C'est pourquoy on cherche de nouveaux moyens, à quoy l'esprit du ministre est beaucoup plus occupé qu'au soin de la marine.

'On doit vérifier au premier jour de nouveaux edits en quantité. On parle d'un nouvel impost sur les cartes. Item les francfiefs, et autres dont nous savons pas encore le détail.

'On dit la Reine d'Angleterre fort grosse, et qu'il faut, pour convaincre les incrédules, qu'elle accouche en public.

'Le Roy va coucher aujourd'hui à Chantilly. Il y a peu de nouvelles importantes. On fait courir le bruit que la Reine Marie et la princesse sa soeur sont fort brouillées ensemble.

'Il est arrivé, sur les levées des gens de guerre, qu'un capitaine qui tenoit 22 enfermez dans un four, entrant tout seul dans la chambre, ils se révoltèrent, le saisirent, et le jettèrent par les fenestres dans une petite cour, puis se sauvèrent.

'Un laquais cherchant condition fut emmené par un embaucheur chez un capitaine dont il disoit estre valet. Apres estre convenu des gages, il luy donna

un ecu sous prétexte de luy avancer 4 jours de nourriture, et quand il voulut sortir, on luy dit qu'il étoit enrollé. Le capitaine, apres avoir pris ses seuretez avec luy, le relascha, à condition qu'il luy ameneroit 2 hommes en sa place, ce qu'il fit par le mesme stratagème, et se tira d'affaire.

'Un cavallier enrollé par Monsieur de Langalerie colonel, qui le mit coucher, etc., luy a trouvé moyen de se sauver, et luy a emporté pour 7 à 8,000 livres de vaisselle d'argent. On juge que c'étoit un fripon de voleur, qui feignoit de s'enroller, pour voler, parce qu'on a seû qu'il avoit toutes sortes d'instruments servants à crochetter portes et coffres.

'Un jeune d'Etrées de 26 à 27 ans a esté nommé pour ambassadeur en Portugal. Il se prépare de partir au mois de may prochain.

'Madame d'Epinoy, cy devant Mademoiselle de Lillebonne, et Madame de Turenne ont eû prise, en se voulant mettre à table chez Monsieur, et se sont chanté pouilles. Monsieur les accommoda le mieux qu'il fut possible. Madame de Maintenon mene avec elle dans son carosse Madame d'Hudicourt et Madame de Mailly. Tout marche pour le voyage de Compiègne, à la réserve de Monsieur et Madame, qui resteront à Paris, pendant ce temps-là, et recevront à leur cour l'élite des gens de ville. Il y aura au Palais Royal appartements comme chez le Roy, et sur tout grand jeu de lansquenet, où tous ceux qui auront de l'argent à perdre seront bien receûs.

'Le procez de la Marquise de Tresnel se poursuit avec rigueur, mais il y a des formes à observer. Les conclusions des gens du Roy sont terribles. Elles vont à la mort; les uns disent à avoir la teste tranchée, les autres à la potence, et 100,000 livres de dommages et interestz.'

4pp. *French.*

E18. 1692, [Feb. 29/] March 10. Paris. 'Le Roy, apres avoir fait la revue de sa maison, part aujourd'hui de Compiègne, pour aller coucher à Chantilly, où il passera la journée de demain, et en suite se rendra mécredi à Versailles. Il a esté fort satisfait de ses troupes. Les gardes du corps, vestus de neuf, y ont paru fort magnifiques. On a remply la place de ceux qui avoyent esté tuez à l'affaire de Leuse des meilleurs hommes, qui ont esté choisis dans la cavallerie. Ainsy tout y est complet. La gendarmerie y a aussy passé en revue en tres bon estat.

'Les dames qui ont accompagné le Roy dans son voyage s'y sont fort ennuyées; mais il falloit qu'elles marchassent á cause de Madame de Maintenon, qu'on a remarqué estre partie toute seule dans la calèche du Roy, parce que si elle eust esté dans le carosse de sa Majesté il eust falu céder les premieres places aux princesses qui y estoient.

'Toutes les negociations de paix avec le Duc de Savoye sont finies. Monsieur

Catinat est venu à Chambéry, d'où il est allé visiter la Vallée d'Aouste; et sur quelques mouvements des ennemis, qui sembloient avoir quelque dessein sur Suze, on fait marcher les troupes, et on a pris de l'argent, tant qu'on en a trouvé en Dauphiné. Le Duc de Savoye fait travailler à un nouveau manifeste, pour se justifier des bruits qui avoient couru de traité et de détachement de la Ligue.

'L'Empereur a répondu assez fièrement à la lettre du Pape sur le sujet du desordre que les Alemands faisoient en Italie, où, entre autres choses, il se plaignoit que la religion étoit en danger, et où il l'exhortoit à travailler à la paix de la Chrestienté.

'Il court icy des bruits fort différents sur Varadin, que les un disent pris, les autres secouru, à quoy on ajoûte que les Moscovites se joignent aux Tartares, en faveur des Turcs.

'La Reine Douairière d'Angleterre est, à ce qu'on assure, arrivée à Dieppe, d'où l'on dit qu'elle va à Avignon pour y demeurer.

'Les nouvelles, sur lesquelles il ne faut pas trop compter, disent que le Roy ira cette campagne à l'armée non pas simplement comme on disoit pour son armée assemblée, mais mesme pour y demeurer et conduire luy mesme les opérations de ses armées. Qu'il y aura 100,000 hommes de pied et plus de 40,000 chevaux, dont on formera deux grands corps d'armée. Qu'on marchera droit à Bruxelles, pour s'établir dans le centre de la Flandre. Ce sont là les discours qu'on tient, comme si on estoit entré dans le Conseil Secret. On a renouvelé les ordres précis à la cavallerie d'avoir des cuirasses. Les généraux et inspecteurs doivent les faire exécuter exactement. On travaille à en fournir, sur tout à tous les officiers. Les efforts de cette campagne sont tout à fait extraordinaires, et le Turc de son costé met tout en usage.

'Le Roy fait lieutenants généraux Monsieur le Duc, Monsieur le Prince de Conty, et Monsieur le Duc du Maine. Il a accordé à Monsieur le Duc de Villeroy de servir en Flandres cette année, ce qu'il luy refusa la dernière. Monsieur le Comte d'Auvergne aura la deuxième grace, et comme il est général de la cavallerie, il sera dans une armée, et Monsieur le Duc du Maine dans une autre. Il ne servoit pas, parce que le Roy vouloit que Monsieur le Duc du Maine eust ce commandement. On a fait cy devant tout ce qu'on a pû pour obliger Monsieur d'Auvergne de se défaire de cette charge, mais il n'a pas voulu. Ainsy l'un faisoit par grace ce que l'autre devoit faire par sa charge. Mondit sieur le Comte d'Auvergne a obligé son fils aîné, dont il est mécontent de la vie, et de toutes les méchantes affaires qu'il a faites à sa famille, de se faire Chevalier de Malthe, et mesme il l'oblige d'y aller pour faire les voeux. Le deuxième, qu'on a voulu faire aîné, n'a point voulu quitter la condition ecclésiastique, dont il fait profession, de sorte que le droit d'aisnesse tombe sur le troisième.

‘On a fait de grandes taxes sur les gentilhommes anoblis par la cloche. Angers est taxé à 300,000 livres, Nantes à 400,000, Poitiers à 500,000. Cela cause beaucoup de desordre dans les provinces, la plus part de ces villes n’ayant pas de quoy payer. L’argent y est tres rare.

‘Monsieur de Boufflers, qui étoit en commerce de lettres avec Madame de Lesdiguières, a eû un petit dépit amoureux, car il ne luy a rendu aucune visite pendant son séjour icy, jaloux et piqué du grand commerce qu’elle a avec Monsieur l’Archevesque.

‘On continue à publier qu’il y a beaucoup de division en Angleterre; que la Reine et la Princesse sont fort brouillées, que Mylord Churchill y fait beaucoup de bruit, et que l’impôt par teste y est fort mal reçeû.

‘Il y a dans les Sevénes et en Vivarets des successeurs de Vivens qui font des assemblées, mais ils se cachent mieux que luy. Monsieur de la Reinie et Desgrais mesme rendent de bons temoignages du ministre Bastide, et avouent qu’on ne peut pas mieux parler qu’il a fait, paraissant mesme touchez de ses discours, et de son malheur. On croit qu’il y avoit dans cette assemblée, où il fut pris, plus d’une personne qui a trahy. On ne croit pas qu’on touche à la vie d’aucuns des ministres, qu’on se contente de garder.

‘Madame la Duchesse, qui a beaucoup d’esprit, et qui est chansonnière, a fait des chansons sur ce que Monsieur le Duc du Maine son frere luy a dit, que, quand il avoit veû dans la journée Mademoiselle d’Armagnac, il luy étoit impossible de dormir. Elle dit que lorsqu’il sera marié avec Mademoiselle de Charolois, il en aura tout le loisir, parce qu’il n’aura rien de mieux à faire. On m’a promis ces couplets-là.’

3¼ pp. *French.*

E19. 1692, March [14/] 24.* ‘On parle icy diversement du manifeste en forme de mémoire des offres faites de la part du Roy au Duc de Savoye, pour le rétablissement du repos de l’Italie. La plus part disent qu’il n’étoit point nécessaire de faire connoistre à tout le monde qu’on eust une si grande affectation à faire ou mandier la paix avec le Duc de Savoye, et que cela fait trop connoistre qu’on le craint. Il y a quelque temps que Monsier de Chanlay en est de retour. On croit pourtant qu’un des motifs qui a obligé à cette

*The letters in this series of [7/] 17 March 1692, endorsed as received 16 March, and of [21/] 31 March 1692, endorsed by Nottingham as received 29 March, which should precede and follow this item, have become separated from the rest and are now in SP 101/22 in the Public Record Office. The first describes disagreements over strategy at a royal *conseil de marine* attended by senior army officers, and also the representations made by Vauban and others of the ill effects of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The second lists general officers appointed to command the French armies on the Normandy coast and in the various theatres of war.

publication est que le Roy a voulu faire voir à toute l'Italie qu'il fait au dela de ce qu'on pouvoit attendre de luy pour le repos général, et qu'ainsy on ne doit pas trouver étrange qu'on saccage son pays. Ce qui fait croire qu'on y veut faire une course pour prévenir les ennemis, c'est que l'on a ordonné à tous les officiers de l'armée de Piémont de s'y rendre en diligence à peine d'estre cassez. D'autres disent qu'on se dépesche parce qu'il semble que les ennemis ayent quelque dessein. Quoy qu'il en soit, on part incessamment pour ce pays-là, et cette guerre-là tient fort au coeur.

'Ce Monsieur de Bressé qui a esté pris vers Luxembourg, et qu'on croit s'estre fait prendre, a eû de grandes conférences avec le Roy, qui l'a fort caressé. On luy rend tout son bien en Franche Comté, et le Roy a fait écrire par Messieurs de Boufflers et Guiscar que si les ennemis ne rendoyent pas sa femme, qui est encore à Namur, avec tous ses effets, il s'en vengera sur d'autres. Aussy dit on que c'est un des meilleurs sujetz que les ennemis eussent en Flandre. Il étoit major général et avoit la direction de tout ce qui se faisoit à Namur; entre autres des fortifications, dont il a une parfaite connoissance. Je croy que se pouvoit bien estre de luy qu'on recevoit le plan de la place, et qu'on étoit instruit de tout ce qui s'y faisoit l'année derniere, ce qui a esté de la connoissance de plusieurs, dont on ne se cachoit pas.

'On assure que le Grand Visir a déclaré à Monsieur de Chateauneuf que si le Roy ne faisoit pas une puissante diversion en Allemagne, ainsy qu'on l'avoit promis, il feroit la paix dans le mois d'aoust. C'est pourquoy on ne sait pas si l'on n'y entreprendra point quelque chose.

'Il y a quelque temps que, pendant qu'on jouoit à l'opera le prologue, où la gloire et la vertu s'unissent ensemble pour chanter les louanges du Roy, il y eut une voix du parterre qui cria *La scene est Londres*. Chacun fut étonné de cette hardiesse, mais on ne sut pas qui c'estoit. S'il avoit été reconnu et pris, on luy auroit fait un méchant party. Cependant on en rit *incognitò*, et chacun dit en particulier qu'il avoit raison.

'Le Roy se fatigue extraordinairement, on remarque mesme que depuis six mois il est fort vieilly, aussy est il dans une occupation continuelle, écrivant tous les jours, ou dictant luy mesme une infinité de lettres. Et Madame de Maintenon écrit, jour et nuit, jusqu'au temps que le Roy y va sur le soir. Tout le reste elle s'occupe, et travaille plus qu'un premier ministre.

'Monsieur de Vauban a pris la liberté de remontrer au Roy qu'il faut qu'il ménage plus sa santé qu'il ne fait, sa personne étant d'une nécessité absolue pour son etat. En effet, le Roy a le meilleur sens du monde, et il faut qu'il prenne tout sur luy, son Conseil étant fort foible; les uns peu intelligens, les autres mols, et peu résolus.

'Le Roy Jaques a depuis peu de grandes conférences avec le Roy, d'où il est sorty fort joyeux, sans qu'on en puisse savoir le sujet. Il a assisté aux noces, et

aux festins, paroissant toujours fort content. La Reine sa femme ne paroist plus, sa grossesse la retenant dans sa chambre d'où elle ne sort point. On croit qu'elle accouchera dans 2 mois.

'On croyoit que Monsieur le Cardinal de Bouillon, en qualité de Grand Aumônier, feroit le fonction de la benédiction nuptiale de Monsieur le Duc du Maine, mais s'étant absenté pour aller à un de ses bénéfices, il a falu que Monsieur l'Evesque d'Orleans, Premier Aumonier, l'ait faitte. On n'est pas trop content de toute cette maison de Bouillon, qui se barbouille fort à la cour.

'Les bagages sont toujours commandez pour le 20 ou 25e. du mois prochain, et le Roy partira le 1er. ou le 2e. de may. On croit que cela ne se fait pas sans quelque dessein. Presentement on ne dit pas bien assurément que les dames soyent du voyage. Il est certain que le Roy ne marche pas pour rien.

'Les Espagnols font de grands préparatifs, et prétendent avoir une flotte considérable en mer dans la Méditerranée. On dit jusqu'à 30 vaisseaux, mais les equipages leur manqueront. On dit de plus que chaque royaume ou province d'Espagne s'engage de faire chacun un regiment pour aller en Catalogne, mais comme ce seront de nouvelles levées, on n'en fait pas grand état. On dit qu'en Angleterre on arreste les Catholiques, depuis qu'on a arresté icy le dernier ministre qu'on assure estre à la Bastille en bonne santé. Cela n'accommoderoit pas les affaires icy, où le Roy est toujours fort délicat sur les affaires qui regardent la conscience, dequoy tous les politiques murmurent. On a sorty quelques gens de la Bastille pour cause de religion. Monsieur de Vivans n'en est point. Il a la liberté de voir sa mère et sa femme une fois la semaine en presence du Père de Bordes, Père de l'Oratoire.

'Apropos du nom de Vivans, le ministre qui a esté tué depuis quelques temps en Vivaretz, ayant esté fouillé apres sa mort, on dit qu'on luy trouva un cachet d'or sur lequel il y avoit un phoenix gravé pour corps de la devise, et pour âme ces mots écrits autour: *Post funera vivens*. On croit qu'il a esté tué par quelqu'un de ses gens, qui le trahissoit et qui, faisant mine de tirer sur un de ceux qui l'attaquoient dans la grotte où il s'étoit réfugié, luy donna par derrière dans la teste. Il avoit promis de ne point revenir en France et on luy avoit permis de se retirer en Espagne, d'où l'inquietude et la misere luy firent prendre le party de revenir.'

3 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 22 March.

E20. 1692, [March 29/] April 7. 'Toute cette semaine, depuis 8 jours, j'ay esté si occupé aupres de mon frère xxx [*sic*] qui a esté malade à l'extremité, qu'apeine ay je eû le loisir de me reconnoistre. Cela est cause que je ne vous entretiendray pas longtemps aujourdhuy.

‘Le Roy s’est tout a fait déclaré qu’il iroit en Flandre. Monsieur le Mareschal d’Humières servira sous luy. Le départ sera toujours vers le 10 ou 12 de may. Peut-estre pourra til estre retardé jusqu’au 15. Monsieur de Luxembourg aura son armée à part. Et s’il y a quelque siège à faire, ce sera Monsieur le Mareschal d’Humières, tandis que l’autre s’opposera aux ennemis. Mais à moins qu’on n’ait intelligence dans quelque place, on ne croit pas qu’on en entreprenne. On ne comprend pas comment Madame de Maintenon n’empesche pas le Roy de faire ce voyage. C’est ce qui fait présumer qu’il faut qu’on soit assuré de quelque expédition. Il y a de gens qui croient que l’affaire pourroit bien tourner du costé de l’Alemagne. On a remarqué que depuis quelques jours le Roy est fort resveur. C’est peut estre, dit-on, la dévotion.

‘Certains gens, qui se meslent d’horoscopes, prétendent que cette année est menacée de grands fracas, et que Monsieur de Bavière a un ascendant favorable. On a assez d’égards pour cette science à la cour, quelque conjecturale qu’elle soit.

‘Le monde de Paris veut qu’on ait effectivement quelque dessein de descente en Angleterre, parce qu’on ramasse tous les batteaux plats de la coste; et là dessus on se persuade que Monsieur le Mareschal de Bellefonds fera embarquer les troupes qu’il commande, et mesme que le Roy Jaques s’embarquera avec luy. Mylord Montcassel a dit qu’il ne demandoit que 5 ou 6 mille hommes pour faire en ce pays là un [*sic*] grosse diversion. Mais ce sont des discours où l’on ne voit aucun fondement, et ces bruits sont peuteestre pour donner le change sur ceux des desseins qu’on dit avoir sur nos costes. Mylord Sarsfields est icy. Ceux qui l’ont veü n’en font pas grand estat.

‘Le Roy a dit a Monsieur Pélisson qu’il pouvoit écrire à tous ceux de sa connoissance qui voudroyent revenir, que sa Majesté le leur permettoit, et donneroit ordre à Messieurs les Secretaires d’Estat d’expédier des passeports pour avoir la liberté du retour en France, y estre remis en possession de leurs biens, sans rien exiger d’eux par force; et à condition d’y vivre sous la bénéfice d’une simple tolérance. C’est le premier effet de ce que je vous ay mandé qu’on vouloit remontrer au Roy. Il est à souhaitter que cela aille plus loin, pour la satisfaction de tout le monde.

‘On croit que le Roy veut encore profiter sur l’argent, parce qu’en diminuant les espèces qui ont cours, et faisant porter à la monnoye toute la vaisselle, on la prendra sur le pied de la diminution, et on la payera en pièces de nouvelle fabrique, dont le prix sera augmenté. Cela fait crier le monde.

‘On a écrit de Genève que 300 chevaux sortis de Veillane avoyent brulé les moulins qui sont aux environs de Pignerol, et que le lendemain ils avoyent esté bruler 1,200 chariots de foin, dans le fossé de cette place, sans qu’on eust fait de sortie sur eux, s’estant contenté de canonnes, dont on avoit tue 10 ou

12 cavalliers. Mais cela ne se confirme pas icy, où l'on mande que depuis l'arrivée des Irlandois les troupes du Duc ne faisoient plus tant de courses. On croit que le Roy sera 4 mois en campagne.

'On nous a dit que vos vaisseaux, aussy bien que ceux d'Angleterre qui rapportent l'argent de Cadix, sont arrivez dans vos ports. Cela va faire fleurir vostre commerce.

'Je ne say si vous avez ouy dire qu'on avoit trouvé à Versailles le portier de Monsieur Pelletier, Ministre d'Estat, poignardé dans sa loge. C'est un crime bien hardy. On a attrapé un homme qu'on soubçonne d'en estre coupable.'

2½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 5 April.*

E21. 1692, April [4/]14. 'Le départ du Roy change à tous moments. Jusqu'icy on le mettoit au 10 ou au 15e. de may, et mesme au 20. Mais depuis 2 jours il la fixé au 5e. Les choses changent à la cour, ainsy il ne faut pas compter juste là dessus.

'Le régiment des gardes doit partir incessamment. Mais les mousquetaires n'ont pas encore d'ordre. Les dames qui doivent estre du voyage sont nommées. Il y en aura, pour accompagner les princesses, jusqu'à 45. Madame n'ira point, et demeurera à St. Cloud. Elle est toujours assez mécontente et ne se met en peine de rien, disant qu'elle ne se soucie pas où elle soit, pourveu qu'on la laisse vivre en repos, et qu'elle ait un carrosse pour aller où il luy plaira.

'Mardy dernier Monsieur donna à disner à Madame de Montespan. Elle n'y voulut pas estre, et fuit sa veue.

'Le Roy est souvent en conférence avec Monsieur de Luxembourg. Le Roy Jaques part aujourd'hui, pour aller sur la coste, avec le Mareschal de Bellefons. Le Roy luy donne 20,000 écus pour son équipage et 40,000 plus par mois pour sa table. Il est certain qu'on a fait grande provision de batteaux plats, d'instruments à remuer la terre, et de plus de 8,000 échelles. Et de la façon que les courtisans parlent, il semble qu'on ait quelque grand dessein sur l'Angleterre. Mais de dire où l'on va, c'est ce qu'on ne sait point. Ce n'est pas une si grande chimère qu'une descente en Angleterre, car enfin le Roy Jaques peut avoir naturellement un party secret, et toujours certaines gens affectionnez. Au lieu qu'en France les mécontents sont bien dispersez. Il est vray que je suis toujours d'avis qu'on se veut faire peur de part et d'autre. Car les forces maritimes réciproques se détruisent réciproquement. Du reste, ceux qui trouvent que le Roy ne peut pas estre si fort en Flandre qu'on le publie se peuvent tromper. Ils ne comptent pas que l'augmentation de 10 hommes par compagnie de cavallerie et de dragons, et de 5 hommes par compagnie d'infanterie, augmente considérablement le nombre des troupes. Les gens

du métier disent qu'avec 30,000 hommes on peut prendre aisement une place, et couvrir le secours par 80,000 hommes, en sorte qu'on ne pourra pas empescher la prise. Apres quoy, ils ajoûtent qu'on peut détacher 30—40,000 hommes pour passer en Allemagne, et y joindre les troupes qui y seront, avec lesquelles, estant de beaucoup supérieurs aux ennemis, on pourra faire des progres considérables. Il est certain que Monsieur de St. Pouange a dit qu'il y auroit en Flandres plustost 140 que 130,000 hommes.

'Le bruit a couru, par des lettres de Brest du 7, qu'il y avoit eû beaucoup de vaisseaux, chargez de munitions, perdus; que de 60 bastiments il ne s'en estoit sauvé que 9 et les 2 frégates du Roy qui les escortoyent; que mesme le vaisseau de Monsieur de Nesmond avoit esté fort endommagé à la rade; et qu'il avoit esté obligé de couper son grand mats. Ceux qui ont mandé la nouvelle de ces bastiments de charge disent que cela est arrivé aux Ras, qui est une plage pres de Brest. Mais cela n'est pas encore bien confirmé. Ce seroit, outre la perte, un grand retardement pour la flotte.

'Le bruit avoit couru que Ballati se retiroit, et que l'accomodement avec le Duc d'Hannover estoit rompu. Présentement on dit que cela est réduit à des défenses audit Ballati de voir la maison de Monsieur le Prince, dont le Duc d'Hannover est mécontent.

'Il n'y a encore que les officiers pour la coste de commandez pour partir. Monsieur le Maréchal de Bellefons a pris les devants, pour passer chez luy, d'où il s'y doit rendre. Le Comte de Choiseul est aussy party pour le mesme lieu. Les officiers qui doivent servir en Piémont sont aussy partis. Il y a 5 régiments de cavallerie cuirassiers qui estoyent vers Mets, qui font 2,500 chevaux qui passent en Flandres; où, comme je croy vous l'avoir dit, on parle du siège d'Ath. Ce sont lettres closes. Car d'autres croient que si l'armée de Monsieur de Bellefons ne fait rien sur la coste, on pourroit l'employer à quelque entreprise sur les places maritimes, comme Ostende ou Nieuport. Mais pour cela il faudroit que nostre armée navale entrast dans la Manche, ce qu'on ne croit pas qu'elle hazarde.

'Le Comte de Grammont a dit que le Roy s'étoit expliqué nettement tant dans son Conseil qu'à ses courtisans, que Monsieur de Louvois estoit mort fort apropos; parce que 8 jours plus tard il auroit esté arrêté. Il luy reprocha le jour de sa mort que la guerre de Savoye estoit son seul ouvrage, qu'il avoit embarqué fort mal à propos, que cette guerre estoit ruineuse et infructueuse. Il sortit d'avec le Roy, le coeur saisy; et cela fut cause de sa mort. Cependant Madame de Maintenon a mieux aimé porter le Roy a se servir de son filz, parce qu'elle en seroit plus maîtresse que d'un autre plus âgé et plus expérimenté. Outre l'obligation qu'il luy a, elle ne redoute pas de longtemps son pouvoir. À l'égard de Monsieur d'Avaux, on n'en fait pas toute l'estime qu'il sembloit mériter. L'affaire d'Angleterre et celle d'Irlande l'ont esloigné des employs.

‘Il y a quelques jours que le Roy étant en ses conseils, un de ses ministres raisonnant sur les affaires, et pezant l’alternative du départ du Roy, ou non, le Roy dit: “Ne vous mettez point en peine si je pars ou non. Dittes vostre avis.” Et il se fascha sur les raisonnemens que les gens de Paris font sur cette matière.

‘Les Parisiens disent qu’ils ne savent pourquoy le Roy fait partir le Roy Jaques, parce que c’est un porteguignon, qui nous portera malheur. Mais à la cour on pretend que sa personne attirera quelques Anglois. On pretend aussy qu’il y a force mécontens en Ecosse. Et l’on dit que Mylord Marleboroug a beaucoup de partisans en Angleterre.

‘Madame la Duchesse n’ira pas au voyage. On dit qu’elle restera à Chantilly avec Madame la Princesse. Toutes les résolutions concernant la religion et la liberté de conscience sont remises par le Roy à la fin de cette campagne. Ce qui fait croire que l’issue en servira de règle, et qu’on se gouvernera suivant l’occasion.’

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 11 April.*

E22. 1692, April [8/]18. Paris. ‘Je vous écris aujourd’huy d’extraordinaire, pour accompagner l’incluse que je vous prie d’envoyer à mon frère, par laquelle il apprendra que la maladie de celui qui estoit icy avec moy, apres de grands maux, s’est enfin terminée par sa mort. Cet objet m’a tellement abatu l’esprit, que vous devez m’excuser si je ne vous dis rien aujourd’huy des affaires générales n’ayant veû personne. Je répondray seulement aux 2 questions que vous m’avez faites.

‘A l’égard de la premiere, où vous demandez comment on en use icy pour les sépultures des Protestans prétendus nouveaux Catholiques, je vous diray que c’est suivant l’humeur des curez. Les uns estant plus faciles que les autres enterrent les corps sans difficulté avec peu de dépense. Et quand ceux qui sont plus difficiles refusent, on s’adresse aux commissaires des quartiers, qui permettent qu’on les enterre la nuit, dans des lieux particuliers, où on les porte, comme dans des jardins enfermez, ce que quelques propriétaires souffrent charitablement. Quand j’étois à Rome, où il y a toujours beaucoup d’étrangers Protestans, on les enterroit hors de la ville, proche des murs, dans un endroit appelé *Muro torto*, ou l’on met aussy les enfans qui n’ont point esté baptisez, les excommuniez, etc. Mais sous le pontificat d’Innocent XI, qui estoit Odescalchi, on m’a assuré qu’un Hollandois estant mort, ces compatriotes obtinrent, par l’intervention du Cardinal Cibo, qui en parla au Pape, la liberté d’acheter une terre, hors de la Porte del Populo, qui ne leur coûta que 150 livres, dans laquelle tous ceux de la nation se faisoient enterrer; ce qui est encore en usage aujourd’huy. Je ne doute pas que cela se pratiquant dans le centre de l’Eglise Romaine, ce ne soit une autorité pour

en user ainsy partout ailleurs. Cela n'est pourtant pas encore réglé de la sorte icy. À l'égard des personnes d'une qualité éminente, on a le coutume de les embaumer et de les porter dans leur pays.

'Sur la seconde de vos questions, je vous diray que j'ay leû le livre de Monsieur Pelisson intitulé *De la Tolérance des Religions*. Je me suis souvenu en le lisant de Montagne, qui souvent ne traite point dans ses chapitres la matière qui leur sert de tistre; car, dans la verité il n'en parle point, à la réserve de quelque chose de ce qui s'est passé autrefois sur la demande faite, sous le regne de l'Empereur Ferdinand, de la communion sous les deux espèces, que le Pape Pie IV accorda, par une bule, aux Alemans, qui depuis fut révoquée, à la sollicitation de Philippe II, Roy d'Espagne. Au reste ce livre ne contient autre chose que des lettres fort honnestes de Monsieur Leibnits, ministre Lutherien à Monsieur Pélisson, et les réponses de celuy-cy pour la solution de diverses difficultez.

'Je ne say que vous dire sur l'avis qu'on m'avoit donné que mondit sieur Pélisson devoit faire expédier par ordre du Roy des passeports pour tous ceux qui voudroyent revenir en France, car il me semble, présupposé comme je l'ay entendu que c'est sans rien exiger d'eux, qu'il y a quelque chose qui se contredit, en ce qu'on ne tire pas encore des prisons tous ceux qui y sont pour cause de religion. Il est vray qu'on a mis depuis peu en liberté 4 personnes detenues à Pierre-Ancise à Lyon depuis 7 ans; mais on les a menées hors du royaume, puisqu'elles ont passé à Genève. Or il semble qu'il n'y avoit, suivant cette règle, qu'à les renvoyer chez eux. On ne comprend rien à ce manège. On ajoute que Monsieur l'Archevêque de Lyon a écrit a la cour qu'il croyoit qu'il faloit mettre en liberté tous les autres qui restent dans ce chateau, luy paraissants innocents.'

2pp. *French*.

E23. 1692, [March 31/] April 10, N.S. Genève. 'On nous écrit de Turin que l'armée de Son Altesse Royale sera de 50,000 hommes. Monsieur le Résident de France icy fait sonner la chose bien haut, pour donner de la jalousie aux Suisses, et surtout à Messieurs de Genève, à qui la France, par ses emissaires, fait ce qu'elle peut pour leur donner de la frayeur des forces des alliez. Mais cela n'operera autre chose, à mon avis, qu'à leur faire prendre plus de Suisses dans leur ville. Les partisans de France voudroyent qu'on prist des Fribourgeois, et taschent à donner de la défiance à Genève des Bernois. Nous avons appris que le Sieur Mallet, dont vous me parlez, estoit arrivé a Paris, et qu'il avoit trouvé, en mettant pied à terre, le carosse de Monsieur Stoup, qui l'attendoit; que ledit Sieur Stoup l'avoit présenté au Roy, qui l'avoit receû comme un petit héros, et qu'on l'avoit conduit chez Monsieur de Barbesieux, et chez Monsieur Colbert, pour prendre des mesures avec luy, sur tout pour

la seureté de Genève. La France est bien intriguée sur cela, et fait voir une extrême foiblesse de recevoir à bras ouverts des gens d'une aussy petite capacité. Il est soldat et brave officier, mais homme sans cervelle. On n'est guère en peine de ce qu'il prétend faire contre les Vaudois. Il a débauché 14 officiers françois, qui avoyent esté cassez; jugez par là de leur prix, aussy ne regarde t'on pas cela comme une perte. Il vient icy des nouvelles de tous costez, qu'on se dispose à faire une descente en France. Cela me paroist une grande entreprise, s'il est vray que la France ait une flotte de plus de 80 vaisseaux de ligne. Mais si ce dessein s'exécute et réussit, il fera plus d'effet que le gain d'une bataille.'

1p. *Extract. French. On the same sheet as the preceding item.*

E24. 1692, April [11/] 21. Paris. 'Il n'est pas croyable, le fracas que fait le bruit répandu par tout du dessein d'une descente en Angleterre, ny tous les discours qu'on tient là dessus; car on ne parle d'autre chose. Et cela engloutit tout ce qu'on a publié du dessein des Anglois contre nous. On prétend qu'il y a tres long temps que ce dessein se trame entre les deux Roys, dans le conseil desquels le Maréchal de Bellefons est entré, que défunt Monsieur de Seignelay en avoit fait l'ouverture, et que Monsieur de Louvois en avoit empesché l'exécution. Il y a quelques jours qu'on disoit publiquement qu'on alloit à l'Isle de With. A présent on dit qu'on va droit en Angleterre; que nostre flotte sera 3 semaines plustost preste que celle des ennemis, que le petit Duc de Richemont, appuyé de divers mylords, est assuré de 20,000 hommes pour favoriser la descente, qu'on se saisira de Portsmouth, soit par intelligence ou autrement, et que mesme, quand il n'y en auroit pas, la place est si peu forte du costé de terre qu'elle sera aisée à insulter. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que tous les préparatifs sont ou semblent estre pour une entreprise de cette nature; y ayant 15,000 hommes sur les costes prest à s'embarquer pour descendre; deplus, toutes sortes d'outils pour remuer la terre, et des pierres mesmes toutes taillées. Le Roy Jaques, qui devoit partir il y a 8 jours, part seulement aujourd'hui pour aller coucher à Anet chez Monsieur de Vendosme, d'où il ira en suite à la Trappe passer un jour ou deux, et puis de là sur la coste, où l'on veut qu'il s'embarque avec la flotte.

'On imprime icy 8 ou 10,000 exemplaires de déclarations en Anglois par lesquelles le Roy Jaques donne une amnistie générale à tous ceux qui retourneront à son service, annule ou surprime tous les subsides établis depuis son départ, convoque un Parlement libre pour y régler les affaires générales, et l'exercice de la religion anglicane, avec toute sorte de liberté. Outre cela, il y a un placart imprimé en françois, qui rappelle tous les réfugiés qui sont en ce pays-là, les met en possession paisible de leurs biens, avec entière assurance

qu'on les laissera en plein repos, à l'égard de la religion. On ne peut pas voir ces imprimez, parce qu'on les tient fort secrets. Il y a mesme des Anglois qui partent avec le Roy Jaques qui prennent des domestiques à leur service, et qui leur promettent des gages plus forts, aussy tost qu'ils seront arrivez en Angleterre, ou ils présupposent leur rétablissement sans aucun doute ny difficulté. Il y a mesme 3 ou 4 Jésuites travestis qui partent avec le Roy Jaques.

'On a remarqué que le Roy depuis peu avoit fort caressé le Prince d'Elbeuf, amant public de Madame de Portsmouth. Il luy a donné mil louis d'or pour faire son equipage, et luy a dit que comme il seroit prés de sa personne en Flandres rien ne luy manqueroit, et qu'il n'auroit qu'à luy demander tout l'argent dont il auroit besoin. Vignaux et Gassion, officiers généraux et lieutenants des gardes du corps, vont avec le Roy Jaques. Enfin tout le monde est surpris, et dans l'attente de grands événements. Ce qui paroist étrange est que tout cela soit si public. C'est une matière qui exerce les courtisans dans leurs raisonnements, et leur fait dire *Parturiunt montes*, etc.*

'Plusieurs croyent que tout cela ne tend qu'à diversion, et à rembarquer la peur qu'on nous voudroit donner d'une descente sur nos costes. Cependant il y a des gens qui débitent qu'il est arrivé deux mylords qui assurent que tout est disposé en faveur du Roy Jaques. Pour moy je croy qu'il y a là de la folie. Le voyage du Roy cependant est encore retardé. Il a dit à Monsieur d'Artagnan, major du régiment des gardes, que leur depart estoit retardé; mais qu'il ne vouloit point encore fixer de temps. On croyoit qu'ils commenceroient à défiler le 29 de ce mois. Le Roy là dessus s'est fâché de tous les raisonnements qu'on fait, et sur tout a défendu qu'on écrivist aucunes nouvelles lors qu'on seroit en campagne.

'On compte que l'armée des costes sera de 25,000 hommes.

'La Reine d'Angleterre s'est trouvée mal. On croit, ou qu'elle s'est blessée, ou qu'elle est en train de cela, et on en parle bas.

'Vous connoissez le génie du François, *aut servus aut imperator*. Lors que la nouvelle de la rupture de la négociation de paix avec la Savoye fut assurée, les bourses se resserrèrent tellement que l'argent devint rare, et à un prix excessif. Depuis qu'on a veû les projets de nos forces, et qu'on a publié une diminution sur l'argent, cela a changé, et l'a rendu plus commun. Depuis 15 jours on a créé de nouveau 1,200,000 livres de rentes sur l'hostel de ville de Paris. Tout le monde y court, et dans 2 ou 3 jours on y a porté 4 millions. En sorte qu'on espère que cette partie sera bientost remplie.

'Monsieur de Vauban a poussé le Roy, en luy parlant sur les affaires de la religion, jusqu'à luy persuader de donner quelques exercices en faveur des réfugiés, mais cela n'a pas encore apery. Il sera bien difficile d'y venir, parce

*... *nascetur ridiculus mus* ('The mountains are in labour; a ridiculous mouse will be born'. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 139).

qu'il y a de grandes oppositions secrettes de la part du confesseur et dans un temps où l'on est entouziassmé de grands projets. Ainsy je ne voy rien qui s'y achemine. Ce qui démonte les gens dans la conjoncture présente est la tranquillité du Roy Guillaume au milieu de tous ces grands bruits. Car tout le monde est persuadé qu'il noublie rien pour venir à son but, et que c'est le plus grand politique du monde.

'La nouvelle du désordre arrivé à la flotte de Brest n'est pas sans fondement, y ayant eû plusieurs bastiments de charge pérís ou écartez par la tempeste. Mais on nous assure que le mal n'est pas si grand, et qu'il y a peu de perte, presque tous étants revenus. Nous n'avons encore point de nouvelles que Monsieur D'Estrées ait joint.

'Il est vray que les tolérances dont on a parlé ne s'accordent pas avec diverses pratiques qui y semblent opposées. C'est pourquoy les raisonnements sont à bout. Et je voy bien qu'il faut que la suite nous donne d'autres éclaircissements. Quoy qu'il en soit, les nouveaux Catholiques jouyssent de quelque repos, et il semble qu'on soit fasché d'en estre venu aux dures extremitez que tout le monde desaprouve. A l'égard de ceux qu'on retient en prison, ou qu'on envoie hors du royaume, ce n'est que par un esprit de défiance. Car il est certain qu'on ne redemanderoit pas mieux que le retour des absens.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed as received 19 April.*

E25. 1692, [April 22/] May 2. Paris. 'Je souhaite avoir de vos nouvelles sur les conjonctures présentes, avec autant d'impatience que vous des miennes. Voicy une crise, où il semble qu'il y va du tout. Plusieurs gens sout persuadez qu'elle doit finir la guerre.

'On est fort aux ecoutes à Versailles sur le vent. Depuis quelques jours il est trop bon, car le sud-ouest regne violemment et est fort dangereux pour les petits bastiments. Suivant les nouvelles de Brest, on en devoit partir le 26 du passé. Le Roy a dit que si le temps estoit propre, le Roy Jaques devoit estre demain sur les costes d'Angleterre. On n'a point encore de nouvelles de la jonction de Monsieur le Comte d'Estrées. Et gens habiles m'ont dit que Monsieur de Tourville ne pourroit partir qu'avec 30 vaisseaux.

'Le Roy part toujours le dixième de ce mois. La premiere troupe du régiment des gardes est partie aujourd'hui. Il en part encore une, et le reste dans 4 jours suivra. Le Roy a déclaré qu'il ne vouloit point que les volontaires, c'est à dire les gens de cour qui n'ont point d'employ à l'armée, le suivissent, ne faisant qu'embarrasser. On ne doute point d'un siège en Flandres. Il y en a mille marques. Des ingenieurs ont ordre de se rendre à Valenciennes. Je reviens à l'affaire d'Angleterre. La plus part des courtisans

traient de téméraire l'entreprise de la descente, à moins que d'estre bien assuré d'un gros party. D'autres disent qu'il n'est point nécessaire d'une si grosse intelligence, que pourveu qu'on puisse descendre, on sera maistre de la campagne, n'y ayant que tres peu de troupes réglées en Angleterre.

'On a trouvé un expédient nouveau d'embarquer des chevaux, sans les suspendre, suivant l'ancienne methode.

'Pour ce qui est de la place qu'on a dessein d'assiéger, c'est un secret que personne ne sait encore. On a quelque soubçon que se pourroit estre Ath.

'Des gens qui sont venus depuis peu de Londres assurent qu'on y dit tout publiquement, Celluy-cy est pour le Roy Jaques, l'autre pour le Roy Guillaume.

'Je croy m'estre trompé dans ma dernière, et avoir dit que le Duc de Savoye avoit arresté un courrier du Marquis de Leganez. C'est le contraire. Et celuy qui écrit de Pignerol mande que les Allemands sont entrez par petis pelottons dans Mantoue. Et que lorsque le Duc (qu'on dit estre malade) a ordonné de les faire sortir, ils n'ont pas voulu obeir, ce qui fait croire qu'il y a quelque traité secret avec eux. Que le Grand Duc s'est accommodé avec l'Empereur, aussy bien que les Gennois, et qu'ils donnent de l'argent. Que le Duc de Savoye est en mesintelligence avec les Espagnols et les Alemands, parce qu'il vouloit les obliger d'aller à Pignerol pour bombarder, et que ceux-cy veulent s'attacher à Casal. Qu'encore qu'il soit nommé généralissime, les Allemands veulent faire corps apart, et ne reconnoistre que leur général. Que dans les passeports le Duc ordonne à tous ceux qui sont sous son autorité, et prie à l'égard des etrangers.

'Le Roy a donné ordre à Monsieur de Tourville, par tout où il trouveroit la flotte ennemie, de l'attaquer et de la combattre. On dit que leurs vaisseaux ne seront jamais assez tost prests pour empescher les desseins de la nostre, quoy qu'on sache qu'ils y travaillent, nuit et jour, sur tout l'angloise, qui manque de plus de 3,000 matelots, à ce qu'on assure.

'Vous me ferez grand plaisir de me donner des nouvelles pour savoir ce qu'on fait pour détourner l'orage dont on vous menace. On est dans d'extrêmes impatiences là dessus, parce qu'on juge que le Roy est trop habile pour entreprendre rien mal apropos, et le Roy Guillaume trop vigilant pour estre dans une sécurité aussy grande qu'elle paroist. On attend de voir quel party il prendra, y ayant du peril de toutes parts.

'On doit publier aujourd'hui le manifeste du Roy Jaques, qui fait voir ce qui l'a obligé de sortir de son royaume, etc., avec une amnistie générale, dans laquelle il n'y a que 3 ou 4 personnes de réservées.

'Hier on publia un arrest qui prolonge le prix des espèces sur le pied-courant jusqu'au premier juin, apres quoy les louis d'or ne se mettront qu'à 12 livres

5 sous, les écus blancs à 3 livres 5 sous. Et dans le mois suivant, les premiers à 12 livres et les autres à 3 livres 4 sous. Et le reste des especes à la mesme proportion. Ces rabais ont bien fait ouvrir des bourses, et fait connoistre qu'il y avoit encore beaucoup de vieilles especes non converties.'

2½ pp. *French.*

E26. 1692, [April 25/] May 5. 'Les lettres de Brest du 28 portent: Nous sommes prests à mettre à la voile avec un grand nombre de vaisseaux, mais il faut attendre un autre vent, estant ápresent contraire. Celles de Montiviliers en Normandie du premier de ce mois portent: Le retardement de l'escadre, qui nous devoit venir prendre au Havre pour nous escorter jusqu'au rendezvous de l'armée, nous cause de l'ennuy. On n'oseroit sortir du Havre que par une marée, laquelle manquée il faut attendre la suivante. Nous serions partis ou du moins sortis du port aujourd'hui, si nostre escorte étoit arrivée, parce que la pleine lune nous donnoit une marée favorable. Mais comme elle finit demain, et que rien ne paroist, et que mesme on ne pourroit pas embarquer les troupes en 24 heures, il faut de nécessité remettre la chose à la marée prochaine, qui sera depuis le 12 jusqu'au 14e. de ce mois. Nous n'avons osé nous mettre à la rade avant l'arrivée de nostre escorte, les bastiments qui nous portent n'étant que marchands, et sans défense; ainsy nous aurions couru risque d'estre pris à la vue du Havre, sans pouvoir estre secourus.

'J'ay veü avanthier un homme qui s'est sauvé de Londres pour apporter des nouvelles au Roy Jaques, qui dit que tout y est fort tranquille, et que l'on ne parle de rien; que leur flotte n'est pas preste, et qu'il y manque 7,000 matelots. Si cela est, nostre descente sera facile, car on assure qu'il y a fort peu de troupes réglées en Angleterre.

'Le Roy Jaques est toujours à l'Isle Marie proche de Cherbourg. Il a 7 tables entretenues aux dépans du Roy. Ce lieu est une terre du Maréchal de Bellefons, proche de Cherbourg. Monsieur de Choiseul écrit qu'il est arrivé beaucoup de mylords, qui viennent au devant du Roy Jaques, et qui le vont trouver où il est. On parle diversement de leur nombre. Les grands vents retardent tout. On n'a point encore de nouvelles de Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées.

'On assure toujours, mesme des personnes qui ont entrée chez les ministres, que la partie est si bien faite que la révolution sera entière et sans remede. Il y a des gens qui assurent que plusieurs des plus affectionnez en apparence au Roy Guillaume, mesme de ceux qui ont le plus contribué à luy faire donner tout l'argent qu'il a demandé dans ce dernier Parlement, sont du complot; qu'il a esté minuté des l'année passée; et que le projet en fut envoyé de ce temps là à Rome.

‘Nous n’avons pas encore veû la déclaration en forme de manifeste du Roy Jaques, dont il y a pourtant plus de 10,000 exemplaires de tirez. Il y a quelques personnes qui disent l’avoir veue. Un homme de la cour, qui revenoit hier de Versailles, dit confidemment dans un lieu où j’estois, qu’on y disoit tout bas à l’oreille, qu’il y avoit des vaisseaux à Portsmouth, et qu’on doutoit d’une si facile réussite.

‘On est si occupé des affaires d’Angleterre qu’on ne songe point aux autres. Le depart du Roy est toujours au 10^e. de ce mois.

‘Les lettres de Piémont marquent que les ennemis en veulent à Suse, et qu’ils menacent Pignerol de bombardement. Monsieur de Catinat couvre cette place, et Monsieur de Larey l’autre. Le Duc de Mantoue est fort malade. On dit que le jeune Duc de Lorraine aura l’investiture de ses etats, qui luy viennent par droit naturel et par la faveur de l’Empereur, de qui l’investiture en dépend.

‘On est fort en peine icy quel party prendra le Roy Guillaume; quelques gens assurent qu’il est desjà repassé en Angleterre, avec des troupes. On ne croit pas pourtant que le Duc de Bavière souffre qu’il en embarque beaucoup, outre qu’il faut pour cela quantité de bastiments.

‘On dit qu’un capitaine anglois a enlevé une petite barque, dont il a pris le pilote seulement et a renvoyé le reste, et que c’est pour le mener à Londres dire des nouvelles de nostre flotte. Voicy la conjoncture du monde dans laquelle je souhaite le plus avoir de vos nouvelles. Vous en aurez des miennes par tous les courriers.’

3pp. *French*.

E27. 1692, May [2/]12. ‘Fragments d’une lettre écrite de Paris 12^e. may qu’on n’a pû déchiffrer, l’encre blanche n’ayant pas marqué.’ ‘Les lettres de Dieppe du 9 de ce mois marquent que la Reine Douairière d’Angleterre arriva à 4 heures apres midy. Le Roy Jaques envoya un gentilhomme la complimenter ... (manque demie ligne) ... On luy doit faire tous les honneurs qu’on faisoit à la Reine ... (manque 7 lignes et demie) ... avec le Roy Jaques; mais les six mylords qui l’accompagnent ne se mettent à table que lors qu’il leur a ordonné. On fait courir le bruit qu’il y a plus de 60 mylords qui luy ont écrit, mais on n’en dit pas les noms ... (manque 2 lignes) ... Il y a, dit-il, ... jours que le vent s’oppose à l’arrivée de Tourville. Mais ce qui me console, c’est que l’armée navale des ennemis ne sera preste de six semaines.

‘Le Roy a chargé Monsieur le Chancellier de se trouver aux couches de la Reyne d’Angleterre, et d’en dresser un procez verbal ... (manque 2 lignes et demie) ... Je pars pour un grand dessein, dit le Roy, le succez en est incertain.

Tout est en la main de Dieu. Entretenez mes sujets dans l'affection qu'ils ont pour moy, et dans l'obeissance qu'ils me doivent. Il alla disner samedy à Ecouan, et coucher à Chantilly, ou il sejourna hier ... (manque 5 lignes) ... Madame de Maintenon partit seule dans une chaise du Roy, escortée de 4 gardes du corps. Elle avoit mené Mademoiselle Daubigny sa nièce jusques à St. Denis, d'où elle la renvoya à St. Cyr. Dans la suite elle n'a eû que ses femmes avec elle.

'On mande du 9 qu'il est péry vers Dieppe neuf bastiments de charge; et que c'est un bonheur de ce que ... (manque 2 lignes) ... Il en est péry beaucoup davantage, mais on ne le dit pas ... (manque une ligne et demie) ... On écrit des Isles. La nouvelle qu'on avoit apportée à la Martinique n'est pas trop avantageuse. On n'en fait pas de bruit. Il y a des gajures pour et contre ... (manque 2 lignes) ... que le dessein étoit de prendre Ostende. Si la flotte avoit pû venir assez à temps, et avant que les ennemis eussent ... (manque demie ligne) ... Apres cela, il devoit laisser cent mille hommes à Monsieur de Luxembourg pour tenir teste aux ennemis, et envoyer le reste des troupes en Alemagne, pour joindre à celles qui y sont, prendre ou Cologne ou ... (manque deux lignes) ... de Madame de Grammont est arrivé, et assure qu'il ny a pas six à sept mille hommes de troupes réglées en Angleterre, qu'encore que tout soit paisible à Londres. On dit publiquement celui-là est pour Jaques et celui-cy pour Guillaume ... (manque une ligne et demie) ...

'Venant de Piémont, où il dit qu'il estoit commissaire pour le Roy Guillaume ... (manque une ligne) ... de qui il a eû congé, qu'en passant à Genève luy, et 15 ou 16 personnes ... (manque une ligne) ... Monsieur de Pontchartrain leur a fait donner quelque argent ... (manque 2 lignes et demie) ... Il dit que le Roy Guillaume ne refuse point de passeports à tous ceux qui veulent revenir.

'Tout le reste de la lettre, qui contient encore une page, ne se peut lire absolument, n'y ayant que quelques mots marquez par cy par là. On donnera avis à celui qui écrit de prendre garde que ce défaut n'arrive plus cy apres.'

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 9 May.*

E28. 1692, May [13/] 23. Paris. 'On commence à fort mal parler de la descente en Angleterre. Monsieur de Pontchartrain a dit à ses amis que l'affaire étoit échouée; et on n'en a plus bonne opinion, ny à la cour ny à la ville. On n'a point de nouvelles de Monsieur de Tourville, encore moins de Monsieur d'Etrées. Monsieur Villette est bien arrivé à Brest, mais il a esté maltraitté. Son vaisseau, où il avoit mis plus de canon qu'il n'en pouvoit porter, est en méchant état. Il faut le mettre au radoub, et il ne sera prest de

quelque temps. Ainsy on change bien aprésent de langage. On a débarqué les chevaux, et une bonne partie des troupes. Les vaisseaux ennemis ont paru devant Fécamp, et tiennent la Manche. On a le détail de la perte des 2 vaisseaux de Monsieur d'Etrées. Le Chevallier de la Guiche, qui en commandoit un, s'est noyé. Il n'est resté de son vaisseau que cinq matelots, qui se sont sauvez à terre, et le Chevallier de Montgomery, qui a esté tout nud 7 heures dans la mer, est s'est sauvé en suite, moyennant un double louis d'or qui l'a fait secourir. Il demande quelque argent pour estre assisté dans sa prison. Il y a 4 à 500 de l'autre vaisseau sauvez à Ceuta et pris prisonniers.

'Le Roy a fait revue de son armée mardy pres de Mons, où les dames ont esté 2 jours et en suite sont venues voir la revue. On croit qu'elles iront à Valenciennes faire leur sejour. On mande icy que le Roy a dit qu'il ne vouloit point faire de siege, mais qu'il chercheroit par tout les ennemis pour les battre. Cependant à voir les grands préparatifs qui se font, on juge qu'il y aura un siège. Monsieur de Vauban a plus de cent ingénieurs. On a fait provision d'une infinité de bombes, etc. On a commandé 7 à 8,000 pionniers. Tout cela ne peut pas estre pour rien.

'On assure que le Duc de Saxe ne fournit pas ses troupes, et l'on a écrit cydevant que l'Electeur de Brandebourg vouloit garder les siennes.

'Le Roy Jaques a débauché un pilote, qu'on appelle Général, et qui estoit venu avec la Reyne Douairière, qui est àprésent aupres de Pontoise à l'abbaye de Maubuisson. Suivant la manière françoise on commence à dauber le projet, et à dire qu'il a esté fait sur les mémoires du petit Renaud, qui est un ingenieur fort à la mode, surtout pour la marine. On dit que l'on fait encore quelque tentative pour l'affaire de Savoye, et que, quoy qu'il en soit, on ne fera rien en ce pays-là; le dessein n'étant que de se maintenir dans les places qu'on a conquises, sans vouloir s'avancer plus avant dans le pays. On compte toujours que l'armée du Roy est de 40,000 hommes, et celle de Monsieur de Luxembourg de 80,000.

'Voicy un couplet de chanson, sur un pareil air d'une qu'on a faite autrefois contre luy.

Je ne m'etonne nullement
Qu'Atlas porte le firmament,
Comme dit la Metamorphose;
Puisque nous voyons en ce jour
Que toute la France repose
Sur la bosse de Luxembourg.'

2½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 22 May.* (Enclosing another copy of the *chanson*, on a separate sheet, with a note that it was sent from Paris on [9/]19 May 1692.)

E29. 1692, May [20/] 30. Paris. 'Quoy que le vent ait tourné on n'a point encore de nouvelles de Monsieur de Tourville, et ce qui fait le plus de peine, c'est qu'on ne sait où est Monsieur D'Estrées. Les débarquements des troupes destinées pour le Roy Jaques ont esté faits. Parce qu'il a falu chercher des fourages au loin, les chevaux estant travaillez, il a falu les envoyer à 10 lieues en terre. Les habitans s'en trouvent fort incommodez, parce qu'ils ont consumé tous les fourages destinez pour leurs bestiaux. Quelque dessein qu'on marque de se rembarquer, on n'a plus de foy pour la réussite de cette affaire, qu'on tient échouée.

'A l'égard du siège de Namur, on va abismer la place avec les bombes. On dit qu'il s'en tirera 200 par heure. De plus, *Aurum per medios ire satellites*, etc.* Il y a long temps qu'on assure qu'il y a des traittez secretz. Le Gouverneur est dans nos interests, et depuis que le Marquis de Bressé a pris party en France, on a deû s'y attendre.

'Voicy en gros le dénombrement des armées de Flandres.

'L'armée du Roy, qui assiège, est de 40 bataillons et 90 escadrons, ce qui fait 45,500 hommes. Celle de Monsieur de Luxembourg postée à Nivelles pour barrer le secours est de 66 bataillons et 209 escadrons, en tout 84,150 hommes. Celle de Monsieur de Boufflers, 20 bataillons et 50 escadrons qui font 23,500 hommes. Celle de Monsieur de Joyeuse, 12 bataillons et 40 escadrons qui font 15,600 hommes. Et celle de Monsieur de Maulevrier de 16 bataillons et 50 escadrons qui font 20,300 hommes. Ainsy le total monte à 189,050 hommes. Voylà comme on compte, posé que tout soit complet.

'On ne sait quel party prendra le Roy Guillaume. Car, sil veut attaquer Monsieur de Luxembourg, outre qu'il est posté fort avantageusement et qu'il a des tres bonnes troupes, le Roy luy peut envoyer dans un coup de sifflet 20,000 hommes de son armée. Il nous paroist par des circonstances particulières qu'on veut ranger Liège à la raison, et qu'on espère que sans y estre forcée, elle se rangera d'elle mesme de crainte d'estre desolée. De croire que le Roy fasse quelque siège il n'y a pas d'apparence, car Monsieur de Luxembourg le suivroit, ainsy on est aux écoutes là dessus. On vous avoit mandé cy devant que le véritable dessein étoit celui qui se manifeste aujourd'hui.

'Madame de Maintenon est dans un couvent de religieuses à Philippeville, dont la supérieure est soeur d'un commandant de Namur, je ne say si c'est du Prince de Barbançon mais je le croy. Je vous aurois bien envoyé le detail de toute l'armée, escadron par escadron et bataillon par bataillon, mais cela est d'une grande longueur, et je ne doute pas qu'on ne l'ait.

'On a bombardé Oneille, qu'on a réduite en poudre avec facilité, car ce n'est

* 'Gold loves to make its way through the midst of attendants' (Horace, *Odes*, III.16.9–10).

qu'un village. On assure, sur ce sujet, qu'après la mort de Monsieur de Louvois le Roy avoit témoigné dans son Conseil que les brulements luy faisoient de la peine, et que tous ces bombardements n'estoyent point de son goust. Mais un Conseiller d'Estat remontra qu'il estoit de l'honneur du Roy qu'il ne parust pas aux yeux du monde que Monsieur de Louvois eust fait des choses de sa teste, sans les ordres de sa Majesté. Cela fit tourner l'avis du Conseil, et fut cause du bombardement d'Alicante et de Barcelone.

'On prétend toujours qu'il y a quelque accommodement avec l'Electeur de Brandebourg, et qu'il doit retirer ses troupes.

'Il y a icy une relation de l'affaire du Grand Visir qui est du 5e. may, qui confirme sa disgrâce, et non sa mort; qu'ayant fait perir beaucoup des principaux officiers dont il s'estoit approprié les biens, mesme changé le Mufty, et mis un autre en sa place, ce Mufti avoit découvert au Grand Seigneur beaucoup de choses contre luy. En sorte que le Grand Seigneur ayant voulu confronter ce Grand Visir avec luy, il ne put le satisfaire là dessus; il le destitua, et voulut donner sa place à un Bacha. Mais par l'ordre du Visir, on avoit envoyé un courrier pour le faire étrangler; que le Grand Seigneur avoit dépesché en diligence un autre courrier avec un contre ordre. Mais le premier courrier avoit 3 jours d'avance sur 7 jours de marche.

'*Nota* que cette lettre n'a esté receue qu'aujourd'huiy 6e. may [*sic*] Rotterdam, avec la suivante du 2e. juin. Il faut qu'elle ait esté oubliée à la poste de Paris, l'ordinaire précédent.'

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French.*

E30. 1692, [May 23/] June 2. Paris. 'Il arriva avant-hier des lettres du Havre, de Dieppe, et d'autres endroits de la coste de Normandie, dattées du 29e. may, qui toutes portoyent que depuis les 10 heures du matin on entendoit un terrible fracas, et sans discontinuation, de canons; qu'on ne doutoit pas que les flottes ne fussent aux mains, et qu'encore à 4 heures du soir on les entendoit.

'Depuis il est arrivé plusieurs courriers, tous les jours, sans qu'on ait pû rien savoir du détail. Au commencement le bruit couroit que nous avions eû 4 vaisseaux coulez à fond, mais que nous en avions pris 8 aux ennemis, et coulé à fond 10. Depuis, on a remarqué une affectation de ne rien dire; et d'ailleurs plusieurs amis, qui sont persuadez du contraire, jettent de la consternation dans les esprits. Tout le monde est fort en peine là dessus, et tout ce qu'on a pû tirer de ceux qui savent les choses est que Monsieur de Tourville avec 42 vaisseaux en a attaqué 75. C'est à dire qu'il ne faut pas s'étonner si, dans une si grande disproportion, nous n'avons pas eû l'avantage. Cela met la descente d'Angleterre hors de toute possibilité. Il y a apparence qu'on en croyoit le

dessein avorté des auparavant, car on a préparé des etapes vers Rouen pour 12 ou 14,000 hommes, ce qui persuade que c'est pour le retour d'une partie des troupes destinées pour l'embarquement.

'On juge, au bruit du canon, que nos vaisseaux se sont éloignés des costes de Normandie; cependant il y avoit un vent favorable pour nous, car il étoit à l'ouest jeudy, jour du combat.

'La ville de Dieppe en a esté ébranlée, et les vitres fort endommagées. Il y a aussi quelques jours qu'on tira force canonnades sur le Havre. Les habitants furent étonnés de quelques boulets qui vinrent tomber dans les rues. Nous attendons avec impatience le détail.

'Pour ce qui est du siège de Namur, Monsieur de Vauban, qui en a fait le tour, et examiné les fortifications avec le Marquis de Bressé, qui les connoist bien, puis qu'il en étoit le conducteur, assure que la place n'est pas si forte qu'il le croyoit, et que dans peu il en rendra le Roy maistre. On dit mesme qu'il a demandé à sa Majesté qu'on ne bombardast point la ville. Parmy les dames qui en sont sorties, il y avoit 10 chanoinesses, à qui le Roy a permis de se retirer où bon leur sembleroit.

'Il y a longtemps que vos gazettes ont marqué qu'on savoit en vos quartiers que Monsieur de Bressé estoit gagné. On admire icy comment on se laisse gagner; et là dessus on cite force exemples frequens. Les François sont plus fidèles que cela, et, quand ils ne le seroyent pas, on y met de bons ordres.

'Charleroy est aussi investy. On ne prétend pas qu'il puisse tenir, apres la prise de Namur. Les dames sont allées de Philippeville à Dinan. On dit que tout est d'une grande cherté à l'armée. Le Roy (*Nota.* Il manque en cet endroit une ligne et demie de la lettre qu'on n'a pû lire, et en suite est écrit) ... Il dit franchement qu'il estoit officier et vouloit entrer dans la place. Le Roy luy demanda s'il avoit passé au travers de son armée, il répondit qu'ouy, s'il avoit de l'argent, il répondit qu'ouy. Le Roy luy dit, Si vous n'en avez pas, je vous en ferois donner. Mais je vous donne la liberté de vous en retourner; et vous pouvez dire au Prince d'Orange, vostre maistre, que lors que j'auray pris Namur, je l'iray chercher, pour le combattre.

'On tient icy le Roy Guillaume bien embarrassé, et on ne sait quel party il peut prendre. On disoit qu'il vouloit marcher du costé de Huy. Mais il ne le peut, sans s'exposer à Monsieur de Luxembourg. Le bruit court icy que l'affaire de l'electorat est assurée pour la maison de Brunzuik, au moins quant à l'Empereur.

'À l'égard du Piémont, les nouvelles du 23 portent, suivant les lettres de Pignerol, que le régiment des gardes de Savoye est arrivé à Morette, et celui de Bavière à Montcalier, que les retranchements de Ste. Brigide et la bonne disposition de Monsieur Catinat servoyent de nouvelle pretexte aux

Espagnols pour porter Monsieur de Savoye au siège de Cazal, n'y ayant nulle apparence de s'attacher à Pignerol. Les magasins se font à Moncallier; qu'il n'étoit arrivé que 12 Alemands de recrue, et qu'il ne faloit point s'attendre aux 10,000 hommes d'infanterie qu'on avoit promis à Vienne, quainsy on ne croyoit pas qu'ils fussent en état de faire un siège. Le Duc de Savoye a retardé l'entrée de la cavallerie allemande en Piémont, sous pretexte de conserver les bleds à ses sujets. Cela augmente la défiance du Marquis de Léganez et de Palfy de quelque accommodement avec la France. Au premier juin Monsieur Catinat doit avoir reçu toutes ses troupes.

'Il y a des nouvelles de Pologne qui portent que le nouveau Visir fait expédier de nouveaux passeports pour travailler à la paix, que le Cam des Tartares ne peut pas quitter son pays à cause des Moscovites, dont il craint l'invasion.

'On remarque que la mer ne nous a pas esté favorable dans ce commencement de campagne. Vents contraires, flottes séparées, pertes de vaisseaux, dommages d'autres, et cette dernière affaire supposé qu'elle soit desavantageuse, comme on la soubçonne.

'On ne se moque donc plus en Angleterre du dessein de la descente. On voit bien qu'il y avoit de la réalité. On ne le vouloit pas croire.

'Nos affaires ne vont pas mieux à Rome qu'à l'ordinaire. On y est scandalisé de ce que nous avons refusé Cavalleriny pour nonce en ce pays-cy.'

3½ pp. *French. Endorsed as received 31 May.*

E31. 1692, June [3/]13. Paris. 'Les dernières nouvelles de la mer portent que Monsieur Gabaret est arrivé à Brest, et 22 vaisseaux à St. Malo, où jamais on n'en avoit veû de si gros, et dont on aura de la peine à les faire sortir. La perte, à la verité, est fort grande, et tous les jours on en apprend des particularitez.

'Les ennemis étoient devant St. Malo, mais on a pourveû à la seureté des vaisseaux. On ne croit pas qu'ils nous puissent faire grand mal. Il y a des lettres de la Hogue, qui marquent que les ennemis ont témoigné beaucoup de bravoure, en venant avec des chaloupes bruler nos 12 vaisseaux, et essayant le feu du canon et de la mousquetterie, dont plusieurs de leurs chaloupes ont esté coulées à fond. Proprement toute la perte consiste en ces 12 vaisseaux, et aux 3 bruslez à Cherbourg, parmy lesquels étoit le *Soleil Royal* amiral, dont presque tout l'équipage a esté perdu. Les ennemis nous ont bruslé aussy 18 ou 20 vaisseaux de charge, et 4 ou 5 frégates. On croit que Monsieur de Némond est allé faire le tour par derrière l'Ecosse. Le Roy Jaques doit estre demain à St. Germain. On a fait courir une lettre manuscrite de luy à nostre Roy, par laquelle il prie sa Majesté de n'incommoder plus ses affaires pour la protection d'un malheureux. Mais on doute qu'elle soit veritable.

‘Il y a eû effectivement de la rumeur au Havre, où le menu peuple a fort crié contre les nouveaux convertis. Monsieur de Louvigny voulut avec le Gouverneur les apaiser. Mais les femmes des matelots, ou morts ou blessés, ont fait rage, et ont crié contre Monsieur de Louvigny, disant que luy mesme étoit un nouveau Catholique, etc. Sur quoy il fut obligé de se retirer et on envoya des gardes chez luy, pour sa seureté. On accuse aussy les nouveaux convertis de Rouen de s’estre réjouys de l’affaire de la mer. On disoit mesme hier qu’il s’étoit fait icy des débauches dans la rue St. Denis sur le mesme sujet, et qu’on avoit entendu des voix qui crioyent tout hautement que nous avions perdu la bataille en Flandres. Il faut que cela parte d’esprits malins et mal intentionnez qui supposent de pareils faits, pour exciter des séditions et profiter du desordre. C’est pourquoy en ces temps-cy on ne sauroit estre trop sage, ny trop retenu. Et si effectivement on venoit à avoir du desavantage sur terre, on ne sait ce qui pourroit arriver. Je vous puis assurer qu’il y a beaucoup de frondeurs qui exagèrent nos pertes et diminuent nos avantages, et ce sont plus d’anciens Catholiques que de nouveaux. Cela étonne fort beaucoup de gens.

‘On espère cet année une bonne recolte de bledz et de vins, ce qui console un peu les provinces, qui n’ont pas besoin de nouveau mal. Il y a eû à Marseille quelque desordre àcause d’une imposition de quelques droits sur les mariages, les curez ayant refusé de marier sans rapporter des consentements.

‘Nos dernières lettres de Namur sont du 10. Nous avons perdu du monde à l’attaque d’une hauteur vis à vis le chateau. 24 ou 25 officiers y sont morts ou bien blessez. Cela nous coute 3 ou 400 hommes. On a de la peine à y avancer les travaux, parce qu’on trouve le roc. On a commencé à bombarder, mais les bombes qui y tombent rebondissent de dessus le roc et retombent dans la ville qu’elles incommode. Toute l’application est à présent tournée du costé du combat.

‘Le Roy, sur l’avis de Monsieur de Luxembourg que le Prince d’Orange vouloit passer le ruisseau, luy a ordonné de ne s’y point opposer, au contraire. Ainsy il s’est retiré d’un demy quart de lieue, et s’est posté avantageusement sur des hauteurs. Le Roy luy a envoyé 10 bataillons de renfort de son armée, outre toute sa maison, qui avoit desja passé. En sorte que le Roy ne s’est retenu que 400 gardes du corps et les mousquetaires. Toute la gendarmerie est à l’aisle droite de son armée. Ce sont des troupes qu’on prétend invincibles. Le Roy donna 50 pistoles à chacun de ces 10 bataillons pour arriver à temps à l’armée de Monsieur de Luxembourg parce qu’on croyoit que l’action se passeroit le 10. On compte aprésent que son armée est forte de 97,000 hommes. Celle du Roy Guillaume a plus d’infanterie, car on dit qu’il y a 117 bataillons, mais qu’il n’y a que 22,000 chevaux, et nous en avons 40,000. Et, en fait de bataille, c’est la cavallerie qui l’emporte. Monsieur le

Duc de Valentinois s'est cassé le bras par accident en déchargeant un de ses pistoletz. Le Roy a nommé Lanjamet et Lassay, 2 de ses aydes de camp, pour luy porter les nouvelles de ce qui se passera à tous moments. Madame ne dort point, et est dans une inquiétude mortelle pour Monsieur de Chartres. Elle dit hautement qu'elle aimeroit mieux dix batailles perdues que la perte d'un des doigts de la main de son filz. Ce qui fait trembler tout le monde, c'est de voir tous les princes du sang exposez, et toute la fine fleur de la noblesse de France.

'D'autre costé, le Roy Guillaume, si la bataille se donne, sera bien cherché. Il est tres certain que ceux qui tuèrent le Mareschal de Schomberg en Irlande visoyent à luy, c'est à dire que leur dessein étoit contre le Roy Guillaume, car on le regarde toujours comme le noued gordien de la guerre.

'On croit que la paix du Turc se fera. On dit que Vétéranî a esté tué dans l'affaire de Hongrie. On compte que les bombes tueront tous les jours aux ennemis plus de 500 hommes dans le chateau de Namur, et que s'ilz y ont de l'eau, ils en sont obligez à la pluye, qu'il a fait depuis quelques jours.

'Le Duc de Savoye marche. Il semble qu'il ait quelque dessein de faire passer des troupes dans le Dauphiné, dans l'espérance d'y estre joint par les François. Monsieur le Chevallier de Feuquières, capitaine de vaisseau, est mort chez Monsieur de Louvigny au Havre, d'une jambe qu'il avoit eü emportée au combat naval.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 11 June.*

E32. 1692, June [6/] 16. Paris. 'Monsieur de Villette est arrivé à Brest depuis 3 ou 4 jours. Monsieur de Tourville doit arriver incessamment. Le Roy Jaques ne l'est pas encore, on croyoit qu'il seroit icy hier.

'C'est Monsieur Chamillard qui porta au Roy les méchantes nouvelles de la mer. En arrivant, le Roy luy demanda, avant que de voir les lettres, combien ay-je perdu de vaisseaux. Il répondit 15, de quoy le Roy étonné dit, Comment 15? On m'avoit dit qu'il n'y en avoit que 5!

'Voicy la liste, et les noms de ces vaisseaux:

Le Soleil Royal amiral, commandé par Monsieur de Tourville.

L'Admirable, par Monsieur de Baujeu.

Le Triomphant, par Monsieur de Machaut. Ces 3 là avec une bonne partie de leur equipage, qu'on y avoit fait échouer à Cherbourg, y ont esté brulez.

Les 12 autres brulez à la Hogue sont:

<i>L'Ambitieux</i> , commandé par Monsieur de Villette	} lieutenans généraux.
<i>Le Merveilleux</i> , par Monsieur d'Anfreville	

Le Foudroyant, par Monsieur Derlingue, chef d'escadre.

Le St. Philippe, par Monsieur d'Infreville de St. Aubin.

Le Magnifique, par Monsieur de Coetlogon, chef d'escadre.

Le Tonnant, par Monsieur de Septême.

Le Fier, par Larteloin.

Le Terrible, par Seppeville.

Le Gaillard, par le Chevalier d'Anfreville.

Le Fort, par Monsieur de la Rongère.

Le St. Louis, par la Roqueperrin.

Le Bourbon, par Monsieur de Périnet.

Et *le Mercure*, brulot, par le Sieur Brulet.

'Voilà les 15. Je vous ay mandé les 2 perdus sur la Méditerranée, *l'Assuré* et *le Sage*.

'Les vaisseaux qui se sont retirez à Brest sont:

L'Orgueilleux, de Gabaret

Le Prince, de Bagneux

L'Illustre, de Combes

Le Souverain, de Langeron

} Ces 4 sont arrivez
le 6me. de juin.

'Et le 9e. ceux cy apres:

Le Monarque, de Monsieur de Nemond, qui n'a point passé par le nord d'Ecosse comme on croyoit.

L'Aimable, de St. Realz.

'*Nota*, il y en a 2 de l'escadre de Monsieur de Némond restez au Havre fort endommagez, savoir: *Le Diamant*, du Chevalier Feuquières, mort au Havre, et *l'Entendu*, de Ricous.

'Il y a outre cela les 21 qui sont à St. Malo, savoir: *Le Grand*, 82; *la Couronne*, 68; *le Conquerant*, 76; *le St. Esprit*, 76; *le Glorieux*, 60; *le Brillant*, 60; *l'Excellent*, 60; *le Courtisan*, 64; *le Serieux*, 60; *le Courageux*, 58; *le Laurier*, 66; *la Sireine*, 60; *le Henry*, 60; *le Sanspareil*, 60; *le Modéré*, 52; *la Perle*, 52; *le Content*, 68; *le Fleuron*, 54; *le More*, 52; *le Brave*, 60; *le St. Michel*, 58; 3 brulotz et 4 vaisseaux de charge. [The numbers of guns given in this paragraph were inserted later, apparently by Nottingham.]

'On prétend que ces 21 vaisseaux et ceux de Brest, estant joint avec les autres, de Messieurs d'Etrées, de Chateaurenaud, et de la Porte, avec quelques armateurs, pourront refaire une flotte de 70 vaisseaux qui pourront se mettre en mer à la fin de juillet, ou en aoust, et que pour l'année prochaine on en construira 15 nouveaux de cent pieces de canon chacun. Comme on voit l'importance d'avoir un port dans la Manche, on travaillera au dessein de la Hogue, où l'on pourra mettre en seureté plus de vaisseaux qu'on n'en pourra jamais mettre à la mer. *Nota*, que ces 15 vaisseaux brulez sont justement les

plus gros de l'armée. On pretend repescher les canons de l'amiral, et des 2 autres brulez a Cherbourg. On compte environ 4,000 hommes morts, matelots ou soldats.

'Il y a des gens qui disent qu'on reconnoist à la cour que l'entreprise d'Angleterre estoit un panneau que le Roy Guillaume nous avoit tendu. On s'attend qu'il y aura quelques testes coupées à Londres. On dit qu'on a arrêté Mylord Sarsfields, peut estre acause qu'il vouloit prendre le party de s'en aller.

'On a fait de nouvelles chansons contre le Roy Jaques, où l'on dit qu'il ne valoit pas le port. La Reine sa femme n'accouche point. Monsieur le Chancelier est toujours de pied ferme à St. Germain pour attendre son accouchement parce qu'elle a dit qu'elle étoit accoutumée d'accoucher *à l'improviso*. On luy avoit destiné Clément pour l'accoucher, mais elle a dit qu'elle n'en avoit pas besoin, et que ses femmes luy suffisoient.

'Pour nouvelles de l'armée de terre, on espere que le Roy sera icy de retour dans la fin de ce mois, et qu'il partira aussy tost que le chateau de Namur sera pris. Le 13e. au matin on a remporté une redoute. Le Roy, qui a toujours eû la goutte, se fit porter en chaise pour voir cette action, qui a esté vigoureuse de la part de nos gens, les mousquetaires ayant marché fièrement à cette attaque, au son des hautbois. Les ennemis, qui avoyent 8 bataillons pour la défendre, n'ont pas fait grande résistance. Apres avoir fait une décharge ils se sont retirez. Nous y avons perdu peu de monde.

'Les lettres du 12 portoyent que la place pourroit tenir encore 12 jours. La crainte qu'on avoit d'une bataille s'est évanouyé quand on a veu que Roy Guillaume avoit fait retirer les bataillons qui avoyent passé la Mehaigne. On dit que le débordement de ce ruisseau a rompu la plus part des ponts qui avoyent esté mis dessus pour passer ses troupes, et l'on croit que c'est tant mieux pour luy, à cause de l'avantage que nous avons en cavallerie au double de la sienne. Nostre armée est toujours incommodée de la cherté des vivres, et de la rareté des fourrages, quoy qu'on y en ait fait passer.

'On a nouvelles que Monsieur de Sourdis est entré dans la Navarre, où il a fait une course et pris un petit postes [*sic*] sur les frontieres d'Arragon, qui s'appelle, ce me semble, Monte-Leoné.

'Nous apprenons par une lettre de Pignerol du 6 de ce mois qu'il est arrivé un grand accident à Turin, qui déconcerte les desseins de Duc de Savoye. Voicy ce qu'elle porte.

'Un ouvrier faiseur de carcasses ayant voulu en ouvrir une avanthier dans l'arcenal, en frappant dessus avec son marteau, le feu s'y mit, et de celle là à une autre, en suite aux bombes chargées et aux grenades, aux méches et à la poudre. Enfin tout est sauté en l'air. Les affuts et charrettes ont esté brulées. 18,000 mousquetz ont crevé. Le Duc de Savoye fut contraint de venir en

personne, pour remedier au feu, qui étoit si violent qu'on fut l'espace de 4 heures sans pouvoir travailler à l'appaier. Les maisons voisines ont beaucoup souffert, et des poutres ont sauté de l'arcenal qui est au coin d'un des bastions de la citadelle, jusqu'au delà des Cordeliers, qui sont à un autre bout de la ville'.

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 15 June.* (A summary of this letter was copied into Nottingham's naval entry book and is printed above, *Finch IV*, pp. 237–8.)

E33. 1692, June [10/] 20. Paris. 'Le Roy Jaques est si décredité qu'on ne peut pas l'estre davantage. Chacun luy donne a dos et dit qu'il nous porte malheur. Il n'est pas encore arrivé, on croit qu'il va passer à la Trappe. Monsieur Vilette a dit à qui a voulu l'entendre, qu'il avoit fait faire compliment à Mylord Russel sur sa bravoure, dont il le félicitoit. On ajoûte qu'avec des lunettes d'approche il reconnut qu'un des officiers qui étoient entrez à la Hogue pour bruler nos vaisseaux avoit esté son page, et qu'il le monroit à tous ceux qui étoient avec luy, disant, Voyez qu'il est brave! et comme il fait bien.

'Monsieur de Tourville est à St. Malo pour mettre les vaisseaux en état d'en sortir et en suite aller à Brest, joindre les autres. On a avis de Piémont que le Duc de Savoye marche à Pignerol, avec 35,000 hommes, dans le dessein de le bombarder. Le desordre de l'arsenal de Turin est bien moindre qu'on n'avoit dit; on assure aprésent que le dommage est tres petit. On croit que le principal dessein de ce duc est de chercher les moyens d'entrer en Dauphiné où il voudroit bien mettre le pied. Monsieur Catinat a bien moins de troupes. Mais il les a posées d'une manière à rompre ses desseins, une partie sur les montagnes et l'autre entre Suse et Pignerol.

'On est fort allarmé icy de la longueur du siège du chateau de Namur. On avoit fait son compte que la place entière, ville et chateau, ne tiendroyent pas plus de 17 ou 18 jours; et àprésent on croit que cela ira vers la fin du mois. Ce qui fait beaucoup de peine est le manque de fourrages dans l'armée de Monsieur de Luxembourg, où les chevaux ne subsistent que de l'avoine que le Roy y envoie tous les jours. Et comme les charroys ne peuvent marcher, il faut que les gardes du corps et autres portent des sacs en trousse derrière leurs chevaux. Les vivres y sont aussy toujours fort chers. Quoy qu'on ne doute pas de la prise de la place, on voudroit n'estre point engagé dans cette entreprise. C'est une chose toujours étonnante de voir combien les succez qui ne répondent pas à nos souhaits nous étonnent. Outre l'humeur des Francois cela vient de ce que jusqu'àprésent tout a accoutumé de nous réussir facilement. Vous diriez qu'on croit que la fortune nous tourne le dos; et chacun murmure de ce que le commencement de la campagne ne nous est

pas heureux. Cela fait regarder les nouveaux Catholiques de travers. On les observe. On dit qu'on a arrêté au Havre un marchand qui donnoit des avis aux ennemis. On prétend qu'il est convaincu d'avoir envoyé de petits bastiments pour faire savoir le nombre de nos vaisseaux en mer. Enfin on dit que c'est un homme perdu. On juge que s'il nous arrivoit quelque malheur, les nouveaux Catholiques ne seroyent pas en seureté. C'est pourquoy il y a danger mesme d'écrire, quelque innocens que soyent les commerces. Il faut avoir sur cela une grande précaution.

'On écrit de Montauban qu'outre la taille ordinaire, il y a une taille particulière sur les nouveaux convertis, qui absorbe tout leur bien. Quand on crie à l'Intendant là dessus, il dit que ce sont les ordres de la cour. Il avoit mesme écrit contre cela, mais il n'a rien operé.

'Le Roy, sur l'avis du détachement commandé par Monsieur de Serclas, fut 8 heures à cheval, pour visiter le poste de Monsieur de Boufflers et luy faire passer des escadrons, ce qui obligea l'autre de s'en retourner. La fatigue qu'il prend et le bruit des blessures que reçurent aupres de sa personne 3 seigneurs qui étoient derrière sa chaise, le jour de l'attaque de la redoutte, où il vouloit voir ce qui se passa, a étonné tout le monde qui dit qu'il s'expose trop.

'Il est certain sur le fait des propheties, qu'on nous avoit prédit la mort de Monsieur de Louvois 2 ans auparavant qu'elle arrivast. Et les mesmes nous ont dit que Madame de Maintenon ne passeroit pas l'année prochaine. C'est un grand crime à la cour aux gens qui se meslent de cet art, quoy qu'on en soit fort curieux.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 17 June.*

E34. 1692, June [13/] 23. Paris. 'Le Roy Jaques, apres avoir passé à la Trappe, arriva hier à St. Germain, où, selon toute apparence, l'entrevue de la Reyne sa femme a esté fort triste. Chacun dit qu'il devrait demeurer à la Trappe, puisqu'il s'y trouve si bien, et qu'il ne vaut pas toute la peine qu'on se donne pour ses intérêts, et les depences que le Roy a faittes pour luy. Il ne se soucie pas trop de regner, pourveu qu'il soit avec les Révérends Pères Jesuites tout luy est indifférent. Au reste, on est étonné de ce que la Reine sa femme n'accouche point; cela fait beacoup parler. Des dames ont dit qu'il faloit marier cet enfant avec le Prince de Gales, présupposant égalité de sort. On luy a fort bien insinué que pour desabuser les incrédules, il faloit que ses couches fussent fort publiques.

'On se défait de toutes les provisions de l'embarquement en Normandie. La plus part des Anglois songent à s'en retourner chez eux, et quitter le Roy Jaques. À l'égard des troupes, une partie va en Roussillon et l'autre en

Poitou. Monsieur le Mareschal d'Estrées y est allé commander, et le Mareschal de Bellefons demeure sur les costes de Normandie.

'On est fort en peine des 21 vaisseaux qui sont à St. Malo dans la difficulté d'en sortir, et que les ennemis ne les en empeschent. On dit aussy qu'il y a des vaisseaux devant le Havre, qui embarrassent fort les nostres, et mesme les habitans, qui ne sont pas accoutumez à de pareilles visites.

'Les officiers de la Marine, suivant leur ancienne coutume, sont fort divisez; et, quoyque braves gens en particulier, ils sont fort envieux les uns des autres. On dit que Monsieur de Tourville, parce qu'on luy reprochoit trop de prudence, s'est exposé, comme il a fait, et que les autres luy ont laissé essayer le feu des ennemis. Le filz de Monsieur Gobert, architecte du Roy et ingenieur, a essayé une machine devant Monsieur de Pontchartrain, par laquelle on pourra, quand un canon aura tiré, le charger en dedans du vaisseau, sans exposer les canonniers en dehors.

'Le officiers du Roy, qui doivent servir le quartier de juillet, partent pour aller entrer en exercise à l'armée. Ce qui fait croire que le Roy ne reviendra pas si tost qu'on pensoit. Cependant la longueur du siège ennuye fort, sur tout, les dames qui sont à Dinan; et l'on ne croit pas emporter le chasteau avant la fin du mois. Hier on devoit faire la grande attaque de l'ouvrage à corne, qui est de grande conséquence. Nous avons perdu 23 ou 24 ingenieurs, parmy lesquels est un nommé Clement, un second Vauban, et qui auroit esté capable de luy succeder. Item un nommé Franlieu, aussy fort habile. Les ennemis ont fait divers signaux, qui font encore croire qu'ils sont fort pressez. On a pris un convoy de 4 à 500 charettes, mais on assure qu'il n'y a eû que 32 de perdues.

'L'armée de Monsieur de Luxembourg souffre toujours de la disette des vivres et des fourages. Il n'y a que l'avoine qui soutienne les chevaux, encore faut-il la porter sac à sac, derrière les chevaux. Tout le monde dit que nous jouons trop gros jeu, et qu'encore que nous soyons les plus forts, nous risquons trop. Cela fait de la peine à tous ceux qui s'y intéressent.

'Les nouvelles du Piémont du 13 et du 14 sont que les Alemands sont sortis de leurs quartiers pour s'aprocher de Pignerol. Les femmes sortent de cette place de peur des bombes, et les hommes y demeurent pour garder leurs maisons. On dit publiquement en ce pays-là, non seulement qu'ils veulent bombarder, mais assiéger.

'Le Duc de la Ferté a écrit que le Duc de Savoye avoit 28,000 hommes de pied et 14,000 chevaux. On ne le croit pas icy, mais bien qu'il a en tout 35,000 hommes. Le 13e. au matin on sonnoit l'allarme dans la place. Les ennemis estoyent à Nana, et à la Tour de Panté. On entendoit leurs tymbales. On avoit publié l'ordre aux bourgeois de se precautionner contre les bombes, et donné permission de sortir de la place à tous ceux qui le voudroyent. Le 14 on les voyoit tous à 3 quarts de lieue.

'Monsieur Catinat se tient toujours sur la défensive, ayant occupé les hauteurs, et disposé les troupes, qui consistent la plus part en infanterie, entre Suze et Pignerol. On craint toujours que les ennemis ne cherchent quelque passage pour entrer en Dauphiné. Les gens de ce pays-cy craignent que si cela étoit, il n'y eust de nouveaux convertis qui se joignissent à eux. À l'égard de la descente dont on nous menace, on a peine à croire qu'elle puisse réussir. On commence à reparler de l'amortissement de la paulette, et par consequent de la vaisselle d'argent.

'J'ay veû icy un petit livre qui contient l'histoire de la maison du Prince d'Orange, à commencer par Guillaume Premier. Mais je ne l'ay pas veû assez long temps pour le lire. Je ne say qui en est l'auteur. Ce sujet devroit estre traité par une plume habile, car la matière est ample. Je ne doute pas qu'il n'y en ait qui ramassent les matériaux pour donner quelque jour les evenemens extraordinaires de nostre temps. Jamais homme n'a tant fait parler de luy. On le regarde comme le premier mobile de tout ce qui se passe en Europe.

'On dit que les ennemis ont pris le carrosse de Monsieur de Lauzun, qu'il envoyoit à Phillippeville pour epargner la dépense des chevaux. Ce sont *fructus belli*, mais des moins considérables.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 21 June.*

E35. 1692, June [17/] 27. Paris. 'Il est certain que nous n'avons perdu que 15 grands vaisseaux. On ne compte pas quelques fregates et vaisseaux de charge. Pour ce qui est des officiers, il n'y a de marque que Rémondy Major, le Chevalier de Feuquières, Capitaine Léry capitaine en second, et point d'officiers généraux. Monsieur de Tourville n'est pas encore arrivé parce qu'il est allé visiter les vaisseaux à St. Malo, et à Brest. On a esté fort surpris des 21 retirez à St. Malo, où lon n'en avoit jamais veû de cette force, mais on a reconnu que ce port en étoit capable, ce qui a fait dire qu'on avoit perdu des vaisseaux mais qu'on avoit recouvré un port. Quoy que l'abord en soit difficile, on ne laissera pas de s'en servir par l'adresse des pilotes du pays, qui en connoissent la carte. Les Malouins offrent de donner quantité de frégattes, mais on ne compte que sur les gros vaisseaux. Ils sont au desespoir de ce qu'on veut faire servir leur port pour la guerre, qui ne servoit que pour les marchands.

'On se prépare à faire beaucoup de nouveaux vaisseaux l'année prochaine de 80 à 100 pièces de canon. Monsieur de Pontchartrain doit faire de grands fonds pour cela, et des le mois prochain on compte sur 70, posé le cas qu'on puisse retirer ceux qui sont à St. Malo.

'À l'égard de la descente, on ne croit pas qu'elle puisse avoir grand succez, et

on regarde cela plustost comme une menace que comme un dessein effectif. Car que serviroit de bruler et de piller quelques villages, si on ne peut pas subsister? Outre qu'on a des troupes en Guyenne, et en Normandie, pour s'opposer aux entreprises.

'Vous devez savoir aprésent comment le nouvel ouvrage de Namur a esté pris, sans grande résistance des ennemis, du 22 au 23 de ce mois. On dit que nous n'avons pas perdu 50 hommes, 4 capitaines, quelques lieutenants et le reste soldatz. On s'attendoit à une plus grande résistance. Il y a eû, dit on, plus de 300 hommes des ennemis tuez ou blessez. Par la capitulation il en est sorty 1,160 qui ont permission de se retirer à Gand, par un grand détour de plusieurs villes, en sorte qu'ils n'arriveront là de quelque temps.

'On ne doute pas présentement que le chateau ne se rende dans la fin du mois. Le Roy a détaché Monsieur de Bouflers avec 6,000 chevaux pour aller au devant d'un grand convoy, qui vient par Philippeville. Quoy que le défaut de fourrages et le mauvais temps ayent fatigué les troupes, elles ne laissent pas d'estre de bonne volonté. On a cru, par les mouvements que le Roy Guillaume faisoit, qu'il avoit dessein de passer la Sambre; on ne peut pas l'empescher par Charleroy. Mais on a fait un grand détachement pour sopposer à son passage, s'il le vouloit faire plus proche du Roy. Mais quand il auroit passé, comment y faire subsister son armée, puisque nous avons bien de la peine à y faire subsister la nostre?

'On compte toujours que Monsieur de Luxembourg a 82 bataillons fort complets, et 266 escadrons, avec 20 pièces de canon par brigade. Le Roy a fait augmenter un sol de paye à toute l'infanterie pour leur donner courage. Il a beaucoup de deserteurs de l'armée du Roy Guillaume, tous grands hommes et bien-faits. Monsieur de Montal, ayant représenté à Monsieur de Luxembourg qu'il y avoit trop d'infanterie dans le centre de la premiere ligne, sans cavallerie, il y a eû plusieurs escadrons de cavallerie et de dragons, qui ont eû ordre de faire une petite ligne à distance derrière, entre 2 lignes, pour les soutenir, en cas qu'ils fussent poussez par la cavallerie ennemie.

'Le Roy a fait un nouveau réglement en cas de combat. Les bataillons seront environnez de toutes pars de piquiers, et d'officiers. Le colonel seul sera un pied hors des bataillons avec les grenadiers, à qui il commandera de tirer aux officiers ennemis, et de les choisir. Tous les officiers seront avec quelques grenadiers dans les premiers et derniers rangs, avec des espontons, en sorte que les piques et espontons fraizeront les bataillons contre la cavallerie, si le cas arrive, de tous costez. On dit que cette disposition est invincible, parce que les bataillons seront hérissés de toutes parts. L'aisle droite de l'armée de Monsieur de Luxembourg touche à l'armée du Roy, en sorte qu'on peut se servir de ses troupes pour relayer celles du siège.

'On croit qu'apres la prise de la place, on mettra les troupes en quartier de

rafraichissement. On ne compte point sur une bataille qu'on est persuadé que le Roy Guillaume ne hazardera pas. Il est vray que les fourrages ont fort manqué à la cavallerie, qui n'auroit pas subsisté sans la distribution extraordinaire de l'avoine. Les vivres aussy sont fort chers.

'Il est certain que les ennemis en Piémont sont forts. On dit qu'ils ont 40,000 hommes. Mais la question est de pouvoir subsister. Car cela ne peut estre que par le Milanois, qui ne peut pas fournir des provisions pour fort longtemps. Ainsy on ne croit pas qu'il[s] s'attachent à Pignerol, mais bien à Suse. La difficulté des vivres fait aussy qu'on ne croit pas qu'ils se hazardent aisément d'entrer en France, c'est à dire en Dauphiné ou en Provence. Ils attendent Caprara pour se déterminer sur leurs entreprises.

'On dit icy que la prise du Grand Waradin portera les Turcs à faire la paix, et qu'il y a toujours quelque desordre à Constantinople.

'La Reine d'Angleterre n'accouche point. Cela commence à étonner, et à faire parler beaucoup de monde. Elle fait des pierres assez souvent et y est sujette. Le compliment que luy fit le Roy Jaques à son arrivée a fait rire plustost que pleurer. Il dit qu'il étoit bien-aise d'estre arrivé avant ses couches. Les dames s'ennuyent toujours fort à Dinan. Madame de Maintenon a plus de crédit que jamais.

'On craint cet hyver quantité de nouveaux moyens pour avoir de l'argent, dont on a besoin pour les dépenses extraordinaires. Le conseil se tient icy chez Monsieur de Bauvillier, quoy qu'absent. Son fauteuil préside en qualité de chef du conseil. Monsieur de Portchartrain en est un peu mortifié.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed as received 25 June.*

E36. 1692, [June 24/] July 4. Paris. 'Jamais surprise n'a esté si grande que la nostre, ny plus universelle, que lors que la nouvelle de la prise du chateau de Namur arriva lundy. Le Roy étoit fort las, les troupes fatiguées, les dames dans un plus grand ennuy, les ministres tristes, et généralement tout le monde murmuroit de cette entreprise. Mais lors qu'on s'attendoit à quelque grande action, et que l'on comptoit sur une résistance de 15 jours, tout d'un coup on vient annoncer la prise, qui s'est faite d'une maniere extraordinaire. Il y a 3 sortes de gens: les uns (qui comprennent le grand nombre) en sont dans une joye excessive. Les autres, qui sont les mécontents, en sont fachez. Et les derniers en sont indignez. Quelle comparaison, disent ils, entre cette deffense et celle du Grand Varadin par les Turcs! On y a veü un Bacha sur la brèche, tout couvert du sang de ses blessures, soutenir des assautz, l'épée à la main, tandisque Monsieur de Barbançon se cache dans les caves de son donjon, et fait battre la chamade, dans le temps qu'on a encore plusieurs ouvrages à prendre, tous taillez dans le roc. Jamais le Roy n'accorda

capitulation plus agréable, ny avec tant de facilité. Un grenadier seul monta la nuit du 29 au 30 sur une petite brèche, et ne trouva qu'une sentinelle, qui prit la fuite. Les grenadiers, qui étoient de garde, ne furent pas plustost grimpez que la chamade batit, sur les 5 heures, tout ayant pris la fuite. Nous n'y avons perdu que fort peu d'officiers. Le Roy est party de jeudy, sans entrer dans la ville ny dans le chateau. Il vient à cheval jusqu'à Rocroy, et delà en carrosse à Versailles, où il arrivera jeudy prochain. Il a donné 40,000 écus à M. de Vauban, qui est le veritable preneur de places. On croit que l'on donnera quelque repos et quartier de raffraichissement aux troupes. Et comme nous portons toujours loin les suites de nos projetz, on se persuade que cela déconcertera toute la Ligue [et] empeschera les Turcs de faire la paix, qu'avec tout cela nous souhaittons plus que chose du monde.

'Si nos affaires sur mer alloient aussy bien que sur terre, nous nous croirions maitres de l'Europe. On mande de St. Malo que Monsieur de Tourville en partoit pour venir icy, lors qu'il a receû un courrier pour y rester et tascher d'en faire sortir les vaisseaux qui y sont. Mais il y a 12 vaisseaux ennemis vis à vis, qui tiennent toujours une frégate en sentinelle, et d'autres plus éloignez, qui attendent la sortie de ces vaisseaux; ce qui fait desespérer qu'on les puisse sortir de là de toute cette campagne.

'Toutes les nouvelles du Piémont marquent que les Espagnols et Alemands insistent toujours pour le siège de Casal. On dit que les dames de Turin se sont mises à genoux devant le Duc de Savoye pour detourner le bombardement de Pignerol, dans la crainte que le Roy n'envoyast l'année prochaine une grosse armée pour bruler tout le Piémont. Monsieur Catinat a si bien fortifié tous les postes qu'on croit impossible aux ennemis d'assiéger ny Suse ny Pignerol.

'On ne parle présentement que de Namur, dont on est affolé. Il n'y a guère d'autre matière. On est icy fort en peine du party que prendra le Roy Guillaume. On dit que le comte de Serclas est allé avec ses troupes couvrir Liège, dont les habitans, dit on, ont envoyé leurs effectz à Mastrik; et que le Roy Guillaume leur fait prendre ce party là, parce que c'est un gage de leur fidélité et attachement à son service. On ne croit pas qu'avant l'hiver on pense à insulter cette ville; mais dans ce temps là elle courra grande risque.

'Monsieur de Baviile, Intendant en Languedoc, y fait toujours des exécutions et persécutions, qui mettent les gens au desespoir. Le pauvre Monsieur de Marolles, qui a tout souffert pour la religion, est enfin mort, accablé d'une misère affreuse. On dit qu'il est quasi mort de faim. On rapporte des choses de luy qui passent l'imagination.

'On avoit remis à regler quelque chose sur le fait de religion à la fin de cette campagne. Je ne say si les bons succez favoriseront les projets, ou les empireront. Un de mes amis avoit veû une déclaration toute signée et preste

à voir le jour lors de la mort du Marquis de Seignelay, qui accordoit entière liberté de conscience, et mesme quelques lieux d'exercice, en faveur des estrangeurs [*sic*]; mais sa mort fit surseoir tout cela.'

34 pp. *French. Endorsed as received 3 July.*

E37. 1692, [June 27/] July 7. Paris. 'Monsieur le Prince eut ordre du Roy, le premier de ce mois, de voir passer la garnison du chateau, qui n'étoit guère que de 2,500 hommes; ce qui fit juger que les ennemis avoyent perdu beaucoup plus de monde que nous. La plus part des hommes parurent en vilain état, petits, delabrez, sur tout les Espagnols. Le Prince de Barbançon salua Monsieur le Prince, de l'épée; et en suite vint à luy, le chapeau bas. Il fut receû avec toutes sortes d'honnestetez, et demeura toujours aupres de Monsieur le Prince, qui le régala d'une fine flatterie sur sa défense, par comparaison avec toutes les autres places qu'il repassa, et qui avoyent esté assiegées par le Roy en personne, qui n'avoyent pas tenu le tiers du temps qu'il avoit tenu. Il répondit à cela fort poliment, et dit à Guiscar, un peu bas, vous avez eû de bons avis; ce qui fit juger qu'il désignoit le baron de Bressay.

'On parloit fort à la cour d'un voyage à Bourbon, mais il se dit à l'oreille que c'est pour cacher un voyage que le Roy méditte de faire en Alemagne, lors que les 20,000 hommes qu'il a détachez de son armée y seront arrivez, et que pour lors on assiégera Mayence. Monsieur de Bauvillier dit à des gens qui disnoyent chez luy qu'il donnoit toutes ses tentes à Monsieur de Pile munitionnaire pour les luy rendre à la fin de la campagne, ajoutant à cela qu'il prioit qu'on n'en tirast aucune conséquence. Pourtant on ne doute pas que cela ne soit, et qu'on n'entreprenne quelque chose en ce pays-là, pour contenter le Turc et l'empescher de conclurre une paix. Aussy, des le commencement de la campagne on a murmuré de Mayence; et présentement parmy plusieurs gens qui prétendent estre du secret, ce bruit-là se redouble. On a mesme proposé qu'il valoit mieux, sans s'attacher à Mayence, aller droit à Francfort; parce que, estant pris, Mayence tomberoit d'elle mesme. Quoy qu'il en soit, c'est pour plaire au Turc, et faire trembler l'Empire dans son centre. Cependant la plus commune opinion est qu'on en veut à Mayence. On se fie sur la lenteur des Alemans, et leurs intérêts différens. S'il est vray que le Roy y aille, l'affaire est bien seure. Car d'ailleurs il s'est fort ennuyé à Namur. Le jour mesme que le chateau se rendit, on étoit dans l'eau jusqu'à la ceinture, et on croyoit en avoir encore pour 15 jours.

'Nostre armée a passé la Sambre pour couvrir la marche du Roy, et de plus pour subsister plus aisément, sur tout à l'égard des fourrages. Pour peu que le siège eust continué, nostre cavallerie eust esté toute démontée, et la reddition ne pouvoit pas venir plus à propos. Ceux qui ont veû le chateau disent que les plans qu'on avoit n'étoient pas justes. L'endroit par où nos

gens montèrent estoit fort difficile. Ceux qui eurent la curiosité d'y monter, quoy qu'avec l'aide des fascines disposées en gradins, eurent bien de la peine à y monter. En sorte que si on s'y étoit défendu, on n'auroit jamais pû y passer. On n'a perdu en ce siège que 2,000 hommes, ainsy on s'abuse fort dire que nous y en avons perdu 15,000. On fait des raisonnements infinis sur ce que le Roy Guillaume a laissé prendre cette place, sans coup férir. Mais généralement parlant on juge que son armée n'étoit pas si forte qu'on disoit; et aussy a t on écrit de l'armée qu'il n'avoit pas au plus 60,000 hommes. En quoy on s'étonne de la foiblesse de Alliez.

À l'égard de la mer, on est fort allarmé à St. Malo, et sur toutes les costes de Bretagne. Monsieur de Chaunes y est allé pour pourvoir à la défense. On void de là les vaisseaux des ennemis, y en ayant de fixes, à la vue de ce port, outre qu'on en voit aller et venir une grande quantité. On se tient aussy sur ses gardes à la Rochelle, où les nouveaux convertis sont fort éclairéz. Monsieur de Basville continue dans le Languedoc ses exécutions. C'est là où il y a beaucoup de mécontents, comme aussy en Guyenne à Montauban, et ailleurs, où l'on impose une taille particulière sur les nouveaux Catholiques, ce qui les met au désespoir.

Pour ce qui est du Piémont, les ennemis, à leur ordinaire, n'y sont pas d'accord de leurs faits. Le Duc de Savoye n'y a en vue que Pignerol et Suze; les autres que Casal, qui sont les Alemans et les Italiens; et en particulier l'Empereur cherche à y établir une autorité, dont il y a longtemps qu'il est dépossédé. Dans cet entretemps on ne fait rien, et d'ailleurs Monsieur Catinat se fortifie, pour empescher qu'on ne puisse rien faire contre Pignerol et Suze. Il a permis aux Barbets d'aller vendre des danrées dans son camp, et pour les y attirer, et accoutumer, il leur fait donner un bon prix de ce qu'ils y apportent.

Il y a un nouveau traité pour les francsfiets, et l'on commence à parler tout de bon de l'hérédité des charges. On propose de donner 9 ans aux officiers pour en payer la taxe; et cependant le partisan fera des avances là dessus, moyennant des conditions avantageuses. Si cela est, la vaisselle d'argent sautera au premier jour.

Je ne say si je vous ay dit que les Princesses de Conty ont eû un démeslé, sur ce que la Douairière ouvrit une lettre qui étoit pour celle dont le mary est vivant. Là dessus elle se formalisa, demandant qu'elle se differenciast, pour éviter les méprises. Elle dit qu'elle vouloit bien qu'on l'appelast fille du Roy. Mais le Roy ne le voulut pas. Elle offrit de s'appeller Douairière, Monsieur s'y opposa, et dit que cela n'appartenoit qu'à Madame, et qu'elle pouvoit sappeler La Douairière, mais non pas tout court, Douairière. Le Roy s'en est mocqué et les a raillées toutes deux. Au reste, les dames se sont fort scandalisées que Madame de Maintenon les faisoit souvent attendre dans

l'antichambre. Mais son crédit est toujours si grand qu'il ne faut pas se formaliser de rien. Ce sont des murmures secrets, qui n'aboutissent à rien. Le Roy est le maitre, et Madame de Maintenon peut tout ce qui luy plaist.

'Le Roy s'en revient par Viliers-Cotrets, où Madame va au devant de luy. Il ne sera à Versailles que le 15 de ce mois. Il a fait embarquer ses equipages sur la Meuse, les voitures par terre étant aussy mal-aisées qu'en plein hyver par les pluyes continuelles, dont nous sommes aussy persécutez. Nous n'avons point encore veû l'esté.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 5 July.*

E38. 1692, July [1/] 11. Paris. 'À juger suivant le terrible temps qu'il fait, on est persuadé que le chateau de Namur auroit encore tenu jusqu'à présent. On auroit esté obligé de lever le siège, ce qui auroit esté la plus fascheuse chose du monde. Aussy écrivoit-on de l'armée que tous les chevaux périssoient, et que bien tost le Roy n'auroit plus de cavallerie. On a fait courir beacoup de bruits icy, comme que le Roy retournoit sur ses pas; qu'il y avoit eû une conjuration à Mons, et que les ennemis s'en étoient voulu emparer. À l'egard du premier il est faux; le Roy sera à Versailles le 16, si le temps le permet. Et pour le second, il n'est pas tout à fait faux. Car Vertillac Gouverneur a mandé que le 3e. de ce mois les ennemis s'étoient approchez de la place; qu'il avoit détaché un officier, avec 40 maistres, qu'il fit sortir à l'entrée de la nuit, et qui rencontrant les ennemis à demie-lieue de Mons, sur les xi heurs du soir, se glissèrent au milieu d'eux, et leur enlevèrent 2 colonels anglois; qu'on les poursuivit jusqu'aux portes; mais qu'ils les firent entrer dans la place; que les ennemis, jugeant la mine éventée, se retirèrent; que ces officiers ne volurent rien dire, mais que le lendemain 30 deserteurs, qui vinrent à Mons, découvrirent qu'effectivement on avoit dessein sur la place, et que pour cet effet, ils menoyent 14 ou 15 chariots, chargez de tout ce qui étoit nécessaire pour une surprise. Vertillac ne parla point qu'il eust intelligence dans la ville, comme on avoit publié icy que les moines, ou Cordeliers, ou Recoletz en étoient.

'Nostre armée étoit le 5e. dans la plaine de St. Gérard, où on a tiré divers bataillons pour mettre à Namur, Philippeville et Mons, et à l'armée de Monsieur de Bouflers, et en Alemagne. Elle sera pourtant de 82 bataillons et 240 escadrons. Celle de Monsieur de Bouflers de 52 escadrons, et 20 bataillons; et toujours à portée de se joindre à la grande armée, en cas de besoin. Le regiment des gardes du Roy, de Dauphiné, des vaisseaux, et autres, remplaçant les détachez. Le régiment de la Mark est à Namur. Le corps de réserve de Monsieur le Duc de Chartres toujours au mesme lieu, à la droite de nostre armée. Il y a eû 40 ingénieurs hors de combat à Namur, dont pres de 30 sont morts.

‘A l’égard de la mer, bien loin qu’on soit en état d’armer, on desarme; et mesme dans le dessein de mettre à Brest tous nos vaisseaux en seureté. On les allége, et on les fait entrer le plus avant qu’on peut dans une rivière, où il est impossible de les aborder. Pour ce qui est de St. Malo, on s’y fortifie tant qu’on peut contre toutes sortes d’insultes. Quelques vaisseaux ennemis, dont on dit qu’il ne paroist plus guères, ont pris une flûte de la Compagnie des Fermes, chargée de sel, d’eaux de vie, etc. Quelques chaloupes, ayant voulu prendre une barque, qui étoit pres de terre, les passans de la coste ont tiré dessus, et tué quelques uns de leurs gens; et on dit qu’ils commencent à s’agguerrir, et à n’avoir plus tant de peur.

‘Les lettres de Piémont du 2e. de ce mois marquent que nous sommes toujours campez sur les hauteurs de Pignerol pour empescher que les ennemis n’en fassent le siège, qu’ils ne peuvent faire qu’en se saisissant de la montagne de Ste. Brigide, où nous avons fait faire des bastions de terre, où il y a 5 bataillons. Les ennemis sont campez au pied de la montagne, avec 44 bataillons et 15,000 chevaux. Nostre armée a communication avec cette montagne; ainsy on y peut toujours envoyer des troupes fraîches. Monsieur de Chomberg est party, avec des milices et Barbets, au nombre de 6,000, pour nous couper nos derrières, et venir par la vallée de St. Martin ravager la vallée de Pragelas, où nos convois doivent passer. Monsieur Catinat a mis des milices le long de cette vallée, qui pourroyent bien y estre sacrifiées. Il a résolu de ne point quitter le poste où nous sommes, sans quoy Pignerol seroit perdu; et les ennemis sont si forts, que nous ne pouvons nous défaire d’aucun de nos bataillons, qui sont icy au nombre de 25 ou 26 assez bons. Nous avons encore avis que Monsieur de Parelle s’en va par la vallée de Luzerne avec un corps de troupes, et on ne doute pas que ce ne soit à Ambrun. Ces lettres ajoutent que si les ennemis venoyent à nous couper nos vivres, Pignerol seroit perdu, n’y en ayant pas pour plus d’un mois ou cinq semaines. Que l’on ne doute pas qu’il ne se passe quelque action sanglante, et que les ennemis ne fassent du desordre en Dauphiné. Des gens de ce pays-là disent que des Barbetz y ont fait une course sur la fin du mois passé, et qu’ils y ont brûlés quelques vilages. Que le régiment de milices de Bretagne, au lieu de s’opposer à leur passage dans un petit fort de terre, où il étoit posté, s’est retiré honteusement, que le lieutenant colonel en est en peine, et qu’on luy veut faire son procez; à propos de quoy Mazel, qui s’est retiré de France, est creû espion; car sa femme touche de l’argent de Monsieur de Barbesieux considérablement.

‘Voicy quelques vers qui ont esté faits sur le malheur de nostre armée de mer.

Grand Roy, par ce revers ministre.

Apprens ce que vaut un ministre.

Laisse à St. Cyr la Maintenon;

Que Barbesieux reste à Meudon,
 Le Duc Bauvillier à Matine,
 Mets Pelletier à la cuisine,
 Oste à Ponchartrain ta marine.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 11 July.*

E39. 1692, July [4/] 14. Paris. 'Il est certain que le Roy se fatigue fort, n'y ayant pas beaucoup de gens sur qu'il se repose. Depuis le commencement du siège, il a esté continuellement occupé; et on a esté un temps fort embarassé de trouver la place plus forte qu'on ne l'avoit crue. Monsieur de Bressay, de qui d'ailleurs on est fort content, s'est défendu sur les travaux faits, depuis qu'il avoit quitté le party. On continue de dire que si la place avoit tenu, comme on le croyoit, encore 15 jours, le mauvais temps qu'il a fait, la souffrance de l'armée de Monsieur de Luxembourg, tout cela faisoit courir risque aux assiegeans de lever le siège. Ces bons succez n'empeschent pas qu'on ne soit persuadé que le Roy, qui est dans des conférences continuelles avec Messieurs de Bauvillier et de Pompone, ne songe fortement aux moyens de faire la paix. L'esprit de ces messieurs est pacifique, et c'est l'intérêt de Madame de Maintenon. Apres cette dame, Monsieur de Bauvillier prend fort le montant, et devient premier ministre.

'On parle fort d'une rencontre en Alemagne, les ennemis nous ayant enlevé 200 hommes, qui étoient retranchez dans Wormes. Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge détacha le Marquis de Vilars, qui, avec quelques dragons et de la cavallerie, poussa les ennemis, qui n'ont point tenu ferme. On leur a pris plus de 200 hommes, et tué quelques uns. La perte a esté assez réciproque, parce qu'outre ce qu'ils nous ont enlevé, ils ont pris assez de bagage. Monsieur de Vilars, qui a servy autrefois aupres du Duc de Bavière, envoya à un des chefs du party des ennemis qu'il connoissoit, luy faire des honnestetez, en luy proposant l'échange des prisonniers. Il rendit civilité pour civilité, et chargea le trompette de dire à Monsieur de Villars que la paix du Turc étoit faite. Cela a surpris; mais on n'y a pas ajouté foy, et mesme on avoit quelques nouvelles contraires à cela. Ce seroit une tres fascheuse affaire pour nous.

'Monsieur de Vauban, en recevant la gratification de 120,000 livres du Roy, luy remontra qu'il valoit mieux qu'il employast son argent à récompenser les ingénieurs, qui avoyent fait leur devoir, et beaucoup souffert, en ayant esté tué plus de 30 et plusieurs blessez. Le Roy dit qu'il ne pouvoit pas faire cette dépense. Monsieur de Vauban repliqua qu'il alloit donc distribuer la gratification du Roy à ces messieurs. Cela piqua d'honneur le Roy, qui luy dit qu'il ne l'entendoit pas ainsy, et qu'il luy donnast un etat de tous ceux qu'il vouloit récompenser et qu'il y pourvoiroit.

'On dit que Bruxelles et Liège branlent, et sont dans de terribles allarmes.

Monsieur de Luxembourg va à Soignies. On ne parle plus d'aucun voyage du Roy; mais on parle d'un détachement reciproque de troupes sur la Mozelle, sans qu'on sache pourquoy.

'On a contremandé l'ordre qui avoit esté donné de desarmer les vaisseaux de Brest, et de les faire monter dans la rivière. On les fait remettre dans le port, où l'on se fortifie, aussy bien qu'à St. Malo. En sorte qu'on ne croit pas que les ennemis puissent nous faire tort. On a disposé du canon par tout. Mais je ne voy pas qu'on puisse de cette année remettre en mer.

'Les Barbets, qui ont fait la course en Dauphiné, ont surpris le lieutenant colonel de la milice de Bretagne, qui étoit dans un fort de terre, en état de s'opposer à leur passage; et qui s'est laissé étourdir de leurs menaces. On luy fera son procez, si cela n'est déjà fait.

'Monsieur Catinat s'est mis en état de ne craindre pas les ennemis. On n'appréhende qu'un bombardement à Pignerol. Si on en formoit le siège, quoy qu'ils soyent plus forts que nous, ils courroyent risque de souffrir un bombardement à Turin, et on auroit encore le temps de leur faire lever le siège. Car le project seroit, en cas de siège, de ne laisser que quelques troupes, pour empescher le passage des Barbetz, et avec tout le reste des troupes on les iroit attaquer. La diversité des nations qui composent l'armée cause de différens desseins.

'Par lettres du Gouverneur de Collioure du 30 passé les Espagnols font grand bruit, et paraissent forts. Papachin a 18 à 20 vaisseaux et 25 galères. On ne sait pas leur dessein. Leurs troupes de terre sont aussy assez fortes.

'Les paysans souffrent beaucoup en Auvergne, par la disette de bleds. Il y a eû mesme quelque rumeur de la populace contre l'Intendant. Ils mangent du pain tres mauvais, ce qui produit des maladies.

'Les lettres de Raguse confirment les nouvelles divisions survenues à la Porte; mais cela n'empesche pas le Grand Visir de se mettre en route pour Belgrade.

'On nous assure que l'embarquement se fait en Angleterre, sans savoir pour quel costé. On ne paroist pas craindre de descente, qu'oy qu'on voye bien que de tous costez les ennemis essayent d'entrer dans le royaume. On se fortifie toujours du costé de La Rochelle.

'On nous assure que le Général Heusler est malade, et mesme que le Marquis de Bade l'est aussy; mais le premier plus dangereusement.

'Voicy le 3e. jour que nous n'avons plus de pluye, et qu'il commence à faire chaud. Pourvéu que le temps continue il n'y aura rien de gasté. Les bleds sont beaux, les vignes promettent beaucoup, et ceux qui n'ont pas esté trop diligens à faire leurs foins s'en trouveront fort bien, car l'herbe s'est fort multipliée.

'Le Roy sera apres demain à Versailles. Toutes les dames y arriveront en mesme temps, et seront sans doute fort fatiguées de la guerre et du mauvais temps, et ennuyées du long séjour qu'elles ont fait à Philippeville et à Dinan, fort différent de celui de Paris et de Versailles.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 15 July.*

E40. 1692, July [8/] 18. Paris. 'Le Roy arriva mécredy, sans passer par icy. Il disna au Bourget, prit la traverse à St. Denis, d'où il alla à Versailles. Monsieur est revenu avec la fièvre qu'il a encore présentement, mais ce n'est qu'une tierce. Le jour de l'arrivée il se repandit par la ville un bruit que Monseigneur alloit épouser Mademoiselle, mais à la cour on n'en dit rien. Cela ne paroist fondé que sur ce qu'on dit que le Roy, en partant, dit à Madame, qu'à son retour elle auroit tout sujet d'estre contente du luy; que le Roy répondit de sa main à la lettre de félicitation de Mademoiselle sur la prise de Namur; et autres petites circonstances qui font parler le peuple de Paris.

'Les officiers de l'armée confirment que si les ennemis eussent tenu bon 8 ou 10 jours, on auroit esté fort tenté de lever le siège, qu'effectivement on avoit mis en délibération si on se contenteroit de tenir la place bloquée, le Roy s'étant presque seul opiniâtré à pousser l'affaire. Ils disent que nous y avons perdu pres de 6,000 hommes, tuez ou morts de la fatigue; que la cavallerie y a beaucoup souffert; que les ennemis n'ont témoigné aucune vigueur, se laissant tuer sans se défendre. Enfin cela les a mis dans une fort méchante réputation. Il est certain, à ce qu'ils disent tous, que si le Roy Guillaume avoit donné la bataille, dans le temps qu'on le croyoit, son armée auroit esté bien battue. De sorte qu'il faut avouer que c'est une fatalité surprenante, qui fait bien connoistre la différence qu'il y a entre une armée composée d'une seule nation aguerrie et une armée de différentes nations, dont les intérêts ne sont pas si bien liez.

'On fait courir icy le bruit que le Roy Guillaume s'en est allé à la Haye, et qu'il a toujours de la mesintelligence entre luy et le Duc de Bavière, qui veut s'en retourner dans ses etats.

'Les dernières nouvelles de Brest portent que les vaisseaux ennemis sont toujours aux isles d'Ouessant; mais que nous sommes si bien fortifiez dans le port qu'on n'y craint point d'insulte. Les ennemis ont fait quelque descente, où ils ont pillé et brulé quelques villages, ce qui n'est de nulle conséquence. On est toujours en peine de ce qu'ils veulent faire de leurs troupes chargées sur leurs vaisseaux. On croit qu'ils porteront en Flandre.

'La Provence fait construire à ses dépans un grand vaisseau de 120 pièces de canon, dont elle fait présent au Roy. Ce sera le plus grand qu'on ait encore veû, et qui coutera bien de l'argent.

‘Monsieur Catinat, ayant appris la grande nouvelle de la réduction de Namur, fit faire, le 7 de ce mois, plusieurs décharges de toute l’artillerie des places du Roy, depuis Suse et Pignerol, tout du long des montagnes, jusqu’à Montmélian. Le tintamare que cela fit épouvanta les ennemis. Et les Piémontois, qui nous menaçoient cy devant, dirent qu’il n’y avoit pas moyen de nous attaquer, que ce seroit *attacar l’Inferno*.

‘On a frappé une médaille sur la prise de cette place, où d’un costé on voit la ville de Namur, qui se rend, en présence de 100 mille ennemis, avec cets mots, *Amat victoria testes*. Le revers représente le Prince d’Orange et le Duc de Bavière, et autour est écrit *Gulielmo, et Bavaro spectantibus*.

‘Les dernières lettres de Pignerol marquent qu’on n’y craint point de siège, et que la division règne toujours parmi les généraux des ennemis.

‘Dans la dernière affaire d’Allemagne on a perdu beaucoup d’équipages. On se plaint que les Alemans n’ont pas observé la capitulation de nos gens qui furent pris dans l’église de Wormes, d’où ils sortirent par capitulation apres s’estre bien défendus.

‘Il court quelque bruit de la paix avec les Turcs, mais vos gazettes n’en parlent pas; c’est ce qui en fait douter.

‘On croit qu’il pourra bien y avoir quelque affaire en Allemagne, parce que les ennemis commencent à s’y assembler, et qu’on n’est pas éloigné les uns des autres.

‘Il y a quant à present un petit calme de nouvelles.

‘On m’a dit qu’en Hollande on avoit changé la devise du Roy, et qu’au lieu de *Nec* on disoit *Nunc pluribus impar*, fondé sur ce que le Roy n’a gagné que Namur, et a perdu le combat naval. Vaurouy est mort de la blessure reçue à Namur. Le Roy a donné la lieutenance aux gardes à son frère. On chante tous les jours de nouveaux *Te Deums*, et on fait des feux de joye de tous costez, chacun se mettant en dépense pour cela. Monsieur de Vauban est encore pour 15 jours à Namur, pour ordonner les travaux nécessaires à la perfection de la place.’

3¼ pp. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 17 July.

E41. 1692, July [11/] 21. Paris. ‘Rien ne vous peut dédommager de la perte de Namur que les avantages de la mer, dont vous êtes aprésent les maistres. Mais je doute qu’on puisse venir à bout de bruler nos vaisseaux à Brest et à St. Malo. Ce seroit un terrible coup, parce qu’il ne nous est pas si aisé qu’à vous d’en remettre en mer. Au reste on a disposé des bombes à l’entrée de Brest, où l’on assure qu’il ne sauroit entrer de vos vaisseaux sans courir grande [*sic*] risque d’estre brulez. A l’égard de St. Malo, l’entrée d’elle mesme en est fort difficile.

‘Il y a 15 vaisseaux sur les chantiers, dont il y en aura 5 de 100 pièces de canon, et les autres de 60 à 80. Monsieur de Tourville a veû le Roy; s’étant jetté à ses pieds, le Roy le releva, luy dit qu’il étoit très content de luy, qu’il prenoit sur le malheur arrivé, et que l’année prochaine il y mettroit bon ordre.

‘Le Roy Jaques a remontré au Roy qu’il n’étoit pas nécessaire d’avoir des vaisseaux si grands, qu’ils suffisoient de 60 à 70 pièces, parce que ces grandes machines ne se remuent pas si aisement dans le combat. Cependant on en fait un de 120 pièces à Toulon, les autres se font dans différens ports, et on prétend qu’ils seront prêts à mettre en mer dans le mois de janvier prochain. On tire des bois pour la marine d’une forest dans le pays de Vauge, vers la Lorraine, qui sont très propres. On les fait venir sur la Mozelle jusqu’à Toul, et de là on leur fait faire par charroys 9 lieues de terre, jusqu’à une petite rivière, qui s’appelle la Fermêze, qu’on a rendue navigable, et qui vient descendre à Paris par la Marne, où elle se jette; d’où on les distribue au Havre, et à Nantes pour Rochefort et Brest. Il y a de grands masts fort beaux, et meilleurs que ceux des Pyrenées, qu’on trouve trop pezants et cassants, 2 défauts les plus grands pour ces sortes de choses-là.

‘On est attentif sur les nouveaux convertis, car on ne fait plus de différence entre Huguenots et eux, et c’est un nom pour le moins aussy suspect. Les vexations qu’on leur fait à La Rochelle les obligent d’en déménager. Ils quittent tous, et vont demeurer à Poitiers, où ils se transplantent. On a abbatu des maisons hors de la ville, dans la peur d’une descente. On a dit icy qu’elle avoit esté résolue en Angleterre.

‘Le bruit court que nous sommes sur le point de perdre ce qui nous reste aux Isles, parce que les ennemis y ont envoyé des vaisseaux. Si nous perdons la Martinique, comme on le craint, il n’y aura plus rien de reste; car c’est cette seule isle qui nous y maintient encore. Le Roy Jaques a dit que dans le mois de janvier prochain le Roy seroit en état de remettre une plus puissante flotte en mer; on a peu de considération de ce qu’il dit. La Reine a dit qu’il étoit vray qu’ils n’avoient point d’intelligence formelle en Angleterre, mais qu’ils y avoient pourtant des amis secrets, qui ne pourroyent pas se déclarer que lors qu’ils seroient en état de faire un effort considerable pour leur rétablissement. Le Roy Jaques est venu voir Monseigneur, qui est malade. Il n’eut pas de fièvre hier. On avoit dit que le Roy iroit à Marly; mais cela a changé, il ne bouge de Versailles, ce qui fait croire qu’il y a quelque affaire importante qui l’y attache, pour y tenir ses conseils ordinaires. On parloit d’un voyage à Bourbon; mais ce ne seroit qu’un prétexte pour quelque autre.

‘On dit que les Turcs ne sont pas satisfaits des progrès en Flandre. Ils veulent qu’on fasse une puissante diversion en Allemagne. C’est pourquoy on veut y grossir l’armée jusqu’à 50,000 hommes. Cependant les dernieres lettres

parloient en Flandres du siège d'Oudenarde; que Monsieur de Boufflers avoit passé à Mons avec son corps d'armée, et qu'il y avoit pris du gros canon, pour former un siège.

'On mande que dans la diette l'Empereur a fait proposer d'entretenir toujours, hyver et esté, une armée de 60,000 hommes. Et que pour cet effet il faut faire un fonds de 10 millions, pour éviter d'estre surpris, comme les ennemis le sont à l'ordinaire. Ils ne feroient pas mal, mais ils auroient bien de la peine à y faire consentir tout le monde. On dit aussy que les Hollandois ont fait savoir à l'Empereur que s'il ne faisoit pas la paix avec le Turc, ils ne pourroyent pas éviter de faire leur paix avec nous.

'Monsieur de la Roquelaure, dit-on, a mandé de l'armée de Flandre que Monsieur de Bavière a dit à un officier françois qu'il ne faloit pas encore nous tant réjouyr de la prise de Namur, et que dans le reste de la campagne on nous prendroit Dunkerque, Luxembourg, Pignerol, et St. Malo. On traite cela de vision. Cependant on dit qu'à Londres il y a des gajures pour Dunkerque.

'Les lettres de Pignerol du 11 portoyent qu'on n'y craignoit plus rien; cependant par celles du 13 on dit qu'on voit distinctement tous les ennemis, et qu'ils semblent vouloir attaquer le fort Ste. Brigide. On prétend que l'Empereur y a consenty. On mande que les Alemands vivent avec une furieuse licence en ce pays-là, qu'ils démolissent les maisons, pour attraper un morceau de fer, et qu'ils se défient du Duc de Savoye, à qui, pour seureté qu'il ne s'accommodera point avec la France, ils demandent la citadelle de Turin. On attend avec impatience ce que deviendront les affaires de ce pays-là.

'Des gens sensez, qui reviennent de Namur, disent que le Roy Guillaume a fort bien fait de ne pas tenter un combat, parce que certainement son armée auroit esté batue. On ajoûte que lors qu'on luy apprit la nouvelle de la mer, et que nous n'avions que 44 vaisseaux, il dit, il faut avouer que cette nation est bien insolent.'

3 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 18 July.*

E42. 1692, July [15/] 25. Paris. 'Je ne say si je vous ay dit que Monsieur de Luxembourg avoit dit que si l'on avoit mis un corps de 10 à 12,000 hommes sous le canon de Namur on n'auroit jamais osé l'attaquer. On est si étonné d'avoir pû prendre cette place que l'étonnement augmente encore tous les jours. On dit que nos troupes sont dans des quartiers abondans en fourages, et où elles se refont aisément de leurs fatigues passées.

'On a armé 8 vaisseaux à Brest que Monsieur de Némond commande; on ne sait pas pour où aller. On n'entend plus parler des vaisseaux ennemis. Papachin est en mer avec 28 galères et 20 vaisseaux. Cela fait craindre quelque bombardement à Marseille.

'Pour ce qui est de la descente, on a eû quelque crainte en l'Isle de Ré; mais il y a des forts qu'il faut assiéger pour s'en rendre maistre.

'Le Nonce Cavallérini est arrivé à Marseille. On a eû de la peine à se résoudre à le recevoir mais enfin cela est fait. On croit qu'à la fin tous les evesques auront des bulles. Le Roy veut qu'ils fassent les déclarations que le Pape exige, avant l'arrivée du Nonce.

'Les lettres du 16 de Piémont marquent que le Duc de Savoye avoit envoyé ordre aux Barbets, qui étoient dans les valées, de revenir dans le Piémont. Monsieur Daubercam, qui estoit icy colonel, et qui, depuis sa retraite, étoit le bras droit de Monsieur de Schomberg, est mort d'apoplexie dans les valées. C'étoit un bon homme d'infanterie.

'Monsieur Catinat dit qu'il attend que les ennemis soyent attachez à quelque siège, pour faire venir sa cavallerie qui est en Dauphiné et en Savoye concistant en 6,000 chevaux, qu'on tient en ces pays-là à cause de la difficulté des fourrages. On ne témoigne pas craindre un siège, les ennemis n'ayant pas assez d'infanterie. On assure que Caprara est arrivé, mais ils se défient les uns des autres, et ont peur que le Duc de Savoye ne fasse sa paix.

'Au reste, on dit que dans Bruxelles et autres villes de Flandre on fait publiquement des prières de 40 heures pour la paix et le beau temps, et que Monsieur de Bavière veut retourner chez luy, et quitter son gouvernement.

'Monsieur de la Reinie, que des personnes de consideration ont esté solliciter pour les prisonniers acause de la religion, leur a dit qu'on les mettroit bien tost en liberté, et qu'avant un mois on les feroit tous sortir. Il y en a beaucoup. On paroist estre bien las de toutes les persécutions, mais il y a des provinces dont on se défie. Au reste, la disette de vivres continue en plusieurs endroits. Le Roy a fait distribuer en Guienne quelques sommes aux pauvres.

'Il y a en Auvergne des maladies fascheuses. Si la récolte ne répondoit pas aux espérances qu'on en a, tout seroit perdu. On a trouvé en plusieurs endroits de pauvres paysans qui paissoient l'herbe, et vivoient de méchantes racines; quelques uns morts, la bouche pleine d'herbe. La bled enchérit en beaucoup de lieux, et cependant nous voilà prestz de la récolte.

'Madame de Maintenon parle toujours de faire un voyage aux eaux de Bourbon. Le Roy se porte fort bien, et travaille beaucoup. On ne parle plus du mariage de Monseigneur. Il ne se soucie ny de cela, ny d'autre chose.'

2½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 25 July.*

Enclosing on a separate slip:

E42(1). 'Chanson, servant à l'histoire: sur l'air des Trioletz.'

'On voit nostre vice amiral

Se promener aux Thuilleries,
 Avec son air de général,
 On voit nostre vice amiral:
 Laissant la Manche et le Canal
 Aux Anglois en pyrateries,
 On voit ... etc.

'Dedans Paris il fait beau voir
 En juillet Villette et Tourville,
 Y venir remplir leur devoir,
 Dedans Paris il fait beau voir
 Vanter sur mer nostre pouvoir
 Aux habitans de cette ville:
 Dedans Paris il fait beau voir,
 En juillet, Villette et Tourville.

'Juillet 1692.'

E43. 1692, July [18/] 28. Paris. 'Le bruit court toujours d'un voyage aux eaux de Bourbon. Les mousquetaires ont ordre de se tenir prests. Madame de Maintenon, qui a esté malade, et travaillée de vapeurs, en a esté le sujet. On l'a seignée diverses fois au bras et aux piedz; mais elle se porte mieux. On a mesme parlé de quelque indisposition du Roy, soit que c'ait esté une suite de son premier mal, dont plusieurs croient qu'il n'est pas guéry, ou de quelque autre chose; tant y a qu'on a remarqué qu'il ne marchoit pas à son ordinaire. Cependant on ne voit pas qu'il y ait d'altération à sa santé, à ce que rapportent ceux qui reviennent tous les jours de la cour.

'Il y a 40 vaisseaux en ligne, qui gardent la rade de Brest, avec 30 brulots, et des mortiers disposez de part et d'autre, en sorte que l'entrée en est tres difficile. Et dans les endroits où l'on pourroit faire des descentes on a bordé la coste de canon. Il y a aussy 5 à 5,000 [*sic*] hommes de milice, et quelques troupes réglées pour défendre les avenues. Il est sorty depuis peu de Brest 10 vaisseaux de 50 à 60 pieces de canon, sans qu'on sache de quel costé ils vont. Ils ont pris des vivres pour 3 mois. Du costé de St. Malo on a pris les mesmes précautions. Les vaisseaux ennemis, qui étoient à la vue de ce port, s'en sont écartez; on ne les y voit plus. Ceux qui connoissent ce port disent que l'entrée en est toute pleine de rochers que la mer haute couvre, et quand elle se retire, c'est une chose étonnante et digne de curiosité d'y voir cette quantité de rochers à découvert. La rivière de Dinan, qui y tombe, ayant esté sondée, on y a trouvé des fosses pour y faire entrer de grands vaisseaux. Monsieur Gobert insiste toujours à travailler au Havre, pour y faire un bassin capable de mettre en seureté plus de 100 vaisseaux, contre l'avis de ceux qui veulent qu'on travaille à la Hogue.

'Par les dernières lettres de Piémont on a avis que le Général Caprara est arrivé à Turin, où il est malade; que les Espagnols se mettent en devoir d'attaquer une redoutte avancée; apres quoy ils disent qu'ils attaqueront Ste.

Brigide. Dans cette redoute il n'y a que 200 hommes résolus à se défendre; mais dans le fort de Ste. Brigide, qui est de 5 bastions de terre, il y a toujours 3,000 hommes, outre 2,000 qui y entrent de 3 en 3 jours, commandez par un maréchal de camp. L'intelligence ne règne pas parmy leurs troupes. On dit que les Alemands demandent pour leur seureté la citadelle de Turin, ou du moins Verceil.

'On a accusé en divers endroits les nouveaux convertis d'avoir fait des réjouyssances de la disgrâce qui nous est arrivée sur mer. On a fait à la Rochelle de la peine à des gens qui dans ce temps-là s'étoient allé divertir à la campagne. Mais ils se sont justifiez, parce qu'il y avoit avec eux un ancien Catholique, qui a rendu témoignage qu'on n'y avoit pas songé; et mesme que cette partie étoit faite avant qu'on eust la nouvelle du combat. Plusieurs anciens Chatoliques [*sic*] à Metz, accusant de pareille chose les Huguenots, il s'en trouva un qui releva l'acusation et dit qu'ils étoient meilleurs François qu'eux; qu'ils avoyent toujours donné des preuves de leur fidélité, et qu'ils n'avoient jamais eû dans leur religion de Ravaillacs. On a donné un mauvais tour à ce discours; en sorte que l'homme a esté arrêté, et mis dans un cachot. À l'égard de la Rochelle on avoit dit qu'on avoit rendu les armes aux Huguenots, mais cela n'est pas vray. Ce qu'il y a de certain c'est que l'Intendant, voyant quantité d'honnestes gens sans épée, en demanda la raison; et sur ce qu'on luy dit que c'estoit acause de la religion, il dit qu'on avoit eû tort, et qu'il croyoit ces gens-là fort bien intentionnez au service du Roy. Cependant il est fort vray que plusieurs se retirent à Poitiers, pour éviter les soubçons qu'on pourroit avoir contre eux.

'On dit que nostre cavallerie en Flandres se remet, c'est à dire que les chevaux qui ont pû résister à la disette des fourrages et à la fatigue se rétablissent; mais il nous en est mort beaucoup.

'La Bourgongne et la Champagne n'auront point de vins. Pour ce qui est des bleds, on en espère beaucoup.

'On dit que le Roy Guillaume a achetté de l'Evesque de Munster 12,000 hommes; qu'il est débarqué des troupes angloises en Flandre, savoir 6,000 hommes de pied et 2,000 chevaux; qu'on a dessein d'assiéger une de nos places. Cela ne sera pas si aisé á faire, et ne se fera pas sans coup ferir.

'On assure toujours que le Duc de Bavière a mandé à l'Empereur et au Roy d'Espagne qu'il quitteroit á la fin de cette campagne son gouvernement de Flandre, et s'en retourneroit dans ses etats. On dit aussy que le Roy de Pologne est tombé en apoplexie.

'Vous croyez peut-estre que le Roy soit obligé par les grandes dépenses de la guerre de retrancher ses liberalitez. Nullement. Il vient de donner à Monsieur de Harlay, Conseiller d'Estat, et petit filz de Monsieur le Chancellier, 100,000 livres pour acheter une charge de conseiller au Parlement à son filz, et 40,000 livres à Monsieur de la Moignon.

‘On vient de publier un arrest du Conseil que proroge le cours des monnoyes sur le pied courant jusqu’à la fin du mois d’aoust. Ce moyen a servy a 2 fins, á faire connoistre la quantité de l’argent dans les coffres du Roy, et à faire connoistre la quantité de comptant qu’il y a dans le royaume. Ce qui passe beaucoup au delà du double de l’estimation que les gens de commerce en faisoient.’

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 26 July.*

E44. 1692, [July 22/] Aug. 1. Paris. ‘Par les lettres du 26 du passé de l’armée de Flandres, on mande que les ennemis veulent assiéger Namur; que Liège fournit toutes les munitions nécessaires pour cela; que Serclas et Tilly avec leur corps d’armée entre Liège et cette place en facilitent l’entreprise; que la place est bien pourvue de munitions de guerre, puis qu’il y a 600 milliers de poudre; qu’à la verité la garnison qui est dedans, quoy que nombreuse, n’est pas des meilleures, parce que ce sont de nouvelles troupes, la plus part étrangères; que Monsieur de Luxembourg voudroit bien y en mettre d’autres, mais que l’on craint qu’on ne le puisse; qu’au moins que les ennemis n’ayent, comme nous, des troupes suffisantes pour le siège, et une armée aussy forte que la nostre, pour tenir teste à Monsieur de Luxembourg, ils ne pourroyent rien faire, quoy qu’ils ayent beaucoup plus de commoditez que nous, àcause de Liège et de Charleroy. Qu’en cas qu’ils eussent tout ce qu’il leur faut, ils pourroyent peut estre bien prendre la ville, et le fort Guillaume qui n’est pas réparé; mais que pour le chateau, ils ne le prendroyent jamais, et que tout ce qu’ils pourroyent faire seroit de le tenir bloqué, comme on avoit esté sur le point d’en prendre nous-mesmes le party, si les ennemis eussent fait une plus vigoureuse défense. Que la Meuse est couverte de bateaux, et que de tous costes les enemis faisoient de grands préparatifs. Cependant il y a d’autres lettres, qui viennent du voisinage de Dunkerque, qui portent que l’on en veut à cette place; que la flotte anglaise est en mer, et qu’on a débarqué diverses troupes à Ostende.

‘Le Roy reçeut, il y a 2 jours, 4 courriers l’un sur l’autre que le firent souper fort tard. Il le dit luy mesme en se mettant à table. Les gens d’expérience disent que les ennemis ne feront rien en Flandre; que nous y sommes trop forts; que s’il y a quelque chose à craindre, ce n’est pas de ce costé là; mais bien de celuy de Piémont.

‘On assure que Monsieur de Luxembourg a mandé au Roy que sa santé ne luy permettoit pas de servir utilement sa Majesté le reste de la campagne en Flandre, soit qu’il se sente trop affoibly par la fièvre, ou par les vapeurs, dont il est fort tourmenté; qu’il a demandé au Roy son ordre pour savoir à qui il laisseroit le commandement de l’armée; qu’il y a 2 personnes fort capables, savoir le Prince de Conty et le Duc de Villeroy; que le Roy luy a ordonné de luy dire son avis plus particulièrement en cas qu’il fust forcé de quitter.

'Au reste, on fit courir le bruit que le peuple de Bruxelles, enragé de la prise de Namur, avoit mis en pièces la berge du Roy Guillaume; que les gazettes imprimées de Madrid disent la rage contre luy. On en a fait voir une icy, où on le traite de Marrane. On dit toujours que le Duc de Bavière et luy sont fort mal ensemble; qu'il s'en veut retourner dans ses estats, apres cette campagne, et quitter ce gouvernement; que dans leur armée on parle publiquement de paix, et qu'on fait des prières dans les villes pour cela. Enfin les divers discours qu'on tient là dessus sont sans nombre. Je voudrois bien savoir si tout cela est vray, et si le Roy Guillaume et le Duc de Bavière sont brouillez ensemble.

'Pour ce qui est du Piémont, on dit que l'armée ennemie a quitté Pignerol, et marche du costé de Cony. Les uns disent que c'est pour aller assiéger Nice, et les autres pour Antibes, qui n'est pas si difficile à prendre; que Papachin, avec 18 vaisseaux de guerre et 28 galères, doit servir à ce dessein, tandis que nous n'avons que des galères à luy opposer. D'autres croient que ce n'est qu'une feinte, pour obliger Monsieur Catinat à desemperer les postes de Ste. Brigide. C'est ce qu'il ne fera pas apparemment. Il se contente d'envoyer quelques détachements du costé de la Provence, où nous n'avons pas beaucoup de troupes. On dit que Monsieur de Langalerie lieutenant général y est mort; du moins il y a déjà quelque temps qu'il y étoit fort malade. Monsieur de Vins a esté envoyé en sa place. La question est de savoir par où les ennemis pourront passer. Si ce fera par la vallée de Barcelonnette ou par le col de Tende, qui est plus pres de Nice et d'Antibes, cette dernière place n'est pas bonne.

'À l'égard de la mer, un officier venu de Brest depuis 10 jours dit que Monsieur de Némond n'en étoit pas encore party; que mesme on n'en parloit pas; et qu'on n'avoit fait que tirer les vaisseaux de la rivière, où on les avoit fait monter; qu'il n'y avoit pas d'apparence qu'on hazardast les vaisseaux du Roy dans un temps où toute la mer étoit remplie de ceux des ennemis; que ce seroit les exposer à une perte certaine. Cela ne s'accorde pas avec l'ordre qui a esté donné de mettre une escadre en mer, sous le commandement dudit Sieur de Némond, et sans qu'on sache pour quel pays elle est destinée.'

3½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 29 July.*

E45. 1692, [July 25/] Aug. 4. Paris. 'Le Roy a esté à Marly presque toute la semaine passée, c'est à dire depuis mécredy; quoy qu'il ait beaucoup d'affaires il ne laisse pas de se divertir. Plusieurs disent pourtant qu'il est un peu *pensieroso*. Mais qui ne le seroit, ayant tant d'ennemis sur les bras? Madame de Maintenon est toujours de tous conseils: son crédit, loin de diminuer, augmente. Plusieurs courtisans malins disent à l'oreille qu'on rendra publique une affaire qui est fort particulière. On remarqua, lors

qu'elle arriva du voyage, qu'elle se mit au lit, apres quoy on ouvrit les portes de son appartement pour recevoir les compliments de tout le monde. Tout le conseil passa en revue devant elle, qui ne répondit à toutes leurs civilitéez que par un petit signe de teste, à la réserve de Monsieur le Chancelier, à qui elle eut la bonté de dire deux mots.

'Les lettres de Pignerol du 27 du passé disent que Monsieur Catinat en étoit party le 25 pour Ambrun; que les ennemis qui étoient à Frozasque s'étoient étendus vers Quisoles, à 3 lieues de là, et sembloient vouloir occuper les hauteurs de Rochecotel. Les Barbets devoient entrer par Miraboue, dans le Quévray; qu'on travailloit aux fortifications de Ste. Brigide; que les détachements de 200 dragons, et du régiment de Quercy, étoient partis pour Ambrun; que les Barbets avoient enlevé la nuit toutes les vaches de Chaumont à une petite lieue de Suse, ce qui paroissoit incroyable par la longueur du chemin, tout farcy de nos troupes.

'Le Duc de Savoye, Caprara, et les Princes Eugene et de Commercy sont du voyage de Provence et Dauphiné, le Comte de Louvigny et le Général Palfy demeurant en Piemont pour y commander le reste des troupes. Les lettres de Briançon du 28 portent que les ennemis ont investy Guillestre, ensorte que la communication de là à Ambrun, c'est à dire de Briançon, est troublée. Il doit y avoir aux environs de Guillestre 6,000 hommes ennemis, qui sont dans l'action, et nous languissons. Celles du 29 de Grenoble disent [que] le messenger d'Ambrun vient d'arriver, qui dit que Monsieur de Savoye a pris Guillestre; que les ennemis ont laissé un corps d'infanterie en Piémont considérable, dans l'intention, à ce qu'on croit, de se saisir de Ste. Brigide, si Monsieur Catinat le quittoit.

'On dit que les ennemis se séparent en 3 corps pour entrer par 3 différens endroits; qu'il est passé un courier, qui leur apporte la nouvelle de l'arrivée de l'armée navale espagnolle vers Nice. On ne sait s'ils en veulent au Dauphiné ou à la Provence. Cette affaire là est la plus ambarassante de toutes. Mais, quoy qu'il arrive, Monsieur Catinat n'abandonnera pas Ste. Brigide, de peur de risquer la perte de Pignerol.

'Pour ce qui est de la mer, le Roy a mandé à Monsieur le Duc de Chaunes qu'il avoit des avis certains que les ennemis en vouloyent à St. Malo et qu'il se tint sur ses gardes. On y a fait entrer des troupes, chose fort extraordinaire aux habitans de cette ville, qui se gardoyent toujours eux memes, et n'en avoyent jamais veû. Monsieur de Némond est party de Brest, avec 5 frégattes, et il en doit encore sortir 10. On ne sait si c'est pour la Méditerranée.

'Monsieur de Vauban se dépêche de remettre Namur en état. Le fort de Nassau et encore moins le vieux chateau n'étoient point gastez; on y a jetté du monde, aussy bien que dans Dunkerque. À l'egard d'Ypre, la scituation, et les marées, joins aux fortifications, la mettent hors de crainte. On ne craint

pas pour Namur, mais si les ennemis y réussissoient on croit qu'ils se contenteroyent de prendre la ville, et la fort Guillaume, et qu'ils tiendroyent seulement le chateau bloqué.

'Le Nonce du Pape Cavalierini doit arriver mecredi prochain. On espère que tous les evesques sans distinction auront des bulles.

'Il y a pour 16 millions de nouveaux traittez sur le tapis, les francieff y sont compris, et des créations de maires perpétuels dans toutes les villes un peu considerables. Il y a encore bien d'autres créations.

'On croit toujours icy Monsieur de Langalerie mort. Monsieur de Vins commande en sa place en Provence.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 2 Aug.*

E46. 1692, [July 29/] Aug. 8. Paris. 'Lundy sur les 10 heures du soir Albergoti arriva à Versailles, n'en pouvant plus, et tombant en défaillance. Il se jetta aux pieds du Roy, en luy disant qu'il apportoit la nouvelle de la défaitte entière de l'infanterie du Prince d'Orange. Et là dessus luy fit un détail de l'action. Le lendemain les rues retentirent du bruit de cette défaitte, qu'on disoit estre de 25,000 hommes. Cela se répandit par tout; et ceux qui en parloyent avec le plus de modération publyoyent qu'il y avoit 8,000 hommes tuez, 4,000 prisonniers, et plus de 8,000 blessez, tout le canon, le champ de bataille, etc. Je vous laisse à penser le vacarme que cela fit; aussy le Roy ne temoigna jamais tant de gayeté. Mais le lendemain la Bertiére, qui est aupres de Monsieur de Chartres sousgouverneur, et qui venoit rendre compte à Monsieur de sa blessure, fit changer de langage. Il rapporta au Roy toute l'affaire fort différente de la premiere idée qu'on en avoit. Aussy le bruit se rallentit fort; et on a scû par luy et par les lettres postérieures que la chose ne nous étoit pas fort avantageuse. Le détail ne s'en débite que confusément. J'ay bien ouy faire celuy de la Bertiére. Mais comme on sait beaucoup mieux en vos quartiers ce que le Roy Guillaume a fait, je me contenteray de vous dire quelques particularitez de ce qui s'est passé parmy nos gens. Premièrement chacun donne des louanges au Roy Guillaume de son projet, qui ne pouvoit pas estre plus beau ny mieux pensé. On dit mesme que Monsieur de Luxembourg avoit fait un pas de clerc, s'étant posté d'une manière à ne se pouvoir servir de sa cavallerie; peu s'en faut mesme qu'il n'ait esté surpris.

'Sur les nouvelles de quelques deserteurs, qui raportèrent que le Roy Guillaume faisoit travailler aux chemins, il envoya Tracy avec 100 chevaux pour apprendre des nouvelles. Il reconnut que les troupes marchoyent, et en envoya donner, coup sur coup, 3 avis à Monsieur de Luxembourg, qui, croyant qu'on le vouloit attaquer à l'aisle droite, y marcha pour mettre les

troupes en état. Mais les ennemis, ayant paru, le matin, au costé de la gauche, il se trouva qu'ils s'étoient saisis d'une eminence où ils avoyent posté du canon, qui nous incommodoit beaucoup. Et on dit quil avoit déjà fait une faute de n'y avoir pas mis des troupes. Quoy qu'il en soit, l'attaque commença par là. Nos gens, étourdis du grand feu des ennemis, commencèrent à plier. Monsieur de Luxembourg se trouva embarrassé, et dit au major que cela n'alloit pas bien, et qu'il courust pour faire avancer les gardes. On fit des décharges fort pres, à la longueur de la pique, et le feu des ennemis étant supérieur, on ordonna de charger, l'épée à la main, et les bayonnettes au bout des mousquetz. Les gardes firent cela fort bien. Monsieur le Prince de Conty ranima, par sa présence, ceux qui reculoient, et se mit à leur teste. Ainsy les ennemis furent repoussez. Mais la perte aprésent passe pour estre du moins égale, nos gens n'ayant de plus que lhonneur du champ de bataille. Monsieur sur cela a dit qu'on voyoit bien de quelle utilité étoit la présence des Princes du Sang. Nous avons eû 10 à 11 régiments tres maltraitez, entre autres celuy du Roy, où presque tous les officiers ont esté tuez ou blessez: Champagne, Bourbonnois, les gardes, les vaisseaux, plusieurs régiments de dragons, etc. Nous n'en saurions avoir de liste, et je doute que nous la puissions avoir. En attendant voicy les noms des personnes de marque tuez ou blessez.

'Monsieur le Duc de Chartres, blessé de 2 coups, dont l'un luy frise d'une epaule à l'autre, qui n'a qu'effleuré la peau. L'autre fait une contusion au bras, où on luy a fait des scarifications. Le Marquis de Bellefons fils du maréchal et gendre de Monsieur de Mazarin tué. Monsieur le Prince de Turenne blessé mortellement depuis mort, sur quoy je vous diray que Madame la Comtesse du Roure est desolée; elle est tombée malade d'affliction, c'étoit son galant. Pour sa femme elle se consolera. Le Chevalier d'Estrade blessé à mort, on le tient mort. Paulier brigadier et colonel suisse, fort estimé du Roy et regretté, mort. Le Marquis d'Alégre, le bras cassé. Le Chevalier de Marcé blessé. Le Comte de St. Florentin, frère de Monsieur de Chateaneuf, la jambe cassée. Le Marquis de Tilladet blessé à la cuisse; le Marquis de Blainville fort blessé; le Marquis de Fimarcon fort blessé, depuis mort. Stoupe brigadier et colonel, le poignet du bras droit percé; Vigny commandant l'artillerie fort blessé. Le Marquis de Tiange, idem. Puissegur, mareschal des logis de l'armée, idem. Maupeou des gardes, idem. Vaurouy idem. Le Marquis de Vins filz, idem. On murmure quelque chose de Monsieur le Duc de Maine, qui ne se trouve pas. Enfin on dit qu'il y a plus de 300 officiers, et pour les soldatz on ne dit pas le nombre. À la seconde relation le Roy parut triste, et depuis ce temps là on ne dit mot.

'On a renvoyé chercher toutes les troupes, dont on avoit renforcé les places. On remarque que le Roy ne marche plus guère à pied; qu'il se fait toujours porter ou traîner à la promenade. Cela fait soubçonner que son vieux mal

ne soit pas guéry, car quoy qu'il aille à cheval, ce n'est que sur des chevaux de pas à l'aise et sans courre.

'50 chariots ont porté les blessez à Mons, qui en fourmille, et les lettres de particuliers sont toutes de désolation. Tous les jours on apprend de nouvelles morts. Monsieur De Lus second filz de Monsieur de Luxembourg, qui devoit apporter le détail, n'étoit pas encore arrivé hier au soir. On compare cette action à celle de Leuze; la difference est qu'elle est d'infanterie, au lieu que l'autre étoit de cavallerie. On n'a point fait de quartier aux Anglois qu'on dit avoir essuyé le grand choq, parce qu'ils n'en faisoient point à nos gens. On a tué jusqu'aux vivandiers. Monsieur le Prince de Conty seul a sauvé quelques prisonniers en petit nombre. On assure qu'on a débarqué plusieurs Anglois à Ostende, ce qui fait croire qu'on ne songe point à d'autre descente.

'Les dernières nouvelles de Piémont du 30 portent qu'on est fort allarmé en Dauphiné; que Monsieur Catinat a mis Ambrun hors d'estat d'estre insulté, les ennemis ne pouvant le prendre sans ouvrir la tranchée; qu'on fait marcher en diligence les troupes de ce costé-là, et qu'il doit y avoir quelque action au premier jour. On croit que tout ce que les ennemis font n'est que pour obliger de se déposter des hauteurs de Pignerol, sans quoy il leur est impossible de l'assiéger.'

4³/₄ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 8 Aug.*

E47. 1692, Aug. [1/]11. Paris. 'Quelque mine que nous fassions nous n'avons guere gagné dans le dernier combat. Le second filz de Monsieur de Luxembourg arriva avanthier, qui en apporta le dernier détail au Roy. Mais nous ne le voyons pas encore, et on ne sait s'il sera public. Nous avons perdu assurément pour le moins 500 officiers. Il est vray que nous en avons beaucoup plus que nos ennemis, et c'est en cela que consiste nostre force, car toute la France en fourmille. Dans une compagnie de 45 hommes nous en avons 3 ou 4, au lieu que les ennemis n'en ont pas tant dans une de 100 hommes. Ceux qui veulent excuser Monsieur de Luxembourg disent qu'il ne faut pas s'étonner s'il a esté surpris, parceque l'entreprise étoit contre toutes les apparences, et l'ordre ordinaire de la guerre. Mais ceux qui parlent vray disent que rien n'a esté mieux pensé; que si on ne s'étoit point amusé à se rendre maistre des hauteurs, et à disposer le canon (ce qui a donné le loisir à nos troupes reculées de s'avancer y ayant eû plus de 2 heures de temps perdu à cela) et que, sans sarrester on eust donné dans nos troupes, toute nostre infanterie couroit risque d'estre défaitte. L'obligation que l'on a à Tracy, qui a donné les avis que Monsieur de Luxembourg ne pouvoit croire, et le courage des princes, sur tout du Prince de Conty, qui se mit à pied à la teste, a tout sauvé. On parle un peu mal de Monsieur de Luxembourg qu'on accuse

de s'estre mal campé. Et, si le Prince de Conty étoit un peu mieux dans l'esprit du Roy, à l'avenir il pourroit bien commander. Nous ne savons point au juste nostre perte, qui est fort grande. Tous nos blesséz meurent. Le Marquis de Vins, le Chevalier d'Estrade, Fimarcon sont morts. Messieurs de Tilladet et de Blainville se meurent. Les blessures sont toutes effroyables, parce que l'on remarque que les calibres des mousquetz sont fort gros, et les bales par conséquent.

'Le Roy, sur ce qu'on a dit que plusieurs de nos troupes n'avoient pas combatu, a dit qu'il auroit de la besogne pour tout le monde. C'est ce qui confirme la crainte d'une seconde affaire. Le régiment du Roy a eû 40 officiers tuez ou blessez. Le régiment de Stoppa a perdu 600 hommes; et dans celuy là, et celuy de Paulier, il ne reste pas 4 capitaines. Il faut que nous y ayions perdu plus de 4 à 5,000 hommes.

'Le Roy raisonnant là dessus avec le Roy Jaques, qui prenoit plaisir à exalter la bravoure des Anglois, et marquoit une secrette joye de leur courage, parut en estre fâché, ne pouvant souffrir qu'il en disputassent [*sic*] l'honneur aux François. On s'etonne de ce qu'ils ne sont pas si fiers, l'épée à la main. Leurs manoeuvres de se servir des crosses de leurs mousquets donne le temps de les percer. C'est une chose affreuse, à ce que disent ceux qui ont esté sur le champ de bataille, de voir la quantité de corps mortz dont la terre est jonchée, et qui sont en plusieurs lieux emmoncellés les uns sur les autres. Et quantité tuez dans leurs rangs. On ne voit en ce pays-cy que gens qui se plaignent de leurs parents et amis perdus. La maison de Bouillon est au desespoir de la mort du Prince de Turenne, et de ce que le Roy a refusé la survivance de Grand Chambellan au second filz le Duc d'Albret, aprésent l'ainé. Mais il y a une vieille rencontre contre cette maison, tant en la personne du Cardinal que de celle du Prince de Turenne, qui stétoit [*sic*] trouvé meslé dans tous les méchants discours que les petits maistres avoient tenu il y a longtemps contre le Roy; ce qui ne se pardonne pas aisément quoy de [*sic*] d'ailleurs ce Prince de Turenne fust un homme d'une tres grande espérance.

'Pour ce qui regarde la mer, s'il y avoit quelque chose à craindre, ce seroit plustost à St. Malo qu'à Brest, encor à présent n'y a til pas tant de sujet qu'il y en avoit peu de temps apres l'echec. Alors on ne s'étoit pas precautionné. Vous avez tort de croire qu'il n'y a pas tant de vaisseaux à Brest comme je vous l'ay marqué dans mes précédentes. Nous en avions au commencement de ce printemps 88 à mettre à la mer; ostez en les 2 perdus au détroit, les 15 brulez apres le combat, ce sont 17. Il faut que le reste se trouve.

'Il y a plus de 15 jours que Monsieur de Nesmond [est parti], on ne sait pour où, car il ne devoit ouvrir ses ordres qu'à certaine hauteur en mer; mais on croit que c'est pour la Méditerranée. Il n'a pris que 9 vaisseaux. On en battit

3 à Brest de 100 et 110 pièces de canon. Ceux qui entendent la mer disent qu'ils craignent plus les Hollandois que les Anglois.

'Les nouvelles de Piémont d'hier disent qu'Ambrun est investy. Monsieur Catinat est au Mont Genève avec 22 bataillons. Monsieur de Savoye est accusé d'avoir rompu la capitulation de Guillestre, et au lieu d'avoir envoyé la garnison, consistante en un régiment de milices de Dauphiné, il l'a envoyée prisonnière de guerre en Piémont, avec 2 compagnies irlandaises. Ses troupes ont passé au dessus de Port St. Chement, la Durance à quay. 2 bataillons, qui gardoyent le pont, se sont retirez à Ambrun, au tour duquel les ennemis ont fait le dégast. Monsieur de Larrey, qui est dedans, avec pres de 4,000 hommes, s'y prétend bien deffendre. Les habitans de Briançon, Gap, Ambrun et autres lieux, c'est à dire les gens d'église, femmes, enfans, etc., se retirent en foule à Grenoble. Les ennemis disent qu'ils attendent encore des troupes pour aller en Provence, où toutes les milices, ban et arrièrebau, sont assemblez. Monsieur de Schombert qui est avec 5,000 hommes dans la vallée de Quévray, où l'on croit qu'il veut prendre le chateau, pour y mettre garnison, doit joindre Monsieur de Savoye, et meine avec luy 160 mulets chargez de fusilz. On croit toujours que leur veritable dessein est faire abandonner par nos gens Ste. Brigide, qui empesche le siège de Pignerol, car il est difficile que toutes ses troupes subsistent dans un aussy méchant pays qu'est celui des montagnes de Dauphiné.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 9 Aug.*

E48. 1692, Aug. [5/] 15. Paris. 'On a exactement recherché tous les morts et blessez au combat de Flandre. Il seroit trop long de vous en faire le détail. Voicy en gros en quoy cela consiste. 63 officiers tuez et 372 blessez. 87 sergents tuez et 205 blessez. 1,765 soldats tuez et 3,652 blessez. En tout, tuez ou blessez, c'est 6,144. Il est vray que Véziere fameux chirurgien a mandé que la plus part des blessez mouroyent; ce qu'on attribue en partie à la grosseur des bales, qui font de grands escars; ce qui fait juger que les calibres des mousquets des ennemis sont beaucoup plus gros que les nostres, ou bien à des coups de tonnerres, qui ont envenimé les playes. On ne croit pas que Monsieur le Marquis de Tilladet, qu'on avoit dit n'estre blessé que légèrement, échappe. Pour Monsieur de Blainville, il se porte mieux. Le Comte de St. Florentin, le Chevallier de Murçay et le Chevallier d'Estrade sont morts. On craignoit icy une seconde affaire, mais à présent on n'en parle pas.

'On assure que les troupes qu'on disoit destinées à une descente se débarquent en Flandre. Ainsy on ne croit plus qu'on y pense. On a desarmé 10 vaisseaux de ceux qui sont à Brest. On dit que les ennemis ont des vaisseaux vers les isles de Gerzay et Grenezay, qui empeschent la communication de St. Malo à Brest.

‘Il est arrivé 2 vaisseaux du costé de Siam aux Isles de l’Amerique, d’où ils ont apporté une maladie contagieuse, dont tous nos gens des ces isles meurent. Les Anglois n’en sont pas exempts, en étant travaillez comme nous.

‘Monsieur Catinat s’est fortifié. On dit qu’il a à present 34 bataillons, que Monsieur le Duc de la Ferté a esté détaché, avec 4,000 hommes, pour s’aller opposer à Monsieur de Schomberg dans la vallée de Queiras, et l’empescher d’en prendre le chateau, dont il se vouloit emparer. Le bruit qu’on avoit fait courir que Monsieur de Savoye avoit rompu la capitulation de Guillestre ne se trouve pas veritable, puis qu’on dit qu’il avoit pris cette garnison prisonnière de guerre. On ne croit pas qu’il persiste dans le dessein de prendre Ambrun. Il reste fort peu de troupes pour garder le mont de Ste. Brigide et les hauteurs de Pignerol, Monsieur Catinat ayant fait venir la plus part des troupes, et n’y en ayant laissé que peu pour la garde. Les ennemis se flattent de la jonction de plusieurs gens de Dauphiné, mais il n’y a guère d’apparence à cela, à moins qu’on ne les vist postez dans des lieux à y pouvoir subsister. Tous ceux qui ont quelque chose à perdre ne se hazarderont pas. Le bruit couroit hier que Monsieur le Duc de Savoye avoit levé le piquet de devant Ambrun, et étoit allé dans la vallée de Barcelonnette; ce qui semble luy faire reprendre la routte du Piemont, où l’on dit qu’un nouveau corps d’Alemands vient encore, dans le dessein de profiter en un des quartiers d’hyver, en ce pays-là, où ils se sont bien trouvez. Que le Duc de Mantoue y donne les mains. Quoy que d’ailleurs on prétend que le Pape et les autres princes d’Italie se liguent avec nous, pour empescher qu’ils ne fassent aucun etablissement dans toute l’Italie.

‘On dit que Monsieur de Luxembourg s’en est allé camper à Lessines. Je ne croy pas qu’il se campe desormais en lieu où sa cavallerie ne le puisse pas servir. Tout le monde en a murmuré contre luy, et l’on continue de dire que si le Roy Guillaume ne s’estoit pas trop arresté à prendre tant de précautions pour son canon, et pour se saisir des hauteurs, nostre infanterie n’auroit pas eû le loisir de se mettre en bataille et auroit esté toute défaitte. Au reste, on dit que la nouvelle de la prise de Namur a épouventé le Roy d’Espagne, et qu’il ne put estre consolé que pour la Reine Mére, qui s’enferma avec luy, qu’il vouloit battre tout le monde, etc.

‘On ne doute pas que Monsieur de Némond, avec ses 9 vaisseaux, ne soit allé dans la mer Méditerranée.

‘Le traitté des francfiefs est fait. C’est la compagnie des amortissements qui l’a pris, à 4,800,000 st. Il y a longtemps qu’on avoit fait payer des taxes pour amortir ce droit. Mais on a expliqué que ce n’étoit que pour la vie de ceux qui en avoyent payé les taxes. Ainsy les successeurs ou acheteurs tombent toujours dans le mesme cas, outre que pour lors, au lieu d’exiger le triple du droit, à peine fit on payer le double, et on n’acqueroit l’exemption qu’en

payant 3 années du revenu, au lieu que le droit ordinaire est d'en payer une en 20 ans.

'On mande de divers endroits du Languedoc qu'il y est arrivé des ouragans pareils à celui de Montauban.

'On écrit de Xaintonge du 8 de ce mois que le ban et arrièrebau marchoit en Bretagne; et que la récolte ne sera pas bonne. Le froid recommence, et l'esté se passe, sans que nous nous soyions aperceûs du chaud. Adieu le bon vin, nous n'aurons que de la piquette.'

3½ pp. *French.*

E49. 1692, Aug. [8/] 18. Paris. 'On découvre de plus en plus la perte que nous avons faite dans ce dernier combat, et je say de bonne part qu'elle va à 7,500 tuez ou blessez. Mais ce seroit mal faire sa cour que de la dire.

'Les dernières nouvelles du Dauphiné disent qu'il n'y a plus de troupes devant Pignerol, Monsieur de Savoye les ayant toutes fait marcher, pour l'aller joindre. La tranchée a esté ouverte devant Ambrun le 6e. de ce mois. Quelques lettres portent qu'on étoit si pres de la muraille que le mineur y étoit desjà attaché. Ce qui fasche la plus, c'est que cette ville étoit le magasin des vivres de nostre armée, et qu'il y a dedans plus de 50,000 sextiers de bled, avec beaucoup d'autres provisions capables de faire subsister les ennemis, qui en ont bien besoin; car, quoy qu'ils fassent incessamment battre tous les grains qu'ils trouvent, le pain vaut, à ce qu'on dit, dans leur camp, jusqu'à 15 f. la livre. Monsieur Catinat assemble des troupes de toutes pars; et l'ingénieur, qui est dans la ville, assure qu'il tiendra 15 jours de tranchée ouverte. Monsieur de Larrey a 5 bataillons dans la place, et il y en a encore 5 autres sur des hauteurs, dans des vignes prests à s'y jeter, si le cas y échet. Il y a aussy 20 pièces de canon, dont 12 étoient destinées pour Briançon, où l'on n'a pas eû le temps de les conduire. Les lettres du 12 de Grenoble portent que les ennemis n'estoyent qu'à 20 pas de la muraille, et qu'ils sont plus de 30,000. Qu'on doute que Monsieur Catinat veuille hasarder un combat, avec le peu de troupes qu'il a. Que la consternation est dans toutes les montagnes. Le nombre des ennemis effraye les gens. Monsieur Catinat est descendu à St. Crespin, et de là dans la plaine de Ste. Maire. Cette affaire paroist la plus fascheuse. La Provence est à lerte. Les Marseillois ont mis 15,000 hommes sous les armës, aux environs de leur ville. Monsieur de Schomberg, qui vouloit assiéger le chateau de Queiras, n'a pas jugé apropos d'attendre Monsieur Catinat, qui alloit à luy avec plus de troupes qu'il n'en avoit; il a esté obligé de quitter et l'on dit qu'il vient joindre Monsieur de Savoye par une autre route. Monsieur Catinat a jetté des munitions de guerre et de bouche dans ce chateau, parce que c'est un passage important.

‘On assure que nostre ambassadeur a prié les Venitiens d’interposer leur entremise pour la paix d’Italie. Le Pape y insiste, et les princes raschent à détourner l’orage de leur pays, ne voulant pas que la guerre y prenne racine.

‘Il n’y a rien de nouveau sur la mer. St. Malo et Brest sont en seureté. On attend avec impatience l’effet de la menace de la descente. Chacun en parle diversement et les plus sensez croient que c’est un leurre, pour nous obliger à faire des diversions; en quoy le Roy Guillaume ne réussit pas mal, car cela nous occupe plus de 30,000 hommes le long des costes. Tous les matelots y ont esté dispersez, pour y servir en cas de besoin. Le mauvais temps nous fait craindre pour nos bleds, qui paroissent fort beaux, mais nous craignons qu’ils ne fondent en eau. Pour du vin, nous n’en aurons point. Ce ne sera que du verjus.

‘Vous vous mocquez des astrologues. Cependant savez vous bien qu’il y a plus de 2 ans qu’on nous avoit assuré que Monsieur de Louvois ne verroit pas la 51 ou 52e. année de sa vie? On nous assura aussy que Madame de Maintenon ne passeroit pas l’année prochaine. Vous le verrez, et nous aussy, si nous vivons jusqu’en ce temps-là.

‘On mande d’Allemagne que le Duc de Croy va faire le siège de Themiswar, avec l’armée que commande Veterani. Que Monsieur le Prince de Bade couvrira la siège, avec l’armée Impériale; et qu’on fera un pont de communication entre les armées. Et en cas que les Turcs s’avancent, le Prince de Bade leur donnera bataille. Quoy qu’ils soyent nos bons amis, nous sommes tout persuadez, s’il y a combat, qu’ils seront battus. Les Alemands sont à présent en possession de les battre. Pourveu qu’ils ne fassent pas la paix, nous nous en consolerons. Nostre ambassadeur est présentement à Andrinople.

‘On est en peine de savoir si l’affaire de l’Electorat pour le Duc d’Hannover réussira. On est persuadé que tous les Electeurs n’y consentiront pas, et que dans le Collège des Princes il y aura de grandes oppositions.

‘Madame de Cornuel, qui est, comme vous savez, une source inépuisable de bons motz et de jeux d’esprit, avoit dit fort plaisamment et avec trop de verité, au sujet du Te Deum qui a esté chanté icy pour nostre prétendue victoire, que les Te Deums des princes étoient les De Profundis des particuliers, a dit aussy, en se moquant des 5 ou 6 méchants drapeaux, dont nous avons fait parade, et qui nous sont venus du dernier combat, qu’il n’y avoit pas là dequoy faire des falbala à 3 ou 4 des vieux drapeaux de Nostre Dame. Vous n’entendez peut-estre pas ce mot de falbala. C’est un ornement moderne que les dames ont inventé depuis peu sur leurs juppes, dont le haut est godronné en bouillons et qui pend jusqu’au bas. Monsieur de Langlée, grand mareschal des logis de l’armée, a donné ce nom à ce nouvel ajustement.’

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 5 Sept.*

E50. 1692, Aug. [12/] 22. Paris. 'Je ne vous ay pas dit nostre avis sur la lettre au Roy de Monsieur de Luxembourg, que vous devez avoir veue, estant bien aise de savoir auparavant ce qu'on en dit en vos quartiers. On a esté étonné icy de ce qu'on l'a imprimée. Elle est embarrassée et pleine de puérilité. Cette dernière affaire aussy a bien diminué de sa réputation. On remarque peu de conduite, et on renouvelle la chanson de l'armée qu'il commandoit autrefois sur le Rhein, qu'on disoit avoir cent mille bras et n'avoir point de teste. On a jetté des billets dans son armée contenant ce sens-là. Je ne croy pas qu'on veuille plus de combats. Le Roy s'est expliqué là dessus. C'est à luy à prendre garde de se mieux camper. On ne veut plus icy de lhonneur et de la gloire, qui couste si cher.

'Au reste, on est fort en peine du lieu où va descendre la flotte ennemie, qui est en mer. La plus part croyent que c'est du costé de Fontarabie. On dit qu'on la veue passer vers Brest, et cependant hier on disoit qu'on l'avoit veue passer vers Calais, allant vers la Flandre. Cela nous desoriente. On ne sait qu'en juger.

'Il est arrivé hier apresdisnée un courrier du cabinet venant du Dauphiné, mais on ne sait encore ce qu'il apporte. Les lettres de ce pays-là depuis le 12 jusqu'au 15 disent que Monsieur de Larray se défendoit fort bien dans Ambrun; qu'encore que la tranchée fust ouverte depuis 10 jours on tenoit la prise incertaine; que la nuit du 10 au 11 on avoit fait une sortie, dans laquelle on avoit tué le mineur et 3 à 400 Alemands, Monsieur de Commercy mesme blessé à la joue, 3 ou 4 des principaux officiers de l'armée de Monsieur de Savoye tuez; on ne les nomme point, mais on dit qu'il en est fort fâché. Cependant on croit que, si la place n'est pas rendue àpresent, elle ne peut plus guère tenir. Monsieur Catinat est descendu du Mont Genève. Il est en deçà de Briançon, à 2 lieues d'Ambrun, dans le camp de Presle, avec 26 bataillons, pour couvrir Briançon et combattre les ennemis, s'il peut, dans un lieu reserré. Mais les chemins sont impracticables. Il a fait un détachement de 6,000 hommes pour aller du costé de Fraissinière. On croit que c'est pour construire un pont sur la rivière, et aller attaquer Monsieur de Schomberg, qui garde un pont avec 3,000 hommes par où les ennemis reçoivent leurs convoys. On meine de Cony 4 pièces de canon du calibre de 16 à Monsieur de Savoye. Les pionniers travaillent aux chemins. Toutes les munitions marchent à dos de mulet.

'Monsieur de Bachevilliers est au camp de la Batie pour couvrir Grenoble, où l'allarme est fort grande. On y travaille fort et ferme à reparer les fossez et les murailles. Le 15e., qui étoit la grande feste de Nostre Dame, on y travailloit mesme. On y a abatu les 2 faubourgs, dont l'un s'appelle de 3 cloistres, et l'autre De la Poste de Bonne. On a abatu tous les arbres fruittiers et autres aux environs de la ville, ce qui ruine beaucoup de pauvres gens, et en incommode

beaucoup d'autres, qui crient. Il a passé par cette ville là 2 régiments de dragons, l'un de Bretagne et l'autre du Héron. On y attend aussy 8 bataillons irlandois. On détache encore de Flandre et d'Alemagne plusieurs régiments de dragons pour y aller. On assure que les Nouveaux Convertis n'y remuent point; que le ministre Arnaud ayant dans un sermon où Madame de Schomberg étoit, dans la vallée de Quieras, exhorté les assistans de se joindre à Monsieur de Savoye, ils n'avoient pas voulu y entendre; et que les gentilshommes ont assuré Monsieur Catinat de leur fidélité au service du Roy. Je croy qu'ils ne remueront pas, s'ils ne voyent quelque etablissement solide. On garde fort exactement tous les passages du Rosne, de peur que les Sevenots et gens du Vivarets ne passent en Dauphiné. Car on dit que les ennemis, apres Ambrun, veulent aller à Gap, qui est sans defense, et à Dye, pour entrer dans le bas Dauphiné, et avoir communication avec le Vivaretz.

'Il y a 3 ou 4 mois qu'il meurt beacoup de pauvres gens en Auvergne, par des maladies que la mauvaise nourriture a causées. Depuis peu le mal a gagné les honnestes gens. C'est une espèce de peste, qui emporte tout le monde en moins de 2 jours. Il y a déjà plusieurs villes abandonnées, Thiers entre autres. On parle d'oster la communication en ce pays-là. Gens qui ont esté aux eaux de Vichy la dernière saison disent que tout y étoit plein de pauvres familles qui mouroyent de faim et de maladies. Si ce n'est peste, il ne s'en faut guére, car elles produisent le mesme effet.

'Certaines gens, qui ont toujours eû les premieres nouvelles d'Alemagne, en ont reçeu qui portent que le Comte Tekely a envoyé des dépesches secrettes par son secretaire au Comte Véterani pour faire sa paix et traitter de celle des Turcs; que le Chevallier Harbord est party, Marcilly étant revenu d'Andrinople avec de nouvelles instructions pour la faire. On ajoûte que le Grand Seigneur a esté déposé; et qu'on a mis en sa place sur le trosne son neveu, filz de Mahomet 4. Que Colliers, ce me semble, envoyé de Messieurs les Estatz, avoit fort exalté l'avantage qui avoit esté remporté sur nous par mer, et que le nouveau Grand Seigneur veut la paix. Cela mérite confirmation. Celuy d'où vient cette nouvelle nous apprit la bataille de Salankémen 8 jours avant qu'on l'eust apprise d'ailleurs. Ainsy cela nous y fait faire plus d'attention.

'On s'est étonné de tout temps comment le Roy Guillaume n'a pas employé son crédit aupres de l'Empereur pour faire la paix particulière de Tekely, qui a toujours tenu la Hongrie en echec; outre que c'est un homme à acquérir. On parle de lever encore 50,000 hommes. Je ne say pas où on les prendra, car ils deviennent rares. Il[s] nous manqueront plustost que l'argent, car ce pays-cy a de grandes ressources pour la finance. On a remarqué qu'en Auvergne les paysans ne vouloyent point prendre du bled que le Roy avoit envoyé pour leur distribuer, de la peur qu'ils avoyent d'estre engagez, et enrollez.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 20 Aug.*

E51. 1692, Aug. [15/] 25. Paris. 'Si vendredy j'avois eû 2 heures plus de temps, c'est à dire que le courier fust party 2 heures plus tard, je vous aurois appris la prise d'Ambrun. Nous n'en savons pas encore toutes les particularitez, seulement que le 17 elle s'est rendue, n'ayant ny poudre ny plomb dans la place; que Monsieur le Duc de Savoye y entre ce jour là, et que l'Archevesque luy donna à souper; à l'issue duquel Monsieur de Savoye luy ayant demandé à quoy il se déterminoit, il répondit qu'il ne vouloit point quitter son eglise. Mais, dit Monsieur de Savoye, il faut donc que vous me fassiez le serment de fidélité. L'ayant refusé, on l'a mené à Gap, où il s'est retiré.

'On nous dit que le Marquis de Parelle a esté tué, Monsieur le Prince Eugène fort blessé, et que la blessure de Monsieur le Prince de Commercy est plus grande qu'on ne l'avoit dit d'abord, ayant une partie de la machoire rompue et 4 dents emportées; que les ennemis ont perdu 1,500 hommes devant cette méchante place, qui ne laisse pas d'étonner le Dauphiné. Beaucoup de gens se retirent à Grenoble et à Lyon; que les ennemis se fortifient beaucoup, étant àprésent 35,000 hommes; qu'on ne sait pas leur dessein. Les uns disent qu'ils vont à Gap, et de là à Cisteron, où Monsieur le Marquis de Valavoire a mandé qu'il ny avoit que 2 méchants canons de fer et point de poudre ny bouletz. À quoy Monsieur de Barbezieux a répondu qu'il n'y pouvoit pas mettre ordre; en sorte que, si les ennemis y vont, ils n'y trouveront point de défense. Mais on a peine à croire que les ennemis s'engagent si avant, parce qu'on pourroit bien leur fermer les passages pour sen retourner; car de tous costez on amasse des troupes pour y envoyer. Monsieur de Vins y meine 3 à 4,000 hommes, Monsieur de Grignan tout ce qu'il a ramassé en Provence; Monsieur de Bachevilliers s'y fortifie; et Monsieur Catinat, qui commande tout, dispose toutes les troupes pour garder les passages. Ainsy plusieurs croient que Monsieur de Savoye se contentera de prendre toutes les munitions d'Ambrun, et se retirera. Il seroit dangereux que cela durast longtemps, parce que tous les Alemans tomberoyent de ce costé-là, où l'on n'a jamais pensé à se fortifier contre de pareilles invasions, qui pourroyent rendre ce pays là le plus fascheux théâtre de la guerre.

'Le changement de la flotte destinée à la descente nous a rafraichy le sang. Le Roy a dit qu'il avoit avis que dans le conseil de guerre tenu sur la flotte, on avoit trouvé que la saison étoit trop avancée; que les vents n'étoient pas favorables, et qu'on s'étoit trop précautionné dans les lieux où ils vouloyent aborder. Cela fait croire qu'on n'a pas eû un véritable dessein de faire une descente, mais seulement d'en faire courir le bruit, pour faire une diversion de nos troupes, dont, sans cela, on se seroit servy utilement ailleurs. De plus cela a servy à engager bien des gens à s'embarquer, qui ne l'auroient pas fait si on leur avoit parlé de les mener en Flandre, chacun étant attiré par l'apast [appas] d'entrer en France dans l'espérance d'y trouver de quoy piller, et y vivre à gogo.

'Il est arrivé depuis peu un courrier de Constantinople qui confirme la révolution, et la dépossession du Grand Seigneur auquel on a substitué son neveu, filz du dépossédé. Mais on demande pourtant une autre confirmation, et on n'est pas encore persuadé pour cela de la paix avec l'Empire. L'intérêt des Vénitiens sera difficile à s'ajuster, et les Turcs ont toujours des espérances. Ainsy on ne croit pas icy cette affaire si preste à s'accommoder. Il y a des gajures qu'elle ne sera pas faite d'un an.

'Le Colonel Stouppe brigadier, qui n'a que le poignet percé d'un coup de mousquet, court risque.

'Les ennemis ne font rien en Catalogne. Papachin, dont on nous menaçoit tant, n'a, dit-on, que 8 ou 10 méchants vaisseaux; et pour les galères nous sommes fort superieurs. Ainsy de ce costé là on ne craint rien.

'On dit que le Roy est satisfait du calme des Nouveaux Convertis. Cependant il y a un bruit sourd que le Vice-Legat d'Avignon a découvert qu'il[s] s'etoient donné plusieurs rendez vous des provinces voisines, dans cette ville-là, se croyant fort assurez dans terre papale, où l'on ne les soubçonneroit jamais de se donner des rendez-vous.

'Au reste, nous avouons que Monsieur de Luxembourg a esté surpris dans cette dernière affaire de Flandre, et que si les projetz du Roy Guillaume avoyent esté suivis, nous nous en serions fort mal trouvez. Madame de Cornuel, qui, comme je vous l'ay déjà marqué, est en poss[ess]ion de dire de bons motz, a dit fort plaisamment là dessus, que Monsieur de Luxembourg en cette rencontre s'etoit fort bien justifié qu'il n'étoit pas sorcier. Il n'est pas besoin de vous faire de commentaire là dessus. Il vous doit souvenir pour quelle raison il fut mis à la Bastille. On l'accuse d'avoir fait la débauche toute la nuit du jour qu'il fut attaqué par le Roy Guillaume. Il est accusé d'en faire de toutes sortes; en effet, ce jour là il eut bien de la peine à se lever, ne voulant pas déferer aux avis qu'on luy venoit donner. Il a esté fort daubé là dessus, et on a fait quantité de chansons sur ce sujet. On n'épargne personne. On ne croit pas icy qu'il se passe rien de plus en Flandre; au moins n'est-on pas dans l'intention de hazarder aucun combat. Le Roy a donné 40,000 écus à Monsieur de Vilette, moyenant quoy sa Majesté disposera du régiment que le Chevalier de Murçay son filz commandoit. La faveur règne toujours de ce costé-là. L'affaire des maires perpetuels est faite à 8 milions. Je ne say où on prendra tant d'argent.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 23 Aug.*

E52. 1692, Aug. [18/] 28. Paris. 'On parle encore icy tous les jours de la dernière affaire de Flandres. Il est certain qu'elle a fait grand tort à la réputation de Monsieur de Luxembourg. Il n'a plus d'ordre de hazarder

aucun combat. Il y a 3 jours qu'on en craignoit un, mais depuis on a appris que les armées s'étoient éloignées. En sorte qu'à present on ne croit plus qu'il se passe rien, et on est sur cela en quelque repos. Cependant on est tout étonné qu'outre les recrues on parle de lever encore 50,000 hommes. Chacun dit, où les prendra t on? L'expédient dont on se sert pour ne pas effrayer toute la campagne est d'obliger chaque communauté en paroisse de fournir un homme: ainsy qu'il a esté pratiqué pour les milices, qui seront mises en troupes réglées. Sans cet expédient les terres demeuroient incultes; parce que la plus part des paysans se tiennent cachez, dans les provinces, lorsqu'on travaille aux levées, car on les prend par force.

'On parle fort de la paix du Turc, ce qui acheveroit de gaster toutes nos affaires. On travaille fort et ferme à l'empescher. Un des commis de Monsieur de Croissy, qui est de mes amis, veut gager, quelque chose qu'on dise, qu'elle ne sera pas faite d'icy á un an.

'On est fort embarrassé sur le fait de la flotte destinée à la descente. Le Roy mesme a receû tant d'avis differens qu'il ne sait qu'en croire. On a veû des vaisseaux tout de nouveau vers les costes de Normandie et de Bretagne. Toutes les troupes qui estoient sur ces costes-là sont filées vers Nantes, et du costé de la Rochelle.

'On doit envoyer 4 vaisseaux de guerre avec 12 vaisseaux marchands aux Isles, où l'on craint. Monsieur de Flacour y est mort, et beaucoup d'autres officiers. On n'est pas moins embarrassé des desseins du Duc de Savoye, qu'on dit avoir mis dans Ambrun beaucoup de François. On ne sait encore s'il prétend conserver cette place.

'Les dernières nouvelles de Briançon du 21 de ce mois portent que les ennemis ayant paru du costé de Suse, Monsieur de Catinat y a fait avancer 2 régiments; qu'il fait occuper toutes les hauteurs et passages, et on croit que Briançon est à couvert. On parle d'un combat à Hubaye sur les confins de Provence, où Monsieur le Marquis de Parelle a esté blessé, et ses troupes battues, qu'on le portoit à Turin, et qu'il est mort en chemin à Salusses. On assure que dans cette rencontre et à Ambrun les ennemis on[t] perdu beaucoup de gens de qualité. Outre Monsieur de Parelle favory du Duc, le Prince Eugène a esté blessé à l'épaule, et le Prince de Commercy à la joue d'un coup qui luy a cassé la machoire supérieure. De nostre costé le Marquis de Vauquiére, gendre du Marquis de la Trousse, blessé à la machoire inférieure; le Marquis de Bernay et le Comte de Massel aux cuisses, le Marquis d'Ustor tué, avec beaucoup d'autres officiers de moindre qualité.

'Il y a eû quelque intelligence dans Suse, qui a esté découverte. On a été effrayé à Turin d'y voir arriver tant de gens blessez en ces 2 occasions. On écrit de Milan du 15 que la Comtesse de Caraffa fait transporter ses meubles à Gennes, pour y faire sa résidence, en attendant son mary, qui doit venir de

Vienne, pour regler les quartiers d'hyver, avec ordre pour soumettre les princes d'Italie à la réserve du Pape, à qui on dit pourtant qu'il demande Boulongne, pour y mettre des troupes, ce qui ne plaist pas à sa Sainteté. On travaille à Pavie à y fondre des canons, et à toutes sortes de munitions de guerre. On fait de grands magasins de foin et de grains à Novarre, Valence et Alexandrie. Monsieur de Rébenac est party de Parme pour Modéne.

'Les François prisonniers de Guillestre sont dans la citadelle de Verceil. Caraffa a mandé à ses amis qu'il espéroit amener encore avec luy 6,000 Alemans pour mettre en quartier d'hyver dans le Montferrat. Les Génois ont armé et mis des garnisons en divers lieux. Les paysans transportent tous leurs effectz à Gennes, en attendant des nouvelles du party que prendra le Duc de Savoye.

'Monsieur de Luxembourg n'a pas voulu qu'on détachast de son armée les 5 régiments de dragons qu'on vouloit envoyer en ce pays-là. Quelques gens assurent que le Roy à esté touché de voir que les Nouveaux Convertis du Dauphiné ne remuoient pas. On ne s'y fie pourtant pas; car on craint que, s'ils voyoyent les affaires avancées, ils pourroyent bien remuer. On m'a assuré que Julien étoit dégouté du service du Duc de Savoye, et qu'il revenoit en France, où on luy faisoit un party avantageux. On dit que le Duc se laisse aisement prévenir, et que par là il mécontente des officiers qui d'ailleurs cherchent à se supplanter les uns les autres. Malet a 5,000 livres de pension, en attendant qu'on luy donne la compagnie suisse qu'on luy a promise. Il n'est pourtant pas fort content de la façon qu'on m'en a parlé.

'Il arrive incessamment des courriers. Il y a tel jour qu'il en arrive 4 ou 5. Quelques gens croient que Monsieur le Duc de Savoye abandonnera Ambrun, où l'on n'a trouvé, dit-on, que 7,000 sacs de bled. Le Duc a attrapé le trésorier qui payoit les troupes à Ambrun. Monsieur de Catinat luy avoit donné avis de pourvoir à la seureté de son argent, dont il n'étoit pas parlé dans la capitulation. Il croyoit l'avoir fait en distribuant tout aux officiers qui le portoyent dans leurs poches. Le Duc ayant demandé au trésorier quel argent il avoit, il répondit qu'il n'avoit que 400 pistoles, de quoy le Duc s'étant moqué, il ordonna qu'on le fouillast. On luy trouva tous les billets des officiers à qui il avoit confié son argent, ainsy ils furent obligez de vuider leurs poches. On dit qu'il n'y avoit que 7,000 pistoles.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 26 Aug.*

E53. 1692, [Aug. 22/] Sept. 1. Paris. 'J'ay reçeu avec vostre dernière lettre l'abregé du procez de Granval, dont il y a des imprimez icy. Monsieur l'Archevêque de Rheims, à qui on envoie généralement tout ce qui se fait en vos quartiers, en a un. Il se récrie fort contre cela, et prétend que c'est une imposture. J'en ay parlé à Paparel, qui m'a paru pourtant fort instruit de la

chose, et en connoist tous les personnages, pour les avoir veûs et leur avoir parlé. On assure que ces gens-là avoyent un grain de folie, quoy que Granval eust esté officier. Il m'a parlé de cette femme à qui la lettre de Granval est adressée. La plus part des gens croyent qu'on a fait parler Granval comme on a voulu, dans l'esperance qu'on luy donneroit la vie. Ce qu'il y a au moins de certain c'est que le Roy n'est point entré là dedans, cela n'étant point de son caractère.

'On a nouvelles que la flotte anglaise ayant remis à la voile, a passé mardy dernier à la hauteur de Bellisle, passant outre, et suivant les costes de Poitou, où tout est en allarmes. Si cela est vray, on ne doute pas qu'elle n'aille du costé de Guyenne, envers Bayonne. Jusqu'à présent cela a tenu tout le monde en suspens. On en a parlé fort diversement.

'Nous avons appris qu'un party de la garnison de Namur, de 3 à 400 hommes, qui étoit sorty dans le dessein d'aller se saisir de quelques palissades, a esté étrillé par les troupes de Cerclas de Tilly. Monsieur de Hocquincourt y a esté tué, avec 3 ou 4 colonels, et que peu de gens-là s'en sont retournez à Namur; que Monsieur le Prince d'Enrichemont y a esté fait prisonnier. Son ardeur est cause de son malheur; car Monsieur de Guiscar luy avoit recommandé de ne se pas engager dans aucun combat.

'On est fort intrigué à la cour pour decouvrir les desseins du Roy Guillaume. Le Roy en demandoit l'autre jour l'avis à Monsieur de Chanlay, qui luy dit qu'il sembloit que le Roy Guillaume en vouloit à Dunkerque, ou à Ypres, mais que ces deux places étoient hors d'atteinte, par leurs fortifications, leur situation, et l'ordre qu'on y avoit donné. On est toujours dans la crainte de quelque nouvelle surprise, et l'on ne veut point de combat, dans la persuasion où l'on est que 4 batailles gagnées ne nous feroient pas tant de bien qu'une perdue nous feroit de mal.

'On dit que la paix du Turc ne se fera point, qu'à la vérité cette année ils n'ont pas assez de forces pour attaquer; qu'ainsy ils ne feront que se tenir sur la défensive; mais que l'année prochaine ils feront des efforts extraordinaires pour reprendre ce qu'on leur a pris.

'Je croy vous avoir mandé que Monsieur Fériel, que vous connoissez, est aupres du Grand Visir. Il a 12,000 livres du Roy. J'ay veû une fort grande lettre de luy écrite d'Andrinople le premier du mois passé, mais le plus secret est en chiffres. Il se loue fort du Grand Visir, qui le traite fort bien, et luy fournit tous les equipages nécessaires pour l'accompagner. Il avoue que le peuple souhaite la paix. Cependant ils croyent à la Porte qu'il vaut mieux hazarder tous les etats qu'ils ont en Europe que de consentir à une paix honteuse; que cet empire ne manquera jamais d'argent et qu'encore qu'ils aient beaucoup perdu de leurs bonnes troupes, ils seront en état d'en refaire d'autres. Je croy que Fériel passera aupres du Comte de Tekely.

‘Les nouvelles du Dauphiné ne sont pas, depuis quelque temps, bien seures. On dit seulement que par les démarches que fait le Duc de Savoye, il ne paroist pas qu’il pense s’y établir; parce qu’il fait transporter les grains en Piémont, qu’il se dispose à razer Ambrun, et à tirer le plus d’argent qu’il pourra. Il ne demande que 14,000 écus à cette ville.

‘Au reste, on nous avoit parlé d’une rencontre à Ubaye sur les confins de Provence, qui n’est qu’une illusion. Tous les morts et blessez sont du siège d’Ambrun. On prétend que présentement le véritable dessein est sur Suze, que les ennemis veulent tascher de prendre et d’empescher la communication avec cette place, et avec Pignerol. Monsieur de Larrey est allé se jeter dans Suze. On dit qu’on ne sauroit empescher Monsieur de Savoye de se retirer, quand il luy plaira.

‘La guerre commence plus que jamais à pezer, parce qu’on ne voit point apparence de fin. Il y a un Alemand qui propose de débaucher quantité d’officiers. Je m’informeray de son nom et de ses habitudes.

‘Il est vray qu’on n’est pas content du combat de Steinkerke, et que Monsieur de Luxembourg est fort baissé pour sa réputation. On fait toujours état de lever sur les communautéz 50,000 hommes.

‘On écrit de Namur comme si on y craignoit le siège, mais icy on traite cela de vision. Cependant on se défie fort des desseins du Roy Guillaume. Le Roy est soucieux et la cour assez triste. On assure que les Suisses ont répondu fort fièrement aux semonces de l’Empereur qui veut les faire déclarer; et que leur réponse a esté qu’ils se declareroyent contre ceux qui voudroyent les obliger à rompre leur neutralité. Il n’y a que l’argent qui les meine, et c’est un moyen seur que nous avons pour les tenir en brassière. Le General Stouppe les gouverne, et traite icy leurs officiers à baguette, et de haut en bas. Quoy qu’on assure que la cour est satisfaite des Huguenots, ils sont toujours fort suspects. D’ailleurs, on les laisse assez en liberté; pour la religion, on ne dit mot à personne, et ceux qui reviennent sont bien-venus.’

4pp. *French.*

E54. 1692, [Aug. 22/] Sept. 1. ‘Autres nouvelles contenues dans la mesme lettre.’ ‘Si vous avez tant de peine à croire plusieurs aventures et faitz extraordinaires que je vous ay mandez, que direz-vous donc de ce qu’on écrit de Lisbonne? C’est une lettre qui vient de la maison de Monsieur l’Abbé D’Estrées, nouvel ambassadeur de France en Portugal, en datte du 19e. juillet dernier. En voicy l’extrait.

‘Je vous avois écry par le courrier ordinaire la fausse couche de la Reyne. En voicy les suittes. Apres avoir mis dehors une petite masse de je ne say quoy, personne n’ayant pû juger ce que c’estoit, elle ne se trouva que fort peu

soulagée; mais on fut fort surpris qu'elle mit hors jusqu'à 45 ou 50 petits paquets enveloppez chacun de leur membrane, dans chacun desquels étoit une masse en forme de poissons de toutes espèces qui se voyent icy dans le marché. On m'a mesme assuré qu'ils avoyent vie, et qu'on les a veus remuer. Ce qui a étonné toute la médecine de ce pays. On dit qu'il y avoit quelques serpents. Ces masses étoient longues, les unes comme le doigt, les autres quasi comme la main. Vous pouvez bien juger que cette pauvre princesse a passé de mauvaises heures. En effet, elle a esté à l'extrémité, et a vuidé toutes ces ordres-la apres les avoir gardées 2 ou 3 jours dans le corps apres sa couche. Sa mort n'auroit pas causé beaucoup de regretz, parce qu'elle n'est pas aimée. Cet accident augmente l'aversion de ses sujetz superstitieux. Voylà encore une matière pour vos médecins et philosophes naturalistes.

'Cette mesme lettre, parlant du Roy son epoux, porte qu'il a une passion démesurée pour les femmes nègres, qu'il ne quitte point, soit que l'ébène luy plaise plus que l'yvoire, ou qu'il trouve plus de ragoust avec ces sortes de femmes, dont on dit que la peau est plus douce que celle des blanches, ou enfin parce qu'elles sont plus lascives.' Cette lettre ajoûte encore que les Portugais sont fort méchants soldats sur mer, d'où vient qu'on les appelle *las galinas de la mar* [sea-chickens]; et que lors qu'on envoie des vaisseaux pour nettoyer la mer de pirates, ils vont 5 ou 6 lieues en mer, et s'en reviennent. Ils ont ordre de les poursuivre mais non pas de les combattre; d'où il arrive qu'un corsaire de 18 ou 20 pièces de canon ne fait pas difficulté d'attaquer un vaisseau de 40. Ces gens-là sont bien éloignez de nostre bravoure. Car 3 de nos vaisseaux qui retournoient de ce pays-là, où ils avoyent escorté nostre ambassadeur, en ont rencontré 4 Espagnols, qu'ils ont attaqué. Monsieur le Chevallier de Léry, qui commandoit, et qui n'étoit armé que de 48 pièces, s'est attaché au principal Espagnol de 70, et après 6 heures de combat il l'a obligé de se rendre, parce qu'il étoit sur le point de couler à fond. On a pris 400 hommes dessus, qui serviront à échanger contre nos pauvres François, qui se sauvèrent du naufrage des 2 vaisseaux pérís au detroit de Gibraltar. Les Espagnols, naturellement orgueilleux, estiment si fort les gens de leur nation que plustost que de les perdre ils troqueroient 10 François contre un Espagnol.'

2½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 31 Aug.*

E55. 1692, [Aug. 26/] Sept. 5. Paris. 'Je n'avois garde de vous apprendre la nouvelle de la prise d'Ambrun par ma lettre du 22 du passé; parce que la nouvelle n'en arriva qu'apres le départ du courrier, comme je vous l'ay déjà mandé; on fut mesme quelque temps sans le vouloir croire. Il y a 2 jours qu'un autre courrier a apporté la nouvelle que les ennemis s'étoient avancez à Gap, dont ils se sont saisis, n'étant pas en état de défense;

et la plus part des habitans s'étant retirez à Grenoble, où l'on a grand' peur, quoy qu'il y ait encore bien des chemins difficiles pour y arriver. Monsieur de Vins et Monsieur de Bachevillers se sont retirez, n'étant pas assez forts pour leur résister. Monsieur de Catinat a séparé ses troupes en 5 corps, par conséquent fort petits. Le Duc de Savoye a aussy séparé son armée en plusieurs corps, dont l'un coule le long du Drac. On dit que Monsieur de Schomberg a attiré quelques gens, mais ce ne sont que des miserables, qui cherchent à subsister. Il est certain que le Roy a dit qu'il étoit fort satisfait de la sagesse des gens de ce pays-là, qui se sont tenus paisibles et n'ont pas voulu remuer, disant qu'ils étoient bons serviteurs du Roy, quoyque d'ailleurs fort méchants Catholiques. Cette affaire devient fascheuse. Les troupes qu'on envoie au secours ny peuvent arriver que dans le 25 de ce mois.

'Depuis la mort de Monsieur de Flacour, Monsieur Foran est mort aussy à Brest, le 28 du passé, et enterré le 29. En sorte que voilà 2 places de chefs d'escadre à remplir. Il y a 22 vaisseaux à Brest en rade, et prests à mettre à la voile. Les uns disent que c'est pour aller à Rochefort, les autres à Cadix, pour aller chercher la flotte d'Espagne. Il y a, outre cela, 5 vaisseaux appareillez à St. Malo, qui pourront aller joindre ceux de Brest.

'Messieurs Catinat et de Larrey ont écrit à la cour contre Monsieur Bouchu, intendant du Dauphiné, sur ce qu'il n'avoit pas fourny les munitions necessaires à Ambrun pour se défendre, prétendant que s'il y en avoit eû, il auroit tenu encore 12 jours, ce qui auroit embarrassé le Duc de Savoye.

'Le Roy a dit que le Prince d'Orange prétendoit assiéger Namur, avec un camp volant. Et quoy qu'on écrive toujours de là que les ennemis en veulent à cette place, et qu'on fait tous les préparatifs pour cela, on ne le peut croire. Monsieur de Guiscar a écrit au gouverneur de Charlemont de luy envoyer 100 cadets, dont il se servira en cas de siège. On prétend que si le Roy Guillaume s'étoit saisy du dernier camp où il a esté prévenu par Monsieur de Luxembourg, on ne l'auroit pû empêcher de faire le siège d'Ypres, où il n'y avoit pas de monde; mais depuis on y en a jetté. Il a fait des détachements pour Dunkerque, où Monsieur de Monlevrier est allé. On ne croit pas qu'il se fasse rien, le reste de la campagne. Aussy dit-on que le Roy Guillaume se dispose à retourner à Loo, pour passer de là en Angleterre dans peu de temps.

'L'Archevêque d'Aix écrit que toute la Provence est en armes, et allarmée du voisinage des ennemis; qu'on craint qu'ils passent la Durance; que les milices fatiguent beaucoup la province par les desordres qu'ils y causent.

'On dit que Palfy a reçu encore un renfort de 6,000 Alemands, et qu'il a investy Suse, qu'on craint ne pouvoir secourir, si les ennemis se saisissoient de Briançon, et des autres passages de communication. On assure que Caraffa apporte un mandat imprimé de l'Empereur pour signifier à tous les princes d'Italie, pour les obliger à se déclarer pour ou contre la Ligue. Sur

cela, on dit qu'il en fait trop, et qu'il devrait profiter de nostre exemple, ayant attiré beaucoup d'ennemis par nos hauteurs, et par les mauvais traitemens faitz à tous les princes et etats.

'On assure que le Roy de Pologne a fait sa paix avec le Turc, qui luy rend Caminie; qu'au moins nous sommes seurs qu'il ne fera rien cette campagne, nostre argent l'ayant gagné. On continue à dire que la paix du Turc ne se fera pas cette année, et que nous en sommes assurez qu'à la vérité ils ne se tiendront que sur la défensive; mais que l'année qui vient ils feront de grands efforts; qu'il n'y a que le peuple qui soupire apres la paix; et que la Porte ne la veut point. Qu'il n'est pas vray, comme on en avoit fait courir le bruit, que le Grand Seigneur soit dépossédé; que ce nouveau Grand Visir rétablit le bon ordre, et que si son prédecesseur avoit vécu il auroit ruiné les affaires, perdu les finances, etc.; qu'il ne faut pas croire que ce grand etat soit sans ressources, y ayant encore beaucoup d'argent et d'hommes, et qu'ils ne se soucient pas de perdre la Hongrie, ne pouvant s'imaginer que les affaires ne changent, auquel cas ils espèrent reprendre en une campagne ce qu'ils ont perdu en plusieurs.

'Ne trouvez-vous pas plaisant que le Duc de Savoye prenne soin de faire prescher partout. Je ne say si la cathédrale d'Ambrun en a esté exempte. Quoy qu'il en soit il ne tiendra pas à luy que le Huguenotisme ne provigne.

'Le Roy et toute la cour vont le 25e. de ce mois à Fontainebleau. Le Roy Jaques et le Roy sont dans un oubly parfait.

'Nous vous prenons toujours des vaisseaux dont vos gazettes ne se vantent pas. Un vaisseau Malouin de 45 pièces en a pris un depuis peu de 36 au Cap de Finister, allant de Londres à Cadis. Le capitaine eut les 2 mains emportées, et comme il descendoit à fonds de cale une bale ramée le couppa par le milieu du corps. Le vaisseau est entré à Brest, et comme il est percé pour 50 pièces, on en fera un de 50 véritablement.'

4pp. *French.*

E56. 1692, [Aug. 26/] Sept. 5. 'Autres nouvelles de Paris.' 'On a chanté des chansons contre Madame de Maintenon qui l'ont mise en colére. Elle pria Madame d'Udicour son amie de tascher d'en découvrir l'auteur. Par hazard se promenant en carrosse avec Madame de Croissy, Mademoiselle de Croissy sa fille se mit à les chanter. Madame d'Udicour faisant semblant de ne les pas savoir, la pria de les luy donner. Ce qu'ayant fait, elle les porta à Madame de Maintenon, qui envoya chercher Mademoiselle de Croissy qu'elle gronda fort, l'accusant de les avoir faittes. Elle s'en défendit fort. L'affaire fit grand bruit, et Madame de Maintenon luy dit, et à son père, que si elle ne luy disoit pas qui en étoit l'auteur, elle croiroit que c'est elle.

Madame la Duchesse avertie de cela, et aimant Madamemoiselle de Croissy, luy dit qu'elle pouvoit s'endosser de ce paquet, parce qu'elle s'en défendrait bien. Ainsy dit, ainsy fait. Elle dit à Madame de Maintenon qu'elle n'avoit pas osé luy dire que c'étoit Madame la Duchesse. Sur cela, le Roy luy parla des grosses dents. Elle répondit qu'il étoit vray que c'étoit elle, mais qu'il n'y avoit pas grand mal en tout cela, puisque toute la chanson ne rouloit que sur ce que Madame de Maintenon étoit vieille, et n'étoit qu'une bourgeoise, ajoutant, cela n'est-il pas vray, Sire? Le Roy ne seut que répondre. Cette princesse est railleuse, spirituelle et fort chanssonnière.

'Chanson sur Monsieur de Luxembourg, sur l'air, tout cela m'est indifférent.

Voulez vous savoir, Luxembourg,
 Quoy que disent les médisans,
 Ce qu'on dit de vous à la Cour,
 Vostre lettre a ses partisans,
 Touchant la dernière bataille;
 Elle est écrite *par merveille*,¹
 Tout le monde dit hautement
 Mais il y faudroit sans façon,
 Que vous n'avez rien fait qui vaille
 (N'en déplaise au Seigneur *Abeille*)²
 Non de coeur, mais de jugement,
 Retrancher *le joly garçon*.³

¹Par merveille est une façon de parler à la mode, mais blâmée dans le nouveau livre des motz nouveaux et des phrases nouvelles.

²Abeille, c'est le nom de secretaire de Monsieur de Luxembourg, qui de plus est poete.

³Le joly garçon est aussy blâmé dans les motz à la mode. Il est là à double entente, car on sait sur cela dequoy Monsieur de Luxembourg est accusé.

'Apropos de cela, le bonhomme Archevêque de Lyon, écrivant dernièrement à un homme qui luy rendoit compte de l'operation qu'on avoit faite au derriere de son petit neveu le Marquis d'Alincourt, filz de Monsieur le Duc de Villeroy, il dit, "Je suis bien aise que mon neveu se porte bien de son opération, car en vérité je ne say quelle mode la jeunesse d'aujourd'hui a prise de se farfouiller le derriere, et je crains toujours ou que ces maladies ne viennent de là, ou que cela n'en rende les cures périlleuses." Il est à remarquer que ce bon homme a 88 ans, d'autres disent pres de 100. Outre cela il est aveugle, et cependant court tous les jours à la chasse du cerf, comme un jeune homme; peu de gens le peuvent suivre. Quelle vigueur. On n'en trouve guère de cette trempe.

'Au reste, Monseigneur le Dauphin a eû depuis peu un petit divertissement à la campagne à Villeneuve St. George, où l'on a joué un petit opera expres

pour luy. On dit que certaines grisettes avoyent grande part à la feste; mais on a peine à nommer. Il n'aime des plaisirs d'attache que la chasse au loup. Tous les autres il les tire en volant, et ne se fixe pas. Le Roy l'aime assez de cette humeur. Il est fort bon, et fort familier.

'On dit que Monsieur de Némond a pris sur sa route 14 vaisseaux anglois, qu'il a menez à Port Louis. Les uns disent qu'il y avoit plusieurs familles chargées dessus, pour passer je ne say où, d'autres assurent qu'ils étoient chargés de marchandises.'

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Sept.*

E57. 1692, [Aug. 29/] Sept. 8. Paris. 'La consternation est toujours grande en Dauphiné. Quantité de gens quittent Grenoble. Le Roy est résolu de fortifier les troupes de ce pays-là de 20,000 hommes. Il y en a déjà, dit-on, 11,000 d'arrivez. On est en peine si les ennemis pourront aller jusqu'à cette ville-là, qu'on fortifie incessamment. Monsieur de Grancey brigadier s'est jetté dedans, et la garnison d'Ambrun y est entrée. Monsieur de Larrey a dessein de s'y faire porter; mais on doute qu'il le puisse, parce qu'il est fort malade de flux de sang. Toutes les dames se retirent à Lyon. On a abatu, le dernier du mois passé, la paroisse neuve, et les grands Récollets. On consulte d'abattre les Carmes. Monsieur de Bachevilliers s'est reculé de Gap, n'ayant point d'infanterie. Il n'y a encore dans Grenoble que les 5 bataillons, et les 150 dragons, qui étoient à Ambrun. On a passé dans le conseil de guerre par dessus la formalité de la capitulation, qui empeschoit cette garnison de servir, faute d'autres troupes.

'On a enchainé tous les batteaux, depuis Montméliand jusqu'à Valence; de peur qu'on ne s'en servist, chacun faisant des balots, pour se retirer. Monsieur de Cattinat est arrivé par le bourg d'Orsan avec six bataillons. Il va se porter au passage de la Haute-Croix, pour empescher les ennemis, qui veulent prendre cette route, comme la plus facile quoyque plus longue. Les ennemis font entendre qu'il leur vient 6,000 Alemands, avec lesquels ils prétendent estre en état de prendre leurs quartiers d'hiver dans la province. On croit qu'ils iront plustost s'étendre du costé de Cistéron pour passer de là en Provence, ou par Dye dans le Valentinois, dans l'espérance des soulèvements des Nouveaux Convertis, à l'effet de quoy ils portent 4,000 mousquets et d'autres armes pour les armer. On dit que les François, qui sont dans leurs troupes, assurent qu'il en a passé [blank] on donne des armes à ceux qui n'en ont point [blank] Martigny et Breteuil entrent dans la province par Lyon. Monsieur l'Archevêque de Lyon dit qu'il a ordre de faire préparer des etapes 15,000 hommes. Tous les habitans de Vigile et des montagnes, depuis Ambrun, arrivent à Grenoble sur les charrettes des vivres; cela fait pitié à voir. Ainsy toute la ville est pleine de [blank] que l'armée de Monsieur Catinat a

à sa suite [blank] avec 12 bataillons qui seront renforcez, en sorte qu'il en aura jusqu'à 18. Cela encourage la ville. On en a visité tous les postes et l'on y dresse des batteries de canon.

'Monsieur de Vauban a quitté Namur, et la Flandre, et l'on assure qu'il est allé, sans passer par Paris, en Dauphiné, pour mettre ordre promptement aux places.

'On dit que Palfy avec ses troupes a investy Suze, et que les ennemis voudroient bien l'attaquer par les derrières [blank] a travaillé à mettre Cistéron en état de défense [blank]. Il seroit, dit-on, fâcheux que les ennemis entrassent dans le bas Dauphiné, parce qu'ils y subsisteroient bien plus à l'aise que dans les montagnes, qui est le plus méchant pays de France. Mais on ne juge pas qu'ils osent s'embarquer si avant, par la difficulté des retours chez eux. Tout cela ne laisse pas de fatiguer la cour. On est étonné que le Duc de Savoye, qu'on traitoit *da poco*, soit à présent le plus à craindre; et qu'il ait l'honneur d'avoir entamé la France, qu'il y a plus de cent ans qu'on n'a écornée.

'Il y a une nouvelle déclaration du Roy pour le droit annuel, et comme de 9 ans en 9 ans il faut payer le prest, on y reçoit tous les officiers, à la charge de prendre des augmentations de gages, pour autant que monte leur paulette; c'est à dire qu'un conseiller qui paye, par exemple, 400,000 livres en doit prendre autant au denier 18. Ce qui fait un capital de 7,200 livres pour cet effet. Par un autre edit, le Roy crée un million d'augmentations de gages, ce qui produira dans ses coffres 18 millions.'

P.S. 'Est à remarquer qu'on n'a pu lire dans l'original de la lettre tous les endroitz cy dessus laissez en blanc, les chiffres n'ayant pas bien marqué.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 Sept.*

E58. 1692, Sept. [2/] 12. Paris. 'Les affaires de Dauphiné n'embarrassent plus tant; car on a appris que le Duc de Savoye est tombé malade de la petite verole, et qu'il s'étoit fait porter à Ambrun. Il envoya demander quelques besoins pour sa maladie à Grenoble; et au lieu de luy envoyer ce qu'il demandoit, on a envoyé un courrier au Roy pour savoir si on luy donneroit ce qu'il demande. Le Roy a blasmé ce refus et ordonné qu'on luy fournist tout ce qui seroit nécessaire.

'Monsieur Catinat est toujours à La Murre, avec assez de troupes pour empescher la passage à Grenoble. On disoit que les ennemis prenoient le party d'aller du costé de Cisteron, mais cette maladie les arrêtera. Outre que les secours marchent, et qu'on taschera de leur fermer les passages pour le retour. On a envoyé pour cet effet des détachements sur les derrières. On ne laisse pas de débagager de Grenoble, qu'on prétend fortifier pour en faire une place de guerre.

‘Bien qu’on se loue des religionnaires, il reste encore un scrupule. C’est qu’on dit, peut-estre attendent ils que l’ennemis s’ancrent mieux, qu’ils ne sont en Dauphiné. Ainsy cette satisfaction n’en produit point de réciproque.

‘On oblige tous les gouverneurs des places de lever chacun 100 hommes, pour faciliter les augmentations de troupes, qu’on dit toujours devoir estre de 50,000 hommes.

‘Quelques gens disent qu’il y a eû un combat en Hongrie, et que les Turcs, suivant leur bonne et ancienne coutume, s’y sont fait battre, mais on ne sait rien de particulier et il faut une grande confirmation.

‘4 vaisseaux du Roy en ont pris 2 aux ennemis, l’un de 4 et l’autre de 50 pièces de canon. Ils sortoyent de St. Malo, dont les armateurs font aussy de continuelles prises. Les troupes qui étoient sur les costes marchent, et Monsieur le Comte d’Estrées, qui est sorty de Brest; et les vaisseaux de Monsieur de Némond, au nombre de 6, avec les 6 de St. Malo, allant aussy sur les costes de Guienne. Cela a fait dire à tout le monde qu’on en vouloit à Fontarabie. Pour moy, je n’en croy rien. Ce n’est pas le temps de faire un siège. Nous avons assez d’affaires ailleurs. Mais on croit que les vaisseaux vont dans la Méditerranée, pour fortifier les princes d’Italie dans le dessein qu’on leur inspire, et les offres qu’on leur fait de secours, de faire une ligue pour empescher les Alemands de prendre des quartiers d’hyver chez eux, et leur mettre le feu sous le ventre, en leur faisant connoistre le peril où ils s’exposent de se laisser subjuguier par l’Empereur, qui renouvelle ses prétentions prescrites sur l’Italie.

‘La mort de Mr Harbort donne quelque fondement à de justes soubçons. Fériol, qui est sur les lieux, se servira de toutes voyes, *per fas et nefas*. Ce n’est pourtant pas l’esprit du Roy.

‘L’Archevêque de Rheims envoie l’Abbé Gourgas, qui, comme vous savez, estoit le prédicateur chéry à Paris des Nouveaux Convertis, prescher dans son diocèse à Rheims. Il le trouve fort orthodoxe; et de là il l’enverra à Sedan. Les Jésuites luy avoyent fait interdire la chaire. Il avoit autrefois presché à Mets, avec un applaudissement extraordinaire. Les moines, envieux de la foule de ses auditeurs, l’avoyent fort décrié. Il est certain qu’il a de tres bons sentimens, et qu’il parle si hardiment que je luy ay dit quelquefois qu’il se feroit des affaires. Mais il dit que nous sommes tous des poltrons. Il possède fort bien l’écriture. Un jour en preschant dans cette paroisse de St. Roch, le Sacrement venant à passer, chacun se voulut mettre à genoux, et l’interrompre. Il se fascha et batit contre la chaire de la main, en sorte qu’il fit rasseoir tous les auditeurs, en leur disant qu’ils devoient autant de respect à la parole de Dieu qu’à ses sacrements. S’il en étoit creu, on en reviendrait à une grande réformation. Il y a bien des gens de cette trempe, mais moins hardis et qui n’osent parler.

'Le Roy est toujours d'une grande devotion. Il dit l'autrejour, à son PrieDieu, qu'il vaudroit bien mieux que tous les evesques, et tous les abez, qui y assistoyent, se retirassent dans leurs diocèses, et dans leurs bénéfices, pour y remplir leurs devoirs, et qu'ils luy feroient bien mieux leur cour de cette manière. Cela oblige ces messieurs à décamper.'

3½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 11 Sept.*

E59. 1692, Sept. [5/] 15. Paris. 'Les nouvelles du Dauphiné portent, suivant les lettres du Chevallier de Tessé du 7 de ce mois, que la maladie avoit pris à Monsieur le Duc de Savoye, le 27 du passé, par une fièvre tierce ou double tierce, qu'il s'étoit fait porter à Ambrun; que 2 jours apres la petite vérole avoit paru; que son médecin étant mort pendant le siège d'Ambrun, un médecin françois l'avoit fait seigner; qu'il avoit peu de vérole au visage; qu'un autre de ses médecins étoit venu de Turin en poste, et qu'on avoit jugé que de 3 semaines il ne pourroit s'exposer à l'air. Que la verolle étant bien sortie, il étoit absolument hors de danger; que Madame Royale étoit arrivée le 5e. dans une mesme litière avec Madame la Duchesse douairière; que Monsieur le Prince de Comercy y étoit arrivé le 4, quoy que non guéry encore de sa blessure, et ayant la teste empaquetée de linges, ce qui ne l'avoit pas empesché de partir le lendemain pour l'armée; qu'on fait 3 detachements, l'un pour Cistéron, l'autre pour Remolon, et le 3e. vers Vannesque; que leur dessein est de retirer tout ce qu'ils pourront de contributions de la province, sans vouloir passer plus avant, se contentant d'assurer les passages, tant pour la retraite que pour y conserver la facilité d'y rentrer quand bon leur semblera; qu'il avoit 8,000 hommes à Guillestre, St. Clement, ou St. Crespin.

'On a envoyé un trompette pour signifier aux habitans de Gap qu'on bruleroit leur ville s'ils ne venoyent s'accorder pour les contributions, ce qui les oblige à y aller pour cet effet. Ambrun devant aussy quelque chose de reste de la taxe, on a menacé de bruler, s'ils ne venoyent pas payer. Que le Duc de Savoye avoit fait jeter plusieurs ponts sur la Durance, dans la pensée d'entrer en Provence, à ce qu'on croyoit. On prétend qu'il a paru quelques partis de religionnaires, qui se sont avancez jusqu'à St. Julien, conduits par des gentilhommes qui sement des lettres du Duc de Savoye offrant des terres dans les valées; quelques familles d'Ambrun ont pris ce party. Six gentilshommes des Sevénes, ayant passé le Rhosne, ont esté pris et convaincus de se vouloir jeter dans l'armée du Duc de Savoye. Monsieur Catinat les a fait tirer au billet, 2 ont esté pendus, les 4 autres envoyez aux galères. Monsieur Catinat est toujours à Aspres, son infanterie au bourg d'Oisan. Il a mené avec luy mille grenadiers ou fuzeliers choisis. Le Marquis du Cambout est à la Croix Haute, avec 8 compagnies de son regiment outre

le régiment de ville qu'il a avec luy. On luy a envoyé 4 compagnies d'infanterie pour garder quelques passages. On est un peu rassuré à Grenoble. Monsieur de Vauban doit y estre apresent. Il va visiter toutes les places pour les fortifier. Le secours n'est pas encore arrivé dans la province. Les troupes qui etoyent sur les costes y marchent. Monsieur le Maréchal d'Étrées qui les commandoit a son congé pour revenir à la cour.

'Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées son filz est en mer, avec ces 15 vaisseaux de Brest, qui doivent estre joints des 2 autres escadres de 6 chacune sortis cy devant de Brest et de St. Malo. Il y a des gens qui croient qu'ils vont attendre la flotte marchande de Smirne. Les 2 vaisseaux de guerre de 48 et 52 pièces, pris par Monsieur Devry capitaine de vaisseau et le Chevalier de Fourbin, sont entrez à Brest. Ils se sont bien defendus, mais le troisieme François qui suivoit les vaisseaux marchands étant arrivé à leur secours, ils se rendirent, et on a renvoyé les equipages chez eux.

'Monsieur le Comte de Toulouse amiral commencera à monter la flotte l'année qui vient. On travaille jour et nuit à la construction des nouveaux vaisseaux dans les portz pour remplacer ceux qui ont esté perdus cette année.

'Le Roy a accordé aux officiers par nouvelle gratification le dixiesme de la valeur de toutes les prises qu'ils feroient; ce qui les va encourager, leur ayant ouy-dire que cydevant ils en laissoient passer souvent, parce qu'ils n'y avoyent point d'intérest.

'Le bruit est à la cour du siège de Dunkerke; et l'on est fasché de ce que Monsieur de Luxembourg a laissé les ennemis se saisir de Furnes et de Dixmude. Monsieur Pelletier de Souzy est party pour aller en Flandre, et s'en va à Namur. Comme il est intendant général des fortifications je croy qu'il va pour y donner ses ordres, en l'absence de Monsieur de Vauban.

'Nous avons appris que Monsieur le Marquis d'Harcour, avec un party de 2,000 chevaux, en a défait un entre Luxembourg et Namur de 3,000, qui n'ont pas tenu ferme; qu'il en a tué 500 et pris autant de prisonniers. C'est une nouvelle, dit-on, arrivée au Roy par un courrier expres. Les partis ennemis ne tiennent pas devant les nostres.

'Quoy que les bruitz qui ont couru sur Monsieur de Barbesieux soyent sans fondement, on ne peut oster de l'esprit de la plus part du monde qu'il puisse subsister longtemps dans le poste où il est. Il n'expédie pas les affaires des particuliers, ce qui fait gronder contre luy. On dit qu'on ne refusera point de passeports aux réfugiez qui voudront revenir; mais je n'en voy pourtant point.

'Quelques gens disent qu'on a fait des propositions au Roy Guillaume, qu'on offre de reconnoistre; mais qu'il s'en est mocqué, ayant traité cela *da poco*.

'Au lieu de la nouvelle que les Turcs ont esté battus, qui passe aprésent pour

fausse, on dit qu'ils ont 100,000 hommes, qu'ils assiègent Lippa, et veulent faire une grande diversion en Transilvanie. Les lettres de Vienne portent qu'il y a de grandes oppositions à l'Électorat de Monsieur le Duc d'Hannover, et que tous les princes d'Alemagne ont protesté qui si on touche aux anciens réglemens de l'Empire, ils se mettront plustost en république, et se détacheront du Corps Germanique; que le Nonce du Pape mesme s'y oppose vigoureusement.

'J'ay veû des lettres de Provence qui marquent que les galères sont dans les ports, et qu'on ne desarmera pas tant que le Duc de Savoye ne sera pas retiré.

'L'allarme est si grande à Marseille et à Toulon que pour peu que les ennemis avançassent dans cette province ils mettroient tous leurs effetz sur les vaisseaux. Ils croyent que le Duc de Savoye pourra prendre Cisteron, où ils ont envoyé 500 hommes, partie des cadets des galères.

'J'ay veû la rélation du combat de ces vaisseaux pris. Il a esté tué sur nos 2 vaisseaux qui ont combatu, ou bien blessé, 50 hommes sur chacun, et sans le secours du 3e. ils n'en seroyent pas venus à bout. Il avoit mis en un gros tous les vaisseaux marchands que le vaisseau de guerre tenoit enfermez, mais en les quittant cela leur donna lieu de s'évader. On a pourtant pris 2 flustes, dont l'une est fort bonne et fort grande. On l'envoye charger de bois à Bayonne.

'Il y a encore beaucoup de troupes en Bearn, ce qui faisoit croire le siège de Fontarabie.'

5pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 14 Sept.*

E60. 1692, Sept. [9/] 19. Paris. 'Il n'est nullement vray que le Duc de Savoye se soit avancé en Provence, comme vous le croyez sur le rapport de vos Gazettes. Il n'a pas passé Gap. Il est vray que s'il ne s'étoit pas tant amusé à Pignerol, et que des l'ouverture de la campagne il fust entré en Dauphiné, rien ne luy étoit plus aisé que de prendre Grenoble; et que s'il eust poussé en Provence, il n'y avoit rien qui l'en pust empêcher. Mais, sans compter le temps qu'il a perdu en Piémont, il nous a encore donné tout le temps de remédier auz défauts de munir des places, qui ne l'étoient point, et de faire avancer des troupes pour fortifier Monsieur Cattinat.

'Si toutes les pensées du Roy Guillaume avoyent esté bien exécutées, nous nous serions trouvez fort embarrassez. Car dans le temps qu'on nous menaçoit d'une descente, si de son costé le Duc de Savoye eust pénétré aussy avant qu'il le pouvoit, je ne say pas ce que tout seroit devenu. Chacun en convient. Il n'est áprésent plus temps, la descente ayant manqué — comme on en a appris tout le détail, je ne say par où, si ce n'est par des avis de la flotte mesme. Car on a icy fait l'histoire du conseil tenu sur les vaisseaux et des

différents de Monsieur de Schomberg avec Mylord Russel, en suite dequels sont venus les nouvelles ordres du Roy Guillaume pour la Flandre.

‘Toutes les troupes ont esté destinées pour fortifier Monsieur Catinat, qui se fait fort de pousser les ennemis hors du Dauphiné, dans la fin de ce mois; et peut-estre dans le prochain d’entrer luy mesme en Piémont. Les nouvelles du 13 de Lyon portent que la nuit précédente il y a passé un courrier qui a dit qu’il avoit, en passant, veû Lediguières, St. Bonnet et plusieurs villages en feu. On ajoûte qu’après que Gap a accordé sa contribution à 20,000 livres lors que l’argent a esté compté, on n’avoit pas laissé de bruler cette ville-là. Comme ce n’est qu’un dire, je ne le donne pas pour certain. Monsieur le Duc de Savoye depuis sa maladie n’a pas bougé d’Ambrun. Il sera bien tost en état d’agir. Mais on tient pour certain qu’il s’en retournera incessamment, n’ayant rien de mieux à faire. Monsieur Cattinat est toujours à Aspres. L’infanterie qui étoit au bourg d’Oissant le doit joindre. Les 15,000 hommes qu’il doit recevoir au premier jour le rendront aussy fort que Monsieur de Savoye. Un détachement de 800 hommes est party le 8 de ce mois pour l’aller joindre à Ambrun et il a donné ordre à tous les habitans de la plaine d’amener toutes les charrettes, sans qu’on sache pourquoy.

‘Le Marquis de Pianesse est toujours à Fraissinet du Po. Ses troupes enlevèrent le 6e. de ce mois des boeufs qui portoyent des provisions à Casal. La garnison sortit, qui les obligea de se retirer. Mais ils ont emmené les charrettes vuides. Ce marquis a defendu sur peine de la vie à tous les paysans de rien porter dans le place, et on empeschera les vandanges. Le Duc de Mantoue a ordonné à tous ses sujets de retirer tous leurs effets dans la place, à dessein d’empescher, s’il peut, les Alemands de prendre des quartiers d’hiver dans ses etats. ConteZ que tout ce que je vous mande est suivant les lettres qu’on reçoit de ce pays-là, et qu’il ne faut pas se flatter. Jamais les ennemis n’ont eû si beau que cette année.

‘Par les lettres de Dunkerque du 15 on apprend qu’on n’y craint plus de siège, et quelques vaisseaux qui sont dans le port se préparent à en sortir, ce qui fait croire qu’il n’y a pas devant des vaisseaux ennemis. On ne croit pas non plus le bombardement si praticable que vous le croyez, ny qu’on en puisse approcher assez pres pour cela. Les fortifications tiennent un grand terrain, et la ville est éloignée; outre que du costé de Furnes il y a de grand dehors, et une tour avancée, dont il se faut rendre maistre. De plus il y a des bataillons détachez, pour prendre le devant; et c’est un asçavoir si les ennemis y seront plustost que nous.

‘Au reste, Monsieur Cattinat a écrit fort avantageusement en faveur des Protestans du Dauphiné. Il est certain que le Roy en a esté touché sur les récits qui luy en ont esté faits. Les ministres en ont parlé. Monsieur de Pontchartrain a dit à un de ses amis, et des miens, de qui je le tiens, que luy mesme en avoit esté ému de tendresse et de compassion.

‘Sa Majesté va donner ordre incessamment aux officiers des galères de relascher ceux qui y sont, avec ordre aux intendants des provinces de mettre en liberté tous les prisonniers pour ce fait. Monsieur de Chanlay, qui travaille toujours dans le particulier avec le Roy, a dit à Monsieur de Baufort que sa Majesté luy avoit dit que depuis son regne il n’avoit point eû de plus grande satisfaction que celle de voir que ses sujets Protestans avoyent fait leur devoir; qu’il connoist bien que les intendants luy en ont fait accroire; que dans peu on verra des effectz signalez de sa reconnoissance, plus grands qu’on ne s’attendoit; et qu’il vouloit leur donner des marques autentiques de sa confiance. Il est vray qu’on n’a pourtant pas encore ouvert les portes de la Bastille, et il faut cette preuve, pour estre pleinement assurez qu’il y a de la sincérité. Tant y a qu’on s’y attend et à une tolerance entière, dans l’espérance mesme de quelque chose de plus, et sur tout qu’on liera les mains aux intendants, et aux gens d’Eglise. Monsieur de Pompone et Monsieur de Bauvillier donnent dans tous les adoucissements, et l’on propose de remettre chacun dans ses biens, avec mesme des indamnitez pour ceux qui ont trop souffert, et à qui on a fait des injustices grossières. Monsieur de Vauban, comme je vous l’ay marqué cy devant, a esté le premier qui en a parlé au Roy avec liberté. Il y a pres de six mois que le Roy disoit encore qu’il étoit persuadé qu’il n’avoit pas de plus grands ennemis que ces gens-là. De sorte qu’il n’a esté desabusé que par ces dernières affaires du Dauphiné. Pour ce qui est de Monsieur de Pontchartrain, il est si occupé de ses finances qu’il ne peut guères donner d’attention à ces sortes d’affaires.

‘Le Roy au reste a esté plus allarmé sur le fait de Dunkerque, qu’il ne convenoit, au jugement des plus éclairéz. Car il en a donné des marques dont on a esté surpris.

‘Je vous ay déjà marqué qu’on qualifie de Marquis auprès du Grand Visir Fériol l’envoyé, homme veritablement ambitieux, et qui fera tout dans la vue de sa fortune, mais d’une capacité, à mon avis, peu à redouter.

‘J’ay veû icy des gens d’esprit polonois, qui se moquent du bruit qu’on fait courir que le Roy de Pologne a fait sa paix en particulier avec les Turcs. Ils sont persuadez qu’il ne se détachera pas. Cependant Madame de Bethune, qui est icy, a quelques pensées contraires. Elle ne croit pas la chose impossible. C’est ce qui en fait douter.

‘On écrit du 12 de Brest qu’un armateur y étoit rentré la veille, venant de la rade de Bristol, où il a fait 7 prises. Il a ramené un Irlandois maitre d’un de ces bastiments, qui dit que les Catholiques de cette isle, vers le Nord, ont pris les armes, parce qu’on leur a osté leurs églises pour faire des temples. Nous doutons de cela parce que le Roy Guillaume est trop bon politique pour les priver de la liberté qu’il leur a promise. Il ajoûte qu’il y a 2 hommes de qualité à leur teste, et que le Roy Guillaume n’ayant de troupes que pour les

garnisons des places fortes, ces gens-là sont maitres de la campagne et qu'ils entreprendroyent quelque chose, s'ils ne manquoient de munitions de guerre. Il a rapporté aussy qu'il y avoit encore de grosses escadres qui croisoient dans les mers où nous avons commerce.

'On craignoit de plus grandes suites de l'affaire de la mer qu'il n'y en a eû. Si on s'en étoit prévalu, on auroit pû au moins détruire nos etablissements dans les isles de l'Amérique, ce qui nous auroit fort fâchez.'

5½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 19 Sept.*

E61. 1692, Sept. [12/] 22. Paris. Les adoucissements dont je vous ay parlé dans ma précédente lettre n'auront pas peut estre tout le succez dont nous nous flattions. J'ay veû le mémoire que l'on doit présenter au Roy sur ce sujet-là; la personne qui s'y intéresse ne voulant pas trouver en son chemin le Père la Chaise, qui cy-devant ne paroissoit pas éloigné de la tolérance, a bien voulu luy communiquer son projet, mais il ne l'a pas trouvé disposé à le favoriser. Il s'est plaint mesme des bruits qu'on a fait courir là dessus. C'est toujours la mesme chanson, savoir, que le Roy ne détruira pas son ouvrage. Et quoy qu'il ait toujours affecté de persuader qu'il n'avoit aucune part aux violences, il ne contribuera en rien pour mettre les choses dans un meilleur etat. *Corvus semper corvus*. Il est pourtant certain que ce que je vous ay mandé vient de Monsieur de Chanlay, à qui le Roy s'en étoit expliqué. Les gens de la première qualité, qui voyent la cour de plus pres, disent que, tant que la guerre durera, le Roy ne voudra pas faire un pas en arrière, de peur qu'on ne luy impute à foiblesse des sentimens qui ne seroient que de justice. Ainsy je ne say plus que penser ny dire là dessus. Ce que je trouve d'insupportable, c'est qu'on m'assure que Monsieur Péllisson n'est pas mesme favorable, comme s'il avoit peur qu'on ne crust qu'il sentist encore le fagot.

'Ce que je vous ay écry des bruits qui couroyent sur Monsieur de Barbesieux n'est pas si mal fondé qu'on me l'avoit voulu dire. Il est malade, et je ne say si sa maladie n'est point affectée. Il a peu de crédit, et je say par gens de ce bureau qu'on croit qu'il ne sera pas longtemps dans ce poste. La place roullera sur 2 personnes, Monsieur Pelletier de Souzy et Monsieur de Chanlay. Ce dernier est dans le particulier fort bien, l'autre est fort habile. On dit bien qu'il est allé en Flandre, mais on n'en sait rien au vray. Madame de Maintenon gouverne toujours, et décidera de la préférence – si cela est. Le ministre Claude (c'est Monsieur Pelletier) est son favory. Je ne say pas par où il s'est acquis ce privilège. Quoy qu'il en soit, Monsieur de Barbesieux n'étant pas en état de travailler, et arrivant des couriers à tous moments, Chanlay et St. Pouange travaillent aux affaires de la guerre. Monsieur de Luxembourg est fort sujet aux vapeurs et a souvent la fièvre. Il y a des gens qui croient que bientost il ne sera plus en état de servir, et que mesme il pourra bien se retirer

du service volontairement. Comme on a besoin de nouvelles troupes, et qu'on cherche tous les moyens pour en faire, on n'en point trouvé de meilleur que d'obliger tous les gouverneurs des places de faire chacun 100 hommes. Pour cet effet, le Roy ne leur donne que 100 pistoles, et comme ils ont de bons appointements, ils seront en pouvoir d'y mettre du leur. On avoit dit qu'il n'y en auroit que 40, mais on étendra la chose aussy loin qu'on pourra. On va aussy doubler les milices, et je ne say si tout cela suffira pour remplir le grand nombre de troupes dont on a besoin. Encore est-il difficile de se persuader que cela se puisse faire sans incommoder furieusement la campagne, dont les villages se desertent si fort qu'il y a beaucoup de terres qui demeurent incultes. Le blé est fort cher par tout, et le vin aussy. Les récoltes ne sont pas à beaucoup pres si fortes qu'on l'auroit espéré.

'On dit que les Danois et Suédois vont charger des vins à Bordeaux, et que les flottes ont des vaisseaux d'escorte. Les lettres du 16 de Brest disent qu'un Malouin y est arrivé avec 3 prises chargées de sucre et de tabac. On y en attend encore 2 autres que le mesme Malouin a fait dans sa course. Il en est arrivé un autre à Morlaix avec 7 prises, et un petit vaisseau monté de 8 pièces y est aussy arrivé avec 7 prises. Il est party de Brest quantité de vaisseaux de charge, qui vont chercher des bois pour les constructions à Bayonne. Il y a 3 vaisseaux à Brest sur les chantiers, 2 de plus de 100 pièces et l'autre de 90. Il est arrivé 6 vaisseaux venants du nord chargez de masts, cordages, et autres agrez. On y a éprouvé des bouletz creusez, d'une invention nouvelle, qu'on a prétendu devoir faire le mesme effet des bombes, en mettant le feu par tout, à la portée du canon, mais cela n'a pas réussy. On croit que Monsieur D'Estrées est allé du costé de Cadis.

'Je n'ay pas encore les lettres du Dauphiné. Celles d'hier au soir arrivées au Roy portent que de Duc de Savoye se retire; qu'on a brulé, compris Gap, 40 villages, et plusieurs chateaux; que leur conseil de guerre avoit pris cette résolution, en conséquence de laquelle on n'avoit pas voulu attendre la contribution de Gap, qui avoit réglée à 30,000 livres, et qu'on leur portoit, et que l'on emportoit en Piémont tout tout [*sic*] ce qui se pouvoit charger sur des mulets. On craint bien que les ennemis ne traittent Ambrun à leur départ comme Gap.

'Les lettres de Milan portent qu'on n'y est pas satisfait de cette expédition. Il est certain que dans la consternation où l'on étoit dans tout le Dauphiné, et dans toute la Provence, s'il eust poussé vigoureusement sa pointe, il auroit fort embarassé; s'il eust esté droit à Sisteron il l'auroit pris, et auroit fait ce qu'il auroit voulu en Provence. C'est un grand bonheur, disent ceux du pays, qu'il s'en soit tenu là. À l'avenir, il ne trouvera pas les mesmes facilitez. Monsieur de Vauban fera fortifier tous les passages, et on sera plus sur ses gardes.

‘Le bruit public parmy les ennemis est qu’il veulent bombarder Pignerol, et que ce doit estre le 26 de ce mois. Le Comte de Tessé va servir en ce pays-là avec 3 mareschaux de camp, Messieurs de Gassion, Vignaux, et Vaubecour. Les ennemis en donnant la question à un paysan, ont trouvé une cache, sous une ancienne chapelle à Talart, où l’on avoit caché toute l’argenterie des eglises de ce lieu là, et des circonvoisins.

‘Monsieur de Savoye fait préparer sous Turin 100,000 douzaines de planches, on ne sait à quel usage, si ce n’est pour faire des baraques. L’Empereur veut, à quelque prix que ce soit, qu’on fasse le siège de Cazal. Il a fait demander au Pape des quartiers d’hyver, et 5 villes au Grand Duc, pour faire hyverner son infanterie. Ce duc aime mieux donner une somme d’argent, pour estre exempt des quartiers d’hyver. On croit mesme qu’ils sont convenu de la somme, et que les autres princes d’Italie à son exemple s’accommoderont. À l’égard du Pape, on ne sait pas comment la chose se passera. Nous sommes toujours assez mal à Rome.

‘Les lettres de Vienne du 7 marquent que le Grand Visir dit hautement qu’il ne veut point de paix, à moins qu’on ne rende toute la Hongroie, condition impossible; qu’il a 80,000 hommes, sans comprendre les Tartares, et Tékéli; qu’il publie qu’il veut donner bataille aux Alemands. On n’en croit rien icy parce qu’on y est persuadé que le Prince de Bade le battroit. On publie toujours icy que les Turcs aimeroient mieux risquer tous leurs etats de l’Europe que de céder la Hongrie. Cependant on mande que l’expédition faite depuis peu par les Rasciens est de plus grande conséquence qu’on ne croyoit, puis qu’ils ont enlevé aux Turcs 300 bourses, ce qui monte à 450,000 livres, chaque bourse étant de 500 écus.

‘On croit que les Venitiens seront bien tost maistres de la Canée. On assure icy que la campagne de Flandres va finir; que le Roy Guillaume s’en retourne au premier jour en Angleterre; et que les ennemis prennent toutes les précautions nécessaires pour n’estre pas surpris au commencement de la campagne prochaine.’

5½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 23 Sept.*

E62. 1692, Sept. [16/] 26. Paris. ‘Le Duc de Savoye voulut essayer le 18 de ce mois de se mettre en litière, mais ne se trouvant pas assez fort, il fut obligé de se faire reporter à Ambrun, d’où on le croit party aprésent. Le Roy est fort piqué de son insulte, et a résolu de faire de grands efforts l’année qui vient de ce costé-là. Pour cet effort, le fort de la marine sera dans la Méditerranée, pour appuyer une armée qui entrera par Nice; tandis qu’une autre entrera par le Dauphiné. Vous pouvez juger que le fer et la flame seront de la partie, et qu’on n’épargnera ny les meuriers, ny les vignes, ny les oliviers, qui font toute la richesse du pays. Monsieur de Vauban, qui est à Grenoble,

travaille à la fortifier; et de là ira tracer dans toutes les avenues des forts, pour empêcher de pareilles incursions. Car on est confirmé que cette fois-cy on étoit pris au dépourvû; que les ennemis, s'ils avoyent fait diligence, auroyent pris Grenoble et Cistéron, les clefs de Provence et de Dauphiné; où il y aura cet hyver au moins 40,000 hommes. Et aux préparatifs qui se font, ou pourroit bien des cette année entrer en Piémont.

'Au reste, on ne voit point encore d'effet du grand bruit qui avoit couru en faveur des Protestans. Monsieur Desminières gentilhomme de Poitou a bien esté tiré de la Bastille, mais ça esté pour le mener à Loches. De sorte que le vent tire toujours du costé des Jésuites.

'Je ne say si la nouvelle du nouveau traitté fait avec les Suisses pour une nouvelle levée de 30,000 hommes est bien véritable, et que le Roy leur donne 500,000 en blé et en sel. Car je ne voy pas qu'elle se confirme trop. Il faut pourtant qu'il y ait quelque négociation, puisque le Roy a témoigné estre fort content d'eux.

'On a eû la curiosité de voir à la Monnoye à quoy montoit la conversion des espèces. J'ay seû certainement qu'il y avoit passé 414 millions 163,555 livres, et en petites especes de quatre 17 millions 664,873 livres, c'est à dire pres de 432 millions. Si à cela vous joignez ce qui n'a pas esté converty, et la vaisselle d'argent, vous trouverez pres de 600 millions. La bénéfice du Roy là dessus va à 28 millions, sur quoy déduisant 2 millions pour les frais, il en revient de net au Roy 26 millions. Je ne say si le bruit qui court qu'on va faire une seconde fonte, où il ne gagnera pas moins, sera véritable. Diriez vous que sur les boissons, c'est à dire sur les vins, eaues de vies, liqueurs, etc., le Roy retire tous les ans 32 millions.

'Les lettres de Namur du 20 marquent que l'armée de Monsieur de Boufflers y étoit arrivée ce matin là, et que Monsieur d'Harcour avec son corps particulier s'y joignoit, qu'ils prenoient 6 bataillons de la garnison et que tout cela ensemble étoit party la nuit pour quelque grand dessein, la plus part croyent pour Huy; qu'on laissoit les gros bagages à Namur et que tout cela étoit dans le mouvement général.

'Les lettres de Dunkerque du 22 portent qu'on n'y craignoit plus rien par terre, mais que le Roy avoit donné avis que les ennemis vouloyent couler à fond des vaisseaux à l'entrée du port, et tascher à cette marée du bruler des jettées; qui la marée étoit le 25, apres quoy il n'y avoit plus rien à craindre; que Jean Bart corsaire se disposoit à sortir du port; ce qui fait croire qu'il n'y a pas de vaisseaux ennemis. On craignoit hier à la cour qu'il ne fust arivé quelque malheur aux vaisseaux qui sortent de St. Malo, parce qu'il avoit fait de grands coups de vent.

'Le Roy n'avoit grande envie d'aller cet automne à Fontainebleau, mais Monseigneur, attiré par la chasse, y a fait résoudre sa Majesté. On a esté en trances pour l'Alemagne, où l'on croyoit que Monsieur le Maréchal de Lorge

seroit forcé à donner combat, mais on en reste revenu. On tient de tous costez les campagnes finies, à la réserve du Piémont, et l'on assure icy que le Roy Guillaume s'en retourne incessamment. On dit que Monsieur de Luxembourg se porte mieux.

'Il a resté quelques maisons à Gap non brulées. Les ennemis ont trouvé quelque cache d'argent. Les nouvelles de Hongrie sont fort incertaines, ou pour mieux dire les bruits qu'on en fait courir. Toute la cour partit hier pour Fontainebleau. Elle eut une pluye froide tout du long du jour. Elle y sera un mois, pendant lequel temps les princes y viendront de l'armée.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 29 Sept.*

E63. 1692, Sept. [19/] 29. Paris. 'Monsieur Catinat a écrit de Guillestre au Roy; ainsy tous les ennemis s'en sont retournez en Piémont. Ils ont fait sauter le chateau de Guillestre, et les murailles d'Ambrun, et n'ont fait aucun tort au dedans de la ville. Le Duc de Savoye doit arriver aujourd'hui à Turin. Monsieur de Vauban doit faire faire 9 demy-lunes à Grenoble, qui va devenir une place de guerre. On pourroit bien mesme en oster le Parlement pour le mettre à Valence. Le Roy a destiné 50,000 pistoles à fortifier Grenoble. Il veut rebastir Gap à ses dépans, y faire une citadelle et fortifier aussy Briançon. Enfin on veut mettre le Dauphiné hors d'estat de souffrir une seconde insulte. On confirme toujours que, si les ennemis esté aussy viste que nous en pareille occasion, ils auroient tiré beaucoup d'argent de cette province, et de celle de Provence, qui étoient toutes deux fort dépourveues.

'Monsieur le Duc de Chartres avoit eû la permission de s'en revenir; mais il a demandé à ne partir point qu'après l'entière clôture de la campagne. On assure pourtant que luy et tous les princes viendront trouver la cour à Fontainebleau. Monsieur de Chanlay a la direction de toutes les munitions de guerre et de bouche. C'est un démembrement des fonctions de Monsieur de Barbesieux, qui fait croire que son crédit diminue, et qu'il en a peu.

'Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées est en mer, sans qu'on sache pour où. On croit toujours que c'est pour la Méditerranée; mais ce qu'il y de seur, c'est qu'il a ordre de croiser au Cap de St. Vincent. On m'a assuré qu'une des plus riches prises qui ait esté faite est d'un vaisseau chargé d'argent, et de marchandises précieuses, de retour des débris de la Jamaïque.

'Les effetz de douceur touchant les affaires de religion ne sont pas encore fort apparentz. Il est vray qu'on a tiré de la Bastille, comme vous l'avez seû, 3 gentilshommes de Poitou, mais ils n'ont esté que transférez d'une prison dans une autre, car on les a menez au chateau de Loches, où ils sont prisonniers. Le bruit ne laisse pas de courir qu'on doit voir bien tost une déclaration de liberté de conscience.

‘Monsieur le Mareschal D’Etrées dans son voyage à la Rochelle a parlé sur la route à tous les magistrats principaux des villes de son passage, et leur a dema[n]dé des nouvelles de ce que faisoient les Nouveaux Convertis; on luy a dit qu’à la religion pres, ils souffroyent leurs maux en patience; et qu’ils étoient bons serviteurs du Roy. Il a recommandé par tout qu’on les traittast favorablement. Ce sont, dit-il, nos frères et nos amis, il faut les soulager.

‘Monsieur Pelisson a présenté une lettre au Roy pleine de plaintes des religionnaires de Languedoc du mauvais traitement qu’on leur faisoit. Le Roy luy a dit qu’il luy faisoit plaisir de luy montrer cette lettre, et l’a grondé sur ce qu’il luy a dit qu’il en avoit reçu une infinité d’autres, qu’il n’avoit pas osé luy faire voir, et a temoigné qu’il ne trouvoit pas bon qu’on luy cachast ces sortes de choses, et qu’il y mettroit ordre. Cela donne toujours des espérances.

‘Il y a des fripons de moines qui ont dit dans une compagnie où il y avoit des gens de la religion qu’ils ne connoissoient pas que la guerre ne pouvoit finir que par la mort d’un homme, voulant entendre par là le Roy Guillaume, qu’ils avoyent tant de ressorts secrets et de machines à faire jouer qu’à la fin il y en auroit quelqu’une qui réussiroit. Cela veut dire qu’il se faut tenir sur ses gardes, et bien examiner les visages nouveaux; car ces maraux là sont dangereux.

‘On dit que le nouvel electorat de la maison d’Hannover est échoué, tous les princes s’y opposant. On attend avec impatience des nouvelles des affaires de Hongrie, où l’on croit qu’il pourroit bien y avoir quelque bataille.

‘Il n’y a point d’autres nouvelles qui méritent la peine d’estre écrites. Madame de Maintenon a dit à Monsieur de Bonrepaux qu’il n’avoit que deux amis à la cour, savoir Monsieur de Cavois et Monsieur Racine; peu de gens l’y regrettent.’

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 29 Sept.*

On a separate slip, also in the hand of Legoux: ‘On a reçu aujourd’huy 30 septembre ces 2 lettres de Paris tout à la fois, on ne sait la cause du retardement de la première.’

E64. 1692, [Sept. 23/] Oct. 3. Paris. ‘Monsieur de Blanzac, troisieme filz de feu Monsieur le Comte de Roye, passa samedy en poste à Meaux pour Fontainebleau, et envoya icy son valet de chambre porter la nouvelle d’un combat de cavallerie en Allemagne, où les François ont remporté un avantage signalé. J’en attens le détail: c’est tout ce qu’il y a icy de nouveau et de considérable à vous faire savoir.

‘On est toujours dans l’attente d’une déclaration du Roy sur les affaires de religion; un de mes amis m’a assuré qu’elle est entre les mains de Monsieur

le Chancelier. J'en doute toujours jusqu'à ce que je la voye. On dit qu'elle porte délivrance de tous les prisonniers, et de tous ceux qui sont aux galères. Le Roy a dit que les surcharges faites sur les religionnaires s'étoient faites sans sa participation, et qu'il ordonneroit qu'on les en déchargeast.

'On parle, comme d'une chose fort assurée, d'une ligue en Italie avec les princes, pour la neutralité, et empescher les ennemis d'y faire hyverner leurs troupes. On dit mesme que le Pape y entrera. Dans la situation où sont les choses et les continuels avantages que nous remportons, le Roy est fort persuadé qu'il est en état de tenir à tous ses ennemis. Des gens venus depuis peu de Dauphiné confirment que si, sans s'arrêter à Ambrun et à Gap, le Duc de Savoye fust venu droit à Grenoble, il n'y avoit pas toute la défense à luy opposer qu'on publioit, et qu'il y auroit eû au moins de grosses contributions, s'il ne s'étoit pas rendu maitre de la ville, où il n'y avoit d'autres troupes que celles qui étoient sorties d'Ambrun. Encore la plus part n'osoient pas se hasarder à la défense, à cause de l'engagement où elles étoient par la capitulation, de ne pas servir de six semaines.

'Le Roy a permis à Monsieur de Beaufort de s'en retourner en Dauphiné: ce qui est une marque de confiance, parce qu'il y est accrédité; et que du temps du premier desordre, il y a 7 ans, il auroit esté capable de soulever toute la province.

'Il est certain que Monsieur de Chanlay a la direction générale des munitions de guerre et de bouche, ce qui est un petit echec à Monsieur de Barbezieux.

'On prétend toujours avoir de grandes forces sur mer, l'année qui vient. Le peu de fruit que les ennemis ont retiré de leur avantage de mer encourage fort.'

1½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 1 Oct.*

E65. 1692, [Sept. 30/] Oct. 10. Paris. 'Quoy qu'il n'y ait encore rien sur le fait de la religion, on assure toujours que le Roy a quelque pensée là dessus fort favorable, qui pourra paroistre cet hyver. Le mesme homme qui le dit assure qu'il y aura des changements là dessus qui surprendront.

'Le Roy est si content de la dernière affaire d'Alemagne qu'il est plus guay que jamais, parlant à tout le monde. Le Roy Jaques et la Reine son epouze sont à Fontaineblau. Le Roy le traite toujours fort bien, sur tout la Reine, qui prend plaisir à luy plaire. Elle se farde et s'ajuste fort. Il y a des médisans qui disent que la fille est du sang de France. Il n'y a rien de considérable à la cour; les princes n'y sont encore venus. Madame la Duchesse de Chartres est malade de la rougeole.

'On ne croit pas qu'on entre cet hyver dans le Piémont. On a contremandé une partie des troupes qui devoient aller en Dauphiné. Monsieur Catinat a

mandé qu'il en avoit assez pour le présent. Les troupes des ennemis sont à Rével Staffarde, et aux Hoquetz, jusqu'à ce que Monsieur de Savoye en ait fait la revenue. En suite elles marcheront vers Pignerol. Les Alemands vont vers Buriasque. Les Espagnols à St. Second. Les Savoyards vers Massel, jusqu'à ce que les vins soyent faits pour les voiturer à Turin. Elles se mettront le 20 en quartier d'hyver. Desormais le bombardement de Pignerol est remis au printemps.

'Monsieur le Marquis de Pianesse est à Frassinet. On dit qu'il a proposé la neutralité à Casal et au Montferrat, à condition que la garnison de Casal ne fera pas de courses en Piémont et dans le Milanois. Les lettres de Casal marquent qu'il y a bonne provision de toutes choses, et que du Montferrat ils ont reçu tout ce qui leur étoit nécessaire.

'Tous les mouvements de la Flandre ont fait courir le bruit du siège de Charleroy, ou de Nuits; mais à la cour on n'en parle pas. On veut pourtant qu'il y ait quelque chose, et que, si ce n'est pas siège, ce sera un bombardement.

'Les nouvelles de Hongrie portent toujours que les 2 armées de part et d'autre se retranchent, contre l'opinion générale que des 2 costez on se préparoit à une bataille.

'Le Roy ne reviendra que le 25 de ce mois, et peut estre plus tard de quelques jours.

'Il est certain que les vaisseaux sortis de St. Malo ont souffert de grands coups de vent, plusieurs ayant été endommagés ou démastés. Monsieur Arnou est en fonction. On ne sait pas encore si on amènera icy les généraux pris au dernier combat d'Alemagne. Monsieur de Duras est tombé malade.

'La Gazette pourra vous apprendre que le Roy a fait 12 nouveaux colonels tirez des vieux régiments qui étoient des bataillons en garnison, et vous en dira les noms.'

2pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received Oct 11.*

E66. 1692, Oct. [3/]13. Paris. 'Nous n'avons encore aucun effet des adoucissements prétendus que la décharge aux Nouveaux Convertis du Dauphiné de 200,000 livres d'imposition particuliere de la taille, dont ils étoient surchargez. Je n'ay point ouy dire qu'on ait fait un pareil traitement à ceux de Guyenne, comme on l'avoit promis. Pour le reste on ne parle encore de rien à la cour, où le Roy Jaques et sa femme font figure. Elle joue gros jeu avec Monseigneur au lansquenet. Un de mes amis m'écrit qu'il s'est trouvé au lever du Roy Jaques, qui est blanc comme un signe ou comme un homme de 80 ans. Les courtisans, apres qu'il eut pris la perruque blonde, dirent qu'il paroissoit un cadet. Ouy, dit il, de Gascogne, où les cadets sont fort gueux.

‘On fait courir le bruit d’une ambassade extraordinaire du Suede pour offrir la médiation pour la paix. Si cela étoit, il faudroit qu’elle fut acceptée des parties. Cependant Madame de Bethune qui est icy n’en sait rien.

‘Nos amis qui reviennent de l’armée disent que nos troupes y sont fort délabrées, et ont peine à croire le bruit qui court du siège de Charleroy. La chose n’est pourtant pas hors d’apparence. Ils disent qu’il s’est perdu une furieuse quantité de chevaux cette campagne. Tous les equipages qui reviennent en ont laissé la moitié par les chemins. Le pays mesme devient misérable; apeine y trouve t on du pain noir. Chacun craint la disette de cette année. Celle d’hommes pour les recrues et les nouvelles levées oblige à donner des ordres de prendre les gens nouvellement mariez, parce que les garçons, pour s’exemter d’aller à la guerre, se marioient, de sorte qu’on n’aura point d’egard aux mariages.

‘Depuis 4 ou 5 ans Monsieur de Bonrepaux se promet de faire des négociations en Danemark avantageuses à l’estat. Il a esté nommé par le Roy ambassadeur à cette cour là; ainsy vous voyez que l’effet a suivy de pres les promesses de sa Majesté de le récompenser de ses services, et que le courtisan n’aura pas sujet de donner le nom de disgrace à la destitution de son premier employ. Comme il entend fort bien la marine, on juge qu’il fera quelque négociation pour des vaisseaux, des matelotz, etc.

‘Les officiers suisses qui sont icy se mocquent des pretentions que nous avons de faire de nouvelles levées en leur pays, et disent que ce sera beaucoup si on leur permet d’y faire des recrues; qu’on n’y est pas fort satisfait de ce qu’on a si fort exposé ceux de leur nation, dont il est péry quantité cette campagne.

‘Les montagnes du Dauphiné sont aprésent toutes couvertes de neiges; et quoy qu’on ait fait de grands préparatifs pour passer en Piémont cet hyver, on ne croit pas qu’on en ait effectivement le dessein, ny mesme qu’il soit praticable. On se contentera de se fortifier dans tous les passages. Monsieur de Vauban y est toujours.

‘Des personnes dignes de foy assurent une chose, dont je n’avois point ouy parler; c’est qu’en 1685 ils disent avoir veû sur la principauté d’Orange un phénomène de feu, qui avoit la forme d’un fauteüil, dont les bras étoient fort hauts, et qu’il y avoit une figure d’homme, avec un feu qui voltigeoit sur sa teste, et que la nuit en fut éclairée. Mademoiselle de la Charse, qui est icy, dit qu’elle vid la lumière, et que tout le pays le vid; que 2 voyageurs venants d’Orange chez elle l’avoient veû pendant tout leur chemin.

‘Nos amis de retour de l’armée disent que Monsieur de Luxembourg y est fort particulier et fort mélancolique. On attribue cela à ses vapeurs et mauvaise santé. Qu’il y a beaucoup de division, chacun tenant son party particulier. Monsieur de Montal se plaint fort de ce qu’on ne luy a pas rendu l’honneur qui luy étoit deû dans l’affaire de Stenkerque. On assure toujours

que Monsieur de Luxembourg estoit au lit quand on luy vint donner l'avis que les ennemis approchoyent, s'en moquant et ne voulant pas se lever, et que si on eust donné plus viste, ils n'auroyent pas eû le temps de se mettre en ordre de bataille.'

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 11 Oct.*

E67. 1692, Oct. [7/] 17. Paris. 'L'evangile du jour est le siège de Charleroy. Toutes les lettres de Flandres et de Fontainebleau ne parlent d'autre chose. Avant la réception de la présente vous en saurez plus que nous. Monsieur de Rebé a mandé qu'il avoit ordre d'aller à la Bussière avec 3 bataillons joindre Monsieur de Ximènes, et qu'en cas d'absence il ouvreroit les ordres, et il écrit qu'il ne doute pas que ce ne soit pour cette place.

'On veut prendre la basse ville, qui n'est défendue que par de l'eau, un chemin couvert, et une muraille sèche; apres quoy on bombardera le reste, ou du moins on le tiendra investy; en sorte que la garnison n'incomode plus tant le pays comme elle a fait. Sur quoy la plus part des officiers, qui croyoyent la campagne finie, s'étant rendus icy sans congé, s'en retournent en diligence. C'est Monsieur de Boufflers qui commandera; et, si on peut, on prendra tout à fait la place. Cela fait un peu gronder les officiers, qui croyoyent, aussy bien que toute l'armée, aller prendre des quartiers d'hyver. On dit qu'il y a 6,000 hommes dans la place; et que Pimentel, qui y commande, est un gaillard qui se défendra; mais on ne croit pas qu'on la puisse secourir, Monsieur de Luxembourg étant plus fort qu'il ne faut pour s'opposer au secours, et les ennemis n'étant pas aprésent trop en état de ramasser du monde pour cela; outre qu'on dit que le Roy Guillaume a renvoyé 15 régiments en Angleterre. Pour peu que les ennemis se défendent, ils ruineront fort l'armée du Roy déjà assez affoiblie. Mais on compte fort sur les mauvaises défenses des ennemis.

'Depuis peu on a appris que les Alemands avoyent levé le siège d'Ebernbourg par une simple terreur panique causée par une ruse de guerre du gouverneur de Kirk, qui a fait conduire un cheval de bast la nuit assez pres de la place chargé de feux d'artifice, à la veue desquels et du bruit de quelques boistes, le gouverneur fit tirer quelques coups de canon, comme un signal que le secours venoit. Ce qui causa une telle epouvente que les ennemis prirent la fuite, sans savoir pour quoy ny comment. Cela cause un grand mépris des ennemis, qui rend nos François de plus en plus audacieux.

'L'Intendant de Brest a envoyé un courrier au Roy pour luy donner avis qu'il avoit reçu nouvelles que les habitans naturels de la Jamaïque, profitant du desordre où le tremblement de terre les avoit mis, s'etoyent jettez sur les Anglois qu'ils avoyent passez au fil de l'épée, pillé tous les effets, en sorte que l'Angleterre y perdrait 50 milions. Vous devez savoir plustost que nous si cette nouvelle est véritable.

‘On espère toujours beaucoup des puissances du nord, où l’on dit que les Suedois feront une grande diversion contre l’Electeur du Brandebourg; outre que par mer ils se joindront à nous pour favoriser leur commerce, et empescher qu’ils n’y soyent troublez par les autres puissances étrangères.

‘Le Duc de Savoye est toujours à Salusses incommodé, triste et chagrin. Il a renvoyé les princesses à Turin, et l’on dit qu’il est en danger de perdre un oeil de sa petite vérole.

‘On fortifie Mons d’une manière à faire connoistre qu’on n’a pas envie de la rendre jamais. Dans tous les bastiments qu’on y fait, on y met des dauphins entremeslez de fleurs de lys, pour faire voir que le Hainaut luy appartient de droit successif. Ainsy, en cas de paix, à moins qu’elle soit forcée, on prétend s’attacher à garder cette place. Le siège de Charleroy n’empeschera pas le retour des princes, qu’on prétend qui seront de retour dans la fin de ce mois à la cour.

‘On assure que la flotte espagnolle commandée par Papachin est devant Gennes, pour obliger cette place à se déclarer en faveur des ennemis, ou du moins à donner de l’argent pour le quartier d’hyver des troupes en Italie.

‘On m’a dit de bonne part que le Roy de Danemark doit fournir au Roy 14 vaisseaux tout équippez avec les canons, et que nous serons plus fortz l’année qui vient sur mer que nous n’avons jamais esté. On murmure parmy le monde du choix de Monsieur de Bonrepaux pour l’ambassade de Danemarc.’

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 15 Oct.*

E68. 1692, Oct. [10/] 20. Paris. ‘On attend avec impatience le succez du bombardement de Charleroy. Si les ennemis s’en ébranlent, on pourra bien prendre la place. De l’heure qu’il est la chose doit estre faite ou manquée. En tout cas, ce sera une disposition pour commencer par là la campagne prochaine. On m’assure que nous verrons bien tost icy le Général Cohorne, qui commandoit à Namur. Seroit il vray qu’il eust tourné casaque à son party? Le Roy luy donnera de l’employ et de bonnes pensions.

‘Le Roy Jaques a dit au Roy à Fontainebleau que le Roy Guillaume s’en retournoit en Angleterre, où il devoit proposer au Parlement de luy accorder en propriété l’imposition sur les boissons, dont luy et ses prédecesseurs avoyent jouy, mais *ad tempus*; que de la manière dont on levoit ce droit il ne s’en tiroit pas 4 à 5 milions; mais que, s’il étoit levé à la rigueur, comme on le pratique en France, il monteroit fort haut; que c’est une grande et difficile entreprise que de l’obtenir du Parlement comme il veut, et encore plus grande s’il en veut faire faire l’exaction à la rigueur, le peuple de ce pays-là n’y étant pas accoutumé; ce qui sans doute le feroit crier.

‘Ledit Roy Jaques passa avant hier icy, en s’en retournant à St. Germain.

‘Suivant les lettres du 10 de Pignerol, les ennemis se disposoyent à l’aller bombarder. Le Duc de Savoye est malade à la vigne de Madame la Princesse Louise pres des Capucins de Turin. Il ne voit personne, et on le dit fort chagrin. Caraffa doit aprésent estre arrivé. Le Nonce du Pape a eû diverses audiances secrettes du Roy. On croit que c’est non seulement sur les affaires particulieres avec Rome, mais aussy pour tout ce qui regarde l’intérést d’Italie.

‘On n’a aucune nouvelle d’action en Hongrie contre les Turcs. Un de mes amis, qui a quelques lumières, m’a assuré que la paix ou trêve des Impériaux avec eux n’étoit pas si éloignée qu’on pensoit, au contraire plus proche que jamais. Cela semble contre les apparences, car les affaires des Turcs ne paraissent pas si déçousues que cy devant. La levée du siège de la Canée, qui est fort seure, et le peu de force des Alemands beaucoup moindres que l’année précédente; tout cela semble relever le party Turc; dautant plus qu’on espère toujours quelque division en Alemagne.

‘On est surpris de la farce que les lettres d’Amsterdam marquent y avoir été jouée par des basteleurs, parce qu’elle choque le Roy Guillaume. On tire icy des consequences de toutes choses. Le Roy prette des vaisseaux à tous les armateurs, à condition qu’ils défrayeront les equipages, et se contente de son droit sur toutes les prises. Cela fera fleurir l’art de pirater et les armateurs, qui sont toujours alerte. On est toujours fort en peine de Monsieur le Comte d’Etrées, qui n’est pas encore arrivé à Toulon, où d’autres vaisseaux partis depuis luy sont arrivez. On n’en a point de nouvelles.

‘J’ay appris de tous nos officiers qui viennent de l’armée de Flandres que les troupes y ont grand besoin de recrues; que Monsieur de Luxembourg est fort diminué d’activité, de santé et de bonne humeur, travaillé d’insomnies, etc. Apropos de quoy je ne savois pas que Monseigneur se lève la nuit, et fait un bruit de diable, en resvant, tantost à la chasse, tantost à autre chose. Il faut que le premier valet de chambre qui couche dans sa chambre luy baille souvent des claques sur la fesse, pour le réveiller, et qu’on cloue les volets des fenestres, de peur qu’il ne les ouvre. Le seul conseil secret se tient toujours chez Madame de Maintenon, où Monsieur de Ponchartrain fait le troisieme. On croit que son filz pourroit bien épouser la fille du Mareschal de Lorge.

‘Au reste, j’ay appris que Monsieur de Bonrepaux avoit reçeu tous les agréments imaginables du Roy sur son ambassade. Ainsy il n’y a pas lieu de croire qu’il soit tombé dans aucune disgrace.’

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 20 Oct.*

E69. 1692, Oct. [13/] 23. Paris. ‘Il est inutile de vous parler du siège de Charleroy, qui occupe icy les esprits, parce qu’outre que vous en devez savoir autant de nouvelles que nous, avant que cette lettre vienne à vous le sort en

sera décidé. La tranchée a esté ouverte le 17, le 19 on a bombardé, le 20 on écrit que les bombes ont fait grand fracas, que les magazins sont brulez, les maisons de l'une et de l'autre ville ruinées; et cependant un général écrit qu'on devoit avoir achevé toutes les munitions foudroyantes le 22, qui étoit hier mécredy au soir. Cela veut dire que, si la place résiste, cela ne servira que d'un préparatoire pour un siège au commencement de la campagne prochaine. Cependant on attend toujours les princes; et les officiers, qui se préparoyent à partir sur la nouvelle que les ennemis faisoient quelque mouvement pour le secours, ne le sont pourtant pas.

'On dit que Monsieur de Bavière est à Genappe, et mesme que le Roy Guillaume est revenu à Bruxelles. Monsieur de Luxembourg a encore ses troupes en quartier de fourrages, et ne paroist pas faire de mouvement. Mais par une lettre d'hier arrivée de Dunkerque, on apprend que Monsieur de Maulevrier y a ramassé 8,000 hommes de pied, et 5,000 chevaux, pour aller du costé de Furnes et Dixmude. Cette entreprise doit estre encore finie d'une manière ou d'autre; car on a grande envie de dénicher les ennemis de là, à cause du voisinage de Dunkerque.

'Le bruit s'est repandu aujourd'hui par tout que le Duc de Savoye est mort; que le Roy en a reçeu le courrier à minuit, et l'a envoyé dire à Monsieur le Chancelier. Ce qui confirme que cela peut estre, c'est qu'on a reçu divers avis qu'il étoit fort mal; qu'on ne vouloit point le laisser voir; que l'impatience de sortir avant le danger entièrement passé de la petite vérole luy avoit causé sa fièvre. Le Comte de Soissons ce matin s'en alloit quester des nouvelles, mais cela ne paroist pas bien certain. Le Duc avoit écrit 2 lettres à 15 jours d'intervalle à Monsieur, par lesquelles il le prioit de faire connoistre au Roy qu'il n'avoit point de part aux brulements du Dauphiné, rejetant la faute sur les Alemands. La première fut tenue secrette; et sur la deuxième le Roy dit à Monsieur qu'il le prioit de n'entrer point là dedans, que les ordres étoient donnez et seroyent exécuttez.

'Le projet est assuré de 43,000 hommes pour la campagne prochaine de ce costé là. On prétend mesme qu'il y a un traité secret entre Parme, [et] Modène, où le Pape et les Vénitiens sont entrez, pour empescher les Alemands de s'establiir en Italie. On assure que nous sommes présentement fort bien à Rome; qu'au premier jour on donnera des bulles généralement à tous les evesques françois sans aucune distinction; et cette bonne intelligence avec le Pape est cause, à mon avis, qu'on ne songe plus aux douceurs dont on se flattoit pour les Protestans. Car aprésent on dit ouvertement qu'on veut que tous les enfans soyent Catholiques; et à l'égard des pères, ou des gens d'âge, on ne s'en veut plus mettre en peine. Et peut-estre, si la paix se fait avantageusement, on les enverra dehors du royaume. On ne se soucie pas des conversions, pourveu que, suivant la maxime, il n'y ait plus qu'une religion dans le royaume.

‘Mademoiselle de la Rochegiffart avoit une petite fille qu’elle regardoit comme son enfant; Monsieur de la Reinie a ordre de luy [l’]oster.

‘Monsieur de Ximènes est allé avec 2,000 chevaux à Thuin, pour le faire fortifier, et y demeurer cet hyver. Enfin Monsieur le Comte d’Etrées est arrivé à Toulon, avec 16 vaisseaux. Il a joint les galères pour aller attaquer les vaisseaux et galères d’Espagne, qui étoient dans le port de Gennes; mais on les croit sorties du port. Ils n’attendent pas nostre flotte.

‘Il est sorti 14 vaisseaux du Roy de Brest, pour aller en courses. On dit toujours que les armateurs s’enrichissent, et qu’il s’est fait des profits immenses.’

3½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 22 Oct.*

E70. 1692, [Oct. 24/] Nov. 3. Paris. ‘J’ay esté indisposé toute la semaine passée, ce qui a interrompu nostre commerce; et comme je n’ay pû sortir, je ne suis pas encore assez instruit des affaires du monde pour vous entretenir amplement. Le bruit qui avoit couru de la mort du Duc de Savoye n’étoit fondé que sur ce que personne ne le voyoit. Mais aprésent on tient pour constant qu’il ne l’ait pas esté, et que mesme on assure qu’il n’a eû d’autre maladie que sa petite vérole. On attribue cette feinte à ce qu’il ne vouloit pas consentir au bombardement de Pignerol, que les Alemands vouloyent faire. Il veut bien qu’on l’assiége, et tascher [*sic*] de le prendre; mais non qu’on le bombarde. Cependant voilà tout finy aussy bien en Piémont qu’ailleurs. Tous les généraux sont icy et l’on met toutes les troupes en quartier d’hyver. Ainsy nous voilà de repos, jusqu’à la campagne prochaine.

‘On est plus content de Monsieur Catinat que de tous les autres, parce qu’il a bien conduit sa barque, avec peu de troupes. On dit aprésent qu’il en avoit beaucoup moins qu’on ne nous disoit. Il doit venir icy dans quelque temps. On ne sait si Monsieur de Luxembourg sera en état de servir à l’avenir, par sa mauvaise santé. Monsieur Dusson frère de Monsieur de Bonrepaux, qui commandoit dans Pignerol, ne s’y est pas acquis grande reputation. On appelle aprésent Marquis ledit Sieur de Bonrepaux, depuis qu’il a esté nommé à l’ambassade de Danemarc.

‘Il est certain que le dessein étoit de se saisir de la ville basse de Charleroy, pour y mettre garnison, et prendre la haute au commencement de la campagne.

‘Monsieur de Vauban est encore en Dauphiné, occupé à faire fortifier. Je vous envoie la harangue imprimée de Monsieur de Rebenac au Pape, qui se publie icy, et un manuscrit de nouvelles, en attendant que je sois mieux instruit par moy mesme.’

1½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 1 Nov.*

With (on the same sheet):

E70(1). 'Coppie du manuscrit.' 1692, Oct. [4/] 14. Rome. 'Le Pape ne tint pas hier concistoire, ainsy on ne délivre pas encore les bulles aux évesques qui furent préconisez le 7 de ce mois. On travaille pour ajuster la satisfaction que doivent donner les évesques de l'assemblée de 1682, et l'on espère en venir à bout.'

Oct. [11/] 21. Toulon. 'Monsieur le Comte D'Etrées est encore aux isles d'Yères, où Monsieur le Chevalier de Noailles l'est allé trouver pour prendre des mesures ensemble, sur les entreprises qu'ils pourront faire du costé de Naples et de Messine, où se sont retirez les vaisseaux et galères d'Espagne, qui ne s'étoient pas contentez d'entrer dans le port de Gennes sans permission, et contre les constitutions de la Republique ils y commettoient encore mille insolences. Aussy n'ont ils rien pû obtenir des 3 demandes qu'ils y étoient aller faire; la premiere de 300,000 croisats à emprunter, qui font 1,200,000 livres de nostre monnoye; deuxiême des quartiers d'hiver pour 12,000 hommes; la troisiême enfin, de se déclarer contre la France en faveur des alliez. À quoy le Senat a répondu qu'il n'avoit point d'argent à donner, ny à pretter, ny assez d'espace pour les quartiers d'hiver de 20,000 hommes que la République a levez; et qu'ils avoyent signé un traité de neutralité, qu'ils étoient résolus d'observer jusqu'à la dernière extremité.

Oct. [16/] 26. Pignerol. 'L'armée des ennemis est présentement campée à Carignan sur 3 lignes. Elle tire ses fourrages de delà le Po. Les Espagnols sont toujours à Compriasse. Le regiment du Tot, qui passa hier le Po, va, dit-on, vers la frontière de Gennes. Les 500 chevaux détachez à Vigon, y sont toujours, aussy bien que les 400 à Rivoly. Il arrive tous les jours par le Po quantité de farines, et de planches, que l'on fait rémonter à Chiros.

'Le Duc de Savoye est toujours fort mal. Les médecins le doivent faire transporter à Turin. Pour peu que son mal augmente on fera approcher l'armée plus pres de la ville. Le Prince Eugène ne quitte point la chambre de son Altesse; et les généraux y vont tous les jours, pour savoir des nouvelles. Ils veulent voir ce qui arrivera de l'état où est ce prince, avant que de mettre leurs troupes en quartier d'hiver. Ce retardement fait que les nostres ne se séparent point. On vient de recevoir nouvelles que l'armée des ennemis s'approche tout à fait de Turin, où l'on fait des prières publiques pour Son Altesse qui est en danger. On attend icy de jour en jour Monsieur de Vauban qui est depuis 8 jours à Suze.

Oct. [20/] 30. Lyon. 'Nos galères ne passeront point de cette année en Italie, puisqu'elles sont arrivées à Marseille; ainsy que l'a rapporté le courrier de Provence, arrivé ce matin.

Oct. [15/] 25. Namur. 'Monsieur le Duc de Bavières est entré aujourd'hui dans Charleroy avec 800 chariots. Monsieur de Boufflers est à présent proche de Philippeville. Ses troupes doivent se réparer incessamment.

'Monsieur le Comte de Guiscar arriva hier icy avec le détachement de la garnison, qui doit estre cet hyver de 14,000 hommes.

'L'armée de Monsieur de Luxembourg a reçu ordre pour les quartiers d'hiver. Elle a passé la rivière de Haine, et restera en quartier de fourage le reste de ce mois. On a seu, depuis le bombardement de Charleroy, que les bombes ont écrasé 17 officiers. On ne sait pas le nombre des soldats qui ont esté tuez.

Oct. [11/] 21. Cologne. 'Il entra icy hier matin 6 compagnies d'infanterie de Munstériens, sous le commandement du Colonel Lamberg, pour y tenir garnison cet hyver, et le reste de ses troupes repassera le Rhein. Les François travaillent fortement à remplir les magasins de fourrages à Trèves. On repalissade la ville; apres quoy la garnison pour cet hyver y entrera. Monsieur de Lorge a mis ses troupes les

plus fatiguées au secours du siège du chasteau d'Ebernbourg en quartier d'hyver.

'On mande de Strasbourg que l'on nettoyoit quelques prisons, pour y mettre les prisonniers faits dans la dernière action d'Alemagne; et que les François publient qu'ils n'avoient pas fait le Duc Virtemberg prisonnier comme soldat, mais en prince, pour le reste des contributions de son pays. Le Prince aîné d'Anspach est mort le 17 de ce mois à Francfort.'

3½ pp. *French.*

E71. 1692, [Oct. 28/] Nov. 7. Paris. 'Il court des bruits extraordinaires en ce pays-cy sur la disposition des affaires en Angleterre, où l'on dit que les partialitez sont plus grandes que jamais; que le 15 du passé plusieurs gentilshommes allèrent crier dans des places publiques, *Vive le Roy Jaques, et périsse l'usurpateur!* sans que personne se mist en devoir de les empescher; que dans tous les carrefours on y expose le portrait du Prince de Gales; que la mesme chose se passe en Ecosse; que 80 milions ne suffiront pas pour le fonds de la campagne prochaine; et qu'il a de grandes cabales pour traverser les affaires dans le prochain Parlement. Des lettres de Hollande de la fin du moins passé confirment cela, et que le Roy Guillaume n'obtiendra pas des sommes si fortes que l'année passée; que la taxe des terres, qui devoit produire 1,300,000 livres sterlins, n'en a produit que 100,000; que la Princesse de Danemarc avoit écrit aux membres de la chambre basse pour avoir des assignations seures et convenables à sa dignité, sans passer par les mains du Roy Guillaume; que le Roy Guillaume n'avoit pas demandé à Messieur les Etats 20,000 hommes d'augmentation, comme on disoit, s'étant contenté de demander un pareil etat au dernier, et qu'il n'avoit encore esté approuvé que de quelques unes des provinces, y en ayant six qui avoient déclaré estre dans l'impuissance.

'On écrit de Brest du 21e. octobre qu'on achevoit d'equiper 5 des meilleurs vaisseaux du Roy, savoir 1 de 70, 1 de 64 et 3 de 60 pièces de canon, pour aller incessamment dans la Manche, sous la conduite de Monsieur de Némond.

'On mande de Pignerol du 26 que les ennemis ne s'etoient pas encore retirez, parce qu'ils attendoyent le succez de la maladie de Monsieur de Savoye, et que les troupes se tenoyent pres de Turin, en cas de mort. Les lettres du 23 de Toulon portent que Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées avoit mouillé aux isles d'Hières, et depuis on a seû qu'il suivoit les ennemis. Monsieur d'Anfreville est mort.

'Le Capitaine Bart est sorty de Dunkerque avec 4 vaisseaux. Les lettres arrivées hier de Brest parlent de 17 prises; et on en compte, depuis 15 jours, plus de 26 parmy lesquelles il y en a de fort riches.

'Il y a quelque temps que l'ambassadeur de Venise, s'étant plaint à Monsieur

de Croissy de ce que les François étoient cause, par leur desertion, du malheur de la Canée, ayant aussy débauché les Alemands, ce ministre luy répondit que le mauvais traitement qu'ils faisoient aux troupes, et le manque de payement, étoient les seules causes des desertions que leur arrivoyent; et que cela n'arrivoit point dans les armées du Roy, parce qu'on les payoit bien. L'ambassadeur, en prenant congé, dit que c'étoient les suites de l'alliance du Roy avec le Turc; sur quoy Monsieur de Croissy s'emporta, et luy dit que ce discours étoit indigne de son caractère, et que, si la Republique n'en faisoit pas justice au Roy, sa Majesté trouveroit bien moyen de se le faire faire. Sur cela on dit qu'il a esté envoyé des courriers de part et d'autre à Venise.

'On est fort surpris de voir qu'au lieu des adoucissements espérez sur le fait de la religion, les galériens sont plus maltraités que jamais. On ne veut pas que qui que ce soit leur parle, ny pour les secourir ny pour les consoler. Cela peut venir, comme je l'ay dit, de ce que les affaires de Rome sont mieux disposées; car on espère que le Pape accordera des bulles à tous les evesques sans distinction.

'On assure une terrible ligue des princes du Nord avec les princes d'Alemagne, pour empescher la nouvelle dignité d'electorat promise par l'Empereur au Duc d'Hannover.

'J'ay veû une lettre de Vienne du 18 du passé qui rapporte que le Grand Visir a fait venir à Belgrade Mauro Cordato pour conférer avec l'ambassadeur du Roy Guillaume. Elle marque qu'il y a beaucoup de maladies dans les 2 armées, qui vont se séparer pour entrer en des quartiers d'hyver; que le Prince de Bade est malade; que les Turcs ont défait l'escorte d'un convoi qui alloit à l'armée du Comte Véterani, et qu'ils avoyent pris 80 ou 100 chariots de munitions de guerre, et de bouche, dont ce général avoit bien besoin; ce qui l'incommoderoit fort; et qu'en général on ne croyoit point la paix du Turc possible.

'J'ay veû ces jours passez nostre ancien amy Bonrepaux aprésent Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de Danemark, qui fait ses paquets et se dispose à partir avec Monsieur le Comte d'Avaux, en attendant des vaisseaux de Suède ou de Danemarc. Il m'a fort assuré qu'il n'avoit point sollicité cet employ. On l'appelle aprésent Marquis, comme je vous l'ay mandé.'

3½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 5 Nov.*

With (on the same sheet):

E71(1). 1692, Oct. [19/] 29. Pignerol. 'Le chevalier de Rocanjon, que son Altesse Royale avoit envoyé à Vienne, est de retour à Turin, avec les ordres de la Cour Imperiale pour les quartiers d'hyver que les troupes alemandes prendront chez les princes d'Italie. Et par un homme venu du camp des ennemis on apprend que la reveue des troupes est faite, et qu'elles commencent à défilier pour entrer dans leurs quartiers. Il y aura 1,500 chevaux à Vigon, tant gendarmes de son Altesse qu'Alemands. Les communautez de delà le Po ont ordre d'y voiturier du foin.

'Le Duc de Savoye a fait son testament, par lequel il institue pour son héritier le filz du Prince de Carignan, à condition qu'il épousera sa fille. On dit qu'il se porte mieux présentement. On maudit à Turin la guerre et les Alemands, et l'on dit que son Altesse n'en veut souffrir que bien peu dans ses etatz.

'Suite du manuscrit. Par les lettres de Milan du 26 on apprend qu'on a retranché les pensions et augmentations que l'Espagne donnoit au Duc de Savoye par mois. On luy envoie présentement 40,000 écus en lettres de change par gratification extraordinaire.

'On mande de Casal du 26 que le Marquis de Pianesse a tenté, la semaine passée, de bruler les ports de cette ville. Mais Monsieur de Crenan ayant esté averti de ce dessein par un deserteur allemand, les ennemis furent obligez de se retirer avec perte de 10 hommes et d'un capitaine allemand, et laissèrent sur la place plusieurs feux d'artifice qu'ils avoyent portez. Ledit Marquis de Pianesse fait depuis quelques jours palissader Finebet.'

1p. *French.*

E71(2). [1692, Oct. 28/] Nov. 7. 'Autres nouvelles de la cour de France, et de Paris.' 'La mort de Monsieur le Marquis de Bethune retiendra sa veuve en France. Croiriez vous bien que son filz le cadet, que vous avez veü destiné aux bénéfices, et à qui le crédit du Roy de Pologne destinoit un chapeau de Cardinal, n'a jamais pû se résoudre à taster de cette vie tranquile et heureuse? Il a mieux aimé se faire garde de marine que de se couvrir de la pourpre, non obstant toutes les remontrances de sa famille. Quelle disproportion de vie! et que la jeunesse est folle!

'Depuis mon retour de la campagne j'ay appris icy que Monsieur le Marquis de la Vauguyon, que vous avez veü autrefois si souvent chez une dame de nostre voisinage, est devenu fou. Il demanda la semaine passée au Roy l'ambassade de Suede. Sa Majesté luy répondit qu'elle en avoit disposé. Il s'en alla en suite trouver Monsieur de Croissy, à qui il fit la mesme demande. La response fut, qu'il parloit trop tard; que le Roy y avoit pourveu, et qu'il avoit donné cet employ à Monsieur d'Avaux. Le chagrin qu'il en conçeut, joint à des dispositions peu favorables au bon sens, le troubla. Il s'alla promener à l'abreuvoir, où, voyant un beau cheval qu'un valet de pied de Monsieur le Prince y menoit boire, il le pria de souffrir qu'il le montast. Le valet n'osant refuser un Cordon Bleu, luy accorda cette permission. Il monta dessus, et, apres luy avoir fait faire quelques passades, il se mit à toute bride. Le valet étonné fit ce qu'il put pour courir apres, mais inutilement. Il courut par tout, sans savoir où il alloit, et vint à travers champs à Paris. Il s'embourba dans des marais et donna tant d'exercice au cheval et à luy qu'ils tombèrent l'un et l'autre de lassitude. Il déchira son Cordon Bleu, et arracha le St. Esprit de dessus son justaucorps, où vous savez qu'il est appliqué par le brodeur. Enfin il vint à la Bastille, où il demanda à parler à Monsieur de Besmaux, qui en est toujours gouverneur. Il luy dit que le Roy luy avoit donné ordre de s'y rendre, et luy tint divers propos dérangez, qui luy firent connoistre son alienation. Cela l'obligea d'en écrire à Monsieur de Ponchartrain, qui en ayant fait le rapport au Roy, sa Majesté ordonna qu'on le remenast chez luy et qu'on en prist soin. Cela ayant esté exécuté, il y est aprésent, et ne tombe dans ces accidens-là que par intervalle; quand il en est attaqué, il parle toujours; et quand il en sort, il demeure dans un profond silence, et connoist fort bien que la teste luy a tourné. Il étoit conseiller d'Etat, ce qui luy valoit 2,000 écus de pension, et en avoit encore mille de sa chevalerie. Il avoit la réputation de n'estre pas riche et cela le chagrinoit. Mais si tous ceux qui ne le sont pas tomboyent dans un pareil desordre, le monde deviendroit l'hôpital général des fous.

Vous connoissez le vieux Boyer gascon, sous doyen de l'academie des beaux esprits. Il a fait une tragicomedie intitulée *Judith*. Nous avons ces jours passez assisté à la lecture de cette pièce. Je ne say si un jeune abbé qui la leut nous imposa par sa belle lecture; mais, toute préoccupation à part, nous la trouvasmes fort belle. Baron le comedien, qui étoit des auditeurs, et qui a le goust de ces sortes de choses, fut du mesme sentiment.

'Hier nous ouysmes aussy la lecture d'une pièce comique en prose, intitulée *Les bourgeois à la mode*. La pièce est fort vive, et fort plaisante. Dancour, auteur et comedien, la leut, comme si elle eust esté jouée, et réjouyt fort les auditeurs. On la donnera au public dans peu. Le vieil academicien Charpentier, qui étoit du nombre, nous fit divers contes fort plaisants; mais je me défie de ma memoire et ne les ay pas assez bien retenus pour vous les rapporter.'

3pp. *French*.

E72. 1692, Nov. [4/] 14. Paris. 'Je ne vous ay point écry par le dernier ordinaire de lundy, faute de matière. Vous vous contenterez, s'il vous plaist, desormais d'une lettre par semaine, à moins qu'il ne s'offre quelque nouvelle importante à vous faire savoir en diligence.

'Le Prince de Virtemberg a veû le Roy, à qui Monsieur de Barbezieux l'a présenté. On le traite fort bien. Il est icy quasi sur sa parole, en bel equipage. Il a avec luy simplement un officier, sous prétexte de l'accompagner partout, qui est une espèce de surveillant. Il va aux divertissements publics; et paroist assez fier, point déconcerté. Je croy qu'on ne sera pas fasché de l'attirer par toutes sortes de bons traitements.

'On parle tous les jours de nouvelles prises. Un nomme La Roche, capitaine de vaisseau du Roy, en a fait une depuis peu, dans la Méditeranée, d'un vaisseau anglois fort riche, dont, le capitaine ayant été tué dans le combat, le lieutenant offrit 150,000 écus pour estre relasché. Cela fait juger qu'il y a beaucoup de richesses.

'Monsieur le Comte de Toulouze fera la fonction d'amiral, l'année prochaine, et montera sur la flotte, qu'on prétend devoir estre tres forte. Mais le principal but est de ruiner entièrement le commerce des Anglois et Hollandois, parce qu'on espère les réduire plustost par là que par des batailles navales. C'est pourquoy on armera fort en Levant, aussy bien qu'en Ponant.

'Comme le blé est fort cher, on en fait venir des costes de l'Affrique pour les provisions de l'armée. On craint fort qu'on ne se sente encore plus de la disette dans 3 ou 4 mois qu'aprèsent. Les commissaires, sur les plaintes du peuple, allèrent, il y a peu de jours, dans les marchez. Ils trouvèrent à la Place Maubert que les boulangers de dehors vouloyent vendre trop cher, et sur ce qu'il y avoit aussy de la fraude, pour le poids, ils confisquèrent divers charretées, qui furent abandonnées au pillage des soldats qui leur servoyent d'escorte. Le pillage alla un peu plus loin que de raison. Il arriva aussy quelque desordre aux Halles.

‘Monsieur de Ponchartrain n’a pas dissimulé au Roy que les provinces étoient fort minces; c’est à dire, au moins le plat pays. Cela est cause qu’on met les quartiers d’hiver dans les villes, qui ne sont guère mieux que la campagne.

‘Plusieurs officiers, ruinez par la perte de leurs chevaux et de leurs equipages, remettent leurs commissions, faute de pouvoir faire des recrues, et rétablir leurs equipages.

‘Le blé, le vin, et les eaues de vie enchérissent tous les jours, sur tout les 2 derniers, qui ont triplé de prix. Tout augmente à proportion, car les marchands et les ouvriers, ayant plus de peine à vivre, chargent leur marchandise et leur industrie.

‘On parle de faire encore de nouvelles compagnies de gendarmes, pour faire 20 avec les 16 qui sont déjà. Le Roy a fait faire de nouveaux réglemens pour les procédures qui s’observent aux prises, et pour abrégier les chicanes, comme aussy pour les quartiers d’hiver des troupes. Avec toute la misère générale, on ne laisse pas de jouer grand jeu à la cour, et icy.

‘Le Duc de Savoye se porte bien aprésent. Il ne perdra pas un oeil, comme on le croyoit; mais il sera fort marqué et défiguré pour le visage. On fera de nouveaux efforts contre luy à l’ouverture de la campagne. Il ne l’aura jamais si beau que la dernière, où, s’il eust poussé sa pointe, on avoue qu’il auroit fait de grands progresz, parce qu’on étoit fort foible en ce pays-là. On écrit de Cazal que 3 de nos capitaines, ennuyez de la garnison, ont deserté.

‘Monsieur Catinat ayant écrit au Roy en faveur de son neveu Monsieur Pucelle, conseiller au Parlement, pour la charge de la Première Présidence de Dauphiné, on ne doute pas qu’elle ne luy soit accordée; quoy que le frère du defunct soit icy, pour la solliciter pour luy mesme.

‘Depuis les dernières lettres, on a fait 14 prises.

‘Il a esté envoyé par le Roy de Perse au Roy un sabre pour présent, qui a passé par la Pologne. Ces vers Latin sont gravez dessus.

Victricem, Lodoïci, precor, mi porrige dextram,
Non aliud quaero majus in orbe decus.
Dum faveat Magni Lodoïci dextera, vincam,
Hic nam victoris nomen et omen habet.

Eussiez vous creû que le Roy de Perse seust parler Latin? Pour moy, je croy que quelque European luy a pretté cette charité.

‘Voicy d’autres vers sur le combat de Steinkerque.

Auriacus Gallos inopina ad praelia cogit,
Incantis minitans fata cruenta viris.
Borbonida at virtus, et regia terret origo,
Aurelio, meminit quod, Duce, victus erat.

Condaëque timens imitantes fata nepotes,
 Ostendit profugis triste salutis iter.
 Sic tuus implevit, Lodoix, sua munia sanguis,
 Ut gens nulla tuum ovare vitet.'

4pp. *French and Latin.*

E73. 1692, Nov. [4/] 14. 'Autres nouvelles contenues dans la lettre de Paris.' 'Je vous envoie 2 harangues de Monsieur l'Evesque de Nîmes, l'une au Roy et l'autre à Monseigneur. J'ay creû que vous ne seriez pas fasché de juger, par cet echantillon, de l'eloquence de l'auteur, connu autrefois icy sous le nom de l'abbé Fléchier. J'ay veû diverses de ses pièces, entre autres des oraisons funébres, et l'ay ouy parler en public. À mon avis, et au sentiment des connoisseurs, nous n'avons point d'homme en France qui s'exprime mieux que luy. Je le connois assez en particulier pour l'avoir veû souvent, et m'estre entretenu avec luy chez une dame où il va ordinairement. Monsieur de Montausier luy a servy de Mécène. Il est de l'Academie Françoisë, et protecteur de celle de Nîmes, où il y a nombre de gens d'esprit et d'etude. Je luy ay ouy dire quelquefois que dans son diocèse il y avoit plus de 80,000 ames de la religion protestante. Il s'y gouverne avec assez de douceur, et ne fait violence à personne. De la façon qu'il nous a parlé de son evesché, le revenu en a diminué de prés de la moitié. C'est un malheur commun à tout le monde, et dont les ecclesiastiques ne sont pas plus exempts que les autres. On les plaint pourtant moins, parce qu'il y a beaucoup de superflu parmy, qui serviroit à remplir les besoins de quantité de personnes dans la pauvreté, si les regles de la premiere institution étoient observées à la rigueur. C'est le genie des hommes que le relaschement.

'Le Grand Duc a envoyé par présent à Messieurs de l'Academie Françoisë le Dictionnaire de la Crusca, reveû, corrigé et augmenté dans une nouvelle impression, qu'il a fait faire. On prétend que c'est le meilleur et le plus exact. Ces messieurs doivent le remercier, et le payer en mesme monnoye, lorsque le leur sera imprimé.'

1½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 18 Nov.*

Enclosing:

E73(1). [1692.] Complimentary address by the Bishop of Nîmes on behalf of the Estates of Languedoc to Louis XIV.

2pp. *Copy, not in the hand of Legoux. French.*

E73(2). [1692.] Complimentary address by the Bishop of Nîmes on behalf of the Estates of Languedoc to the Dauphin.

1½ pp. *Copy, in another hand. French.*

E73(3). [1692.] Verses (42 lines), headed: 'Le logis qui tombe en décadence', beginning:

'Dune architecture
 Du temps de jadis
 La sage Nature
 M'a fait un logis'
 and ending:
 'L'important de tout
 Est le giste au bout'.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *French.* On the same sheet, and in the same hand as no. E73(1). Followed by a note in the hand of Legoux: 'On ne dit point pour qui ces vers ont esté faitz. On prétend que c'est pour, ou pour mieux dire contre, le Roy. Envoyez de Paris le 14e. novembre 1692'.

E74. 1692, Nov. [7/] 17. Paris. 'Les nouvelles sont assez steriles. On travaille aux projets de la campagne prochaine. Le Roy est toujours en conférences secrettes avec Messieurs de Luxembourg et Chanlay. Monsieur de Barbesieux n'y entre pas. On compte sur 90 vaisseaux de ligne pour la mer. Je croy qu'il y en aura 84. On fait passer dans l'ocean le grand vaisseau de 120 pièces de canon, construit à Toulon, pour servir d'admiral. Monsieur de Némond est en mer, mais on ne sait pas où il va.

'Les prises continuent toujours de tous costez. Il y a quantité d'armateurs en mer. J'ay veû des mémoires envoyez à Monsieur de Pontchartrain des affaires d'Angleterre. Je ne say pas d'où ils viennent; mais je les trouve si avantageux pour nous qu'il paroist bien qu'on y tourne toutes choses pour plaire au ministre.

'On dit que le party du Roy Guillaume se divise fort, et que le party contraire est fort uny; qu'il se prépare des matières combustibles pour le Parlement; que les espritz s'échauffent contre Mylord Russel sur ce qu'il n'a pas exécutté la descente projectée en France; que luy dit avoir de bons garants de sa conduite; et que les commissaires de la Marine ou Amirauté en sont chargez; qu'on parle de luy oster son employ, et de mettre Killegrew ou Ashby en sa place; que la Princesse de Danemarc est plus brouillée que jamais avec la famille royale; qu'elle a ses partisans dans la chambre basse, et qu'elle demande que le Parlement luy établisse un fonds certain pour sa subsistance, sans qu'elle soit obligée de passer par les mains du Roy Guillaume, comme je vous l'ay déjà mandé. On dit d'ailleurs que le Duc de Gourdon ayant représenté au Roy Jaques qu'il ne pouvoit pas recevoir ses revenus tant qu'il seroit à sa cour, et qu'il le prioit de trouver-bon qu'il se retirast en lieu neutre, cela luy ayant esté accordé, et s'étant retiré à Basle, on l'a enlevé; ce qui fait croire que c'est le Roy Guillaume.

'Le Duc de Savoye se porte mieux: mais il n'est pas guéry, étant encore malade d'une fièvre double quarte, et fort foible. On attend Monsieur Catinat au premier jour. Monsieur de Vauban prétend toujours rendre Grenoble une bonne place.

‘Les Vénitiens demandent aux princes d’Italie du secours contre le Turc, qui ne veut entendre à aucune proposition de paix que l’Empereur ne commence par le restitution des places, et sur tout de Bude.

‘Le pain encherit toujours, et le peuple crie. La campagne devient de plus en plus misérable. On attend le Prince de Danemarc. Le Prince de Virtemberg a dit à quelqu’un de mes amis qu’il avoit esté surpris de voir le Roy si changé. Il l’a trouvé fort vieilly et courbé. Cependant il travaille toujours avec la mesme assiduité et la mesme force. Les ambassadeurs pour le nord ne sont pas encore partis.’

2pp. *French.*

With (on the same sheet):

E74(1). 1692, Nov. [7/] 17. ‘Autres nouvelles de Paris.’ ‘Comme j’ay peu de nouvelles politiques à vous apprendre aujourd’huy, il faut que je vous entretienne de ce qui se passe icy. Je vous ay mandé autrefois les démeslez d’entre Madame la Grande Duchesse et l’Abesse de Montmartre, chez laquelle elle étoit retirée, et où Monsieur le Grand Duc, pour luy rendre plus agréable, avoit dépensé 50,000 écus à luy faire bastir un appartement convenable à sa qualité. La dame ayant esté obligée de quitter ce domicile, par les divisions survenues entre elle et l’abesse, Monsieur le Grand Duc exigea d’elle, pour luy conserver la pension de 80,000 livres qu’il luy donne pour sa subsistance, qu’elle demeureroit dans un convent, d’où elle ne pourroit sortir qu’à certaines heures, pour s’y renfermer aussy tous les jours à l’heure ordinaire où ces sortes de maisons sonnent la retraite; qu’en sortant elle auroit toujours 2 femmes avec elle, et un carrosse de suite avec 2 ecuyers. Il demanda de plus que le Roy fust garant des ces conditions. Sa Majesté ne s’en étant point point [*sic*] voulu mesler, Monsieur s’est engagé à l’observation. En suite, elle s’est retirée à St. Mandé, où elle a pris un appartement dont elle paye 2,400 livres par an. Mais dans la suite, trouvant l’abesse de ce lieu mieux logée qu’elle, elle luy demanda le sien, dequoy l’abesse s’étant excusée, un jour qu’elle étoit occupée à l’office du coeur, elle fit entrer ses domestiques, jetta dehors les meubles de l’abesse, fit mettre les siens en la place, et s’y campa. L’abesse irritée de ce traitement fit tout ce qu’elle put par voyes de remonstrances, qui étant demeurées sans effet elle eut recours mal à propos à celles de chicane; et la temérité de faire donner un exploit à Madame la Grande Duchesse, qui se plaignit, outre le manque de respect, de sa mauvaise conduite dans le convent. Sur cela Desgrais, par ordre du Roy, alla prendre l’abesse, et la conduisit à l’abaye de Malnoue où elle est àprésent. Cette abesse est fille de Monsieur le Maréchal de Grancey, du premier lit, et a plus de 60 ans. Elle avoit esté dans une abaye en Normandie, où les médisans disent qu’elle avoit quelque commerce avec un curé de son voisinage. En suite elle vint dans une autre abaye de la Saussaye aupres de Viljuive, d’où enfin elle étoit venue à St. Mandé. On l’accuse encore d’avoir ruiné toutes ces maisons, aussy bien que cette dernière, où il ne reste plus que 8 ou 10 religieuses, qui ont bien de la peine à y subsister. On prétend que ce curé, pour estre son voisin de plus pres, avoit permuté son bénéfice pour une place de chanoine dans Vincennes, et que l’abesse s’étoit souvent déguisée pour s’y aller promener; que mesme, sous l’habit de crieuse de petit métier (espeçe de gauffres à manger) elle y venoit faire des rondes.

‘Il est aussy arrivé aussy [*sic*] quelque desordre au convent de la Raquette, dans le Fauxbourg St. Anthoine, que Madame de Maintenon protège. La supérieure honorée de ses bonnes graces particulièrement a obtenu d’estre supérieure toute sa vie, contre les regles, qui ne leur laissent cette dignité qu’à temps; de quoy les

religieuses se sont formalisées; mais ce qui leur tient plus au coeur, c'est qu'on a voulu les obliger à se réformer. Elles ont dit, pour leurs défenses, qu'elles étoient entrées dans ce convent suivant les règles de son institution; qu'elles n'empeschoient pas que celles qui viendroyent apres elles ne se reformassent; mais qu'à leur égard elles vouloyent vivre à leur ordinaire. Cela a causé des tumultes dans cette maison, où les plus emportées se sont évaporées en discours inconsidérés contre Madame de Maintenon. Ainsy il a falu en venir à la voye d'autorité. On a enlevé les plus sedicieuses qu'on a distribuées en diverses autres maisons. Ces bonnes dames, quand elles se débendent, ont les passions plus violentes que les autres personnes du monde.

'Monseigneur revient hier de Chantilly avec les dames, et alla à l'opera avec elles. C'est celuy de Phaëton qu'on a orné de nouveaux habitz et de nouvelles décorations.

'Le Roy a donné l'abaye de St. Vincent, qui est à Senlis, à l'abbé de Saillan, à la sollicitation de Monsieur de Luxembourg son amy de tout temps. Le Roy dit à ce maréchal qu'il auroit donné à cet abbé un bénéfice il y a long temps; mais qu'il attendoit qu'il fust guéry d'une maladie qui ne convenoit pas à son etat de bénéficier.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 17 Nov.*

E75. 1692, Dec. [5/] 15. Paris. 'Comme vous m'avez marqué avoir de l'estime pour les productions de Madame Deshoulières, je vous envoie une lettre en vers qu'elle a ecrite depuis peu à Monsieur Pelleret de Souzy. Le sujet est, qu'ayant l'intendance des fortifications son mary et son filz sont sous sa jurisdiction. C'est ce qui l'oblige à luy faire sa cour, et à se plaindre à luy de ce qu'elle ne peut avoir l'honneur de l'entretenir que dans des audiences publiques pesle mesle avec tout le monde, et que son portier luy a dit quelque fois qu'il n'y étoit pas. Cependant il est vray qu'il a de la considération pour elle. Il a beaucoup d'esprit, et connoist avec distinction le mérite des gens. Mais les poetes comme les amans sont accoutumez à se plaindre. Vous verrez qu'elle touche délicatement quelques traits de l'amour-propre, et loue avec esprit cet intendant, qui depuis longtemps est sur les voyes des plus hautes dignitez. À l'égard de la petite lettre de Monsieur Perrault, c'est à l'occasion de l'envoy de son dernier livre sur le parallèle des anciens avec les modernes, que vous devez avoir dans le pays où vous estes, et qui fait assez de bruit parmy les critiques. Monsieur Des Préaux [Boileau] a trouvé bon qu'elle fust imprimée; ainsy on l'a insérée à la fin du livre; et l'auteur en a donné à ses amis plusieurs séparément pour justifier que la guerre qu'ils se font est honneste. Il y loue adroitement Monsieur Des Préaux, et l'engage par le propre intérêt de ses ouvrages contre celuy des anciens qu'il soutient. Pour ce qui est de Monsieur Dacier il n'entend point raillerie là dessus, et jette feu et flamme contre les modernistes. J'ay veû icy le dernier *Journal des Ouvrages des Savans*, qui fait mention d'un auteur de vos quartiers qui a écrit sur cette matière, dans laquelle il paroist opposé aux sentimens de Monsieur Perrault.

‘S’il y avoit de la facilité à faire venir ces livrets, nous avons icy plusieurs amis qui seroyent bien aise de les avoir. Mais il y a peu de gens qui ayent ce privilège, et la difficulté du commerce en oste le goust. C’est une maudite chose que la guerre. Elle trouble toute sorte de commerce. Il n’est pas jusqu’aux dames qui s’en plaignent. Pendant les campagnes elles sont réduittes aux petits colets, et les hyvers à peine les guerriers ont ils le temps de les voir, occupez comme ils sont du soin de leur fortune. C’est ce qui rend les dames si traittables, que les avances ne leur coûtent plus rien. On fait là dessus des histoires sans nombre. Il court parmy le monde des listes, par exemple, de tous ceux qui ont eû part aux bonnes graces de Madame de Polignac, et de Madame de Choiseul, sur quoy le public ne s’épargne pas de chausonner.

‘Il y a icy une dame venue de Cazal qu’on accuse d’avoir empoisonné son premier mary, fait assassiner le deuxième et d’avoir accusé le troisième de trahison, ce qui le mettra en peril de sa teste. L’ambassadeur de Venise l’a reçue chez luy, et s’est trouvé mal de son commerce. Elle l’a menacé de se vanger de ce qu’il en avoit dit, et que si jamais il retourne chez luy, il se trouvera mal de l’avoir décriée. Elle a 2 frères, célèbres assassins, qu’elle employera pour sen venger. Cependant elle n’a pas esté assez tost décriée, puisqu’on assure qu’elle a honoré des ses cuisantes faveurs quantité de maris qui en ont fait part à leurs femmes. Cela a si fort pullulé qu’on a peine à en déterrer toutes les suites fascheuses.

‘J’ay veû depuis peu dans une maison d’amie Madame de Meyercroon. Elle a de la vivacité au de là de l’imagination. Je ne croyois pas que le nord produisit tant de feu. Elle est charmante, particulièrement sur les histoires de Madame de Maillot, autrefois Madame de la Louherie que vous connoissez, tante de Monsieur le Marquis de la Forest. Il seroit à souhaitter qu’elle en voulust faire un recueil. Il y a dequoy rire: et, si Molière vivoit, il y trouveroit matière à de nouvelles comédies. Je ne croy pas qu’on puisse dire et faire plus de folies. C’est une chose admirable de songer que cette dame étoit l’oracle du Poitou.’

2³/₄ pp. *Extract. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 20 Dec.*

Enclosing:

E75(1). ‘Coppie d’une lettre de Madame Deshoulières à Monsieur Pelletier de Souzy intendant des finances de France, et des fortifications de places.’ ‘Je ne saurois m’en empescher: il faut, Seigneur, que je vous gronde ... Et peut-estre avec eux je vous amuseray.’

4pp. (106 lines). *French.*

E76. 1692, Dec. [12/] 22. Paris. ‘Je feray de mon mieux pour vous satisfaire sur vostre commerce maritime. Vous vous trompez de croire qu’il ne se trouve pas le nombre de matelots dont je vous ay parlé. Car on compte

toujours sur les deux tiers pour les équipages, et le tiers en soldats. Mais la pratique est fort bonne dont on se sert, c'est qu'on fait apprendre aux soldats la manoeuvre de la marine; de sorte qu'ils sont à 2 mains, soldats et matelots. Pour ce qui est des canons, ceux de fer de la fabrique de St. Gervais en Dauphiné sont autant ou plus estimez que ceux de fonte verte. Il est vray que ceux cy doivent estre refondus, aussy ne les a t on repeschez qu'en pièces et morceaux. A l'egard de ceux de fer, qui sont gastez, ils sont absolument inutiles.

'Cette dernière promotion de la marine fait grand bruit, parce qu'on n'y a pas observé scrupuleusement le rang de ceux qui devoient monter. En sorte que ceux qui prétendent n'avoir pas esté traittez justement font beaucoup de bruit. Monsieur de Tourville, qui étoit exposé aux malédictions, s'en est justifié en disant publiquement à Monsieur de Pontchartrain qu'il n'étoit pas nécessaire de le consulter, puisque de 28, dont il avoit l'état pour estre capitaines, il n'en a pris que 4. Monsieur de la Rochefoucaut, qui luy en avoit recommandé 9, n'en a eû pas un, dequoy il s'est plaint aigrement à luy mesme, sur tout y ayant parmy ces 9 un de ses parens. Il dit a Monsieur du Pontchartrain qu'il ne le prieroit jamais de rien, et qu'il étoit surpris du peu de cas qu'il faisoit de ses sollicitations.

'On dit mesme que quelques uns de ces capitaines ont esté faits pour de l'argent, et que les subalternes s'achettent; de quoy on est fort surpris, attendu le desintéressement de ce ministre. Mais sa femme est fort avare, ainsy il ne faut s'étonner de rien. Cela dégoûte beaucoup de gens du service. Pour ce qui est des 2 capitaines, St. Pierre et Desadrets, ils sont absolument exclus de la marine pour avoir eû la principale part aux mouvements arrivez à Brest contre le petit Renaud. Le premier peut servir par terre. Mais St. Pierre, dont toute la fortune concistoit à avoir épousé une femme riche à Brest, où il a fait bastir une maison de 20,000 écus, il luy est absolument défendu d'y mettre le pied, non plus qu'en tout autre port, et ne sera point employé. Apropos de tous ces desordres, les officiers regrettent fort Monsieur de Seignelay, et crient contre ce ministre-cy.

'On tire des mats par Bayonne des Pyrenées. Pour le reste des agrez, on n'en manque pas. Enfin on compte toujours sur 90 vaisseaux de ligne pour la campagne prochaine et il n'y a pas d'apparence qu'on craigne avec cela une descente en France, comme on dit icy que les Anglois prétendent faire.

'Monsieur de Catinat, apres avoir veû le Roy, sa Majesté luy dit que Madame de Maintenon avoit une extrême impatience de le voir, et qu'elle avoit toujours eû une estime particulière pour luy; et sur ce qu'il dit qu'il alloit pour la saluer, le Roy luy dit qu'il ne vouloit pas qu'il y a allast seul, et qu'il vouloit le présenter luy mesme. Il en fut fort caressé. Cela fait connoistre de plus en plus l'autorité et le crédit de la dame. Il n'est pas encore party pour s'en setourner,

comme on l'avoit dit. On assure toujours qu'il se doit faire un grand effort de ce costé là, où l'on destine 100 bataillons et 15,000 chevaux. On pourra bien songer à reprendre Cony. On croit que l'abbé Morel est en Italie pour négocier l'achapt du Montferrat, qu'on donne au Duc avec Casal en échange de Montméliand, et de Nice, s'il est d'humeur à vouloir s'accommoder.

'On attend avec impatience de nouvelles du siege de Rheinfeld, qui a esté entrepris uniquement par Monsieur le Comte de Talart, et sur ses avis. Cela repose sur luy, mais on n'est pas sans inquiétude à la cour sur le succez, parce qu'on dit que ce chateau est fort par sa situation, et par le peu de monde qu'il faut pour le garder. Mais on a disposé de la cavallerie, pour empescher le secours. L'importance de ce poste est pour empescher la navigation sur le Rhein, dont on sera le maistre par là.

'Il est certain que si les glaces avoyent continué, on avoit dessein sur Furnes; et quoy que le temps ait changé, on n'a pas pourtant quitté ce dessein.

'Les nouvelles de Constantinople portent effectivement qu'il y a 2 partis, l'un pour la paix, l'autre pour la guerre; mais on espère qu'à l'arrivée du Grand Visir le dernier ne manquera pas de l'emporter. Pour y donner coeur, on veut de bonne heure marquer qu'on fera de plus grands effortz en Allemagne, où l'on taschera de prendre Mayence.

'Le Roy de Danemarc s'oppose toujours vigoureusement au neuvième electorat d'Hannover. Le Prince de Danemarc n'est pas encore arrivé icy. Il a resté dans les villes de la Loire.

'J'ay veû un de nos amis nouvellement revenu de Suisse. Il dit qu'après il y fait fort cher vivre. Je croy que cette raison contribue aux levées qu'on y fait de gens de guerre, à quoy la republique a donné les mains agréablement, ce qui engage à les assister de nos bledz, dont ils ont besoin.

'Il est arrivé icy une aventure extraordinaire à Monsieur Renaud, conseiller au Parlement, qui étoit rapporteur de l'affaire de certains soldats aux gardes, qui avoyent pillé des boulangers de Gonesse, qui apportoyent du pain à Paris. 7 ou 8 soldats du mesme corps, prétendants sauver leurs camarades, l'attendirent jeudy au soir, en sortant du Palais. Par bonheur pour luy il s'en alloit voir quelqu'un de ses amis, et renvoyoit ses gens avec son carrosse, où estoient ses sacs. Ces soldatz arrestèrent le carrosse, et croyant que les sacs étoient de l'affaire de leurs amis, ils s'en saisirent, et les mirent en pièces. Mais par malheur pour eux, c'étoit un autre procez. De sorte qu'ils prirent martre pour renard, et croyant sauver leurs camarades il ruinèrent des parties qui playdoyent. Samedy on pendit 2 de ces voleurs de pain, et on fit assister à l'exécution une partie du régiment. Pour ce qui est des pilleurs de papiers, on ne les connoist point, et ils eurent la bonté de s'évader.'

4pp. *Extract. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 20 Dec.*

E77. 1692, Dec. [19/] 29. 'Autres nouvelles de Paris, de plaisanteries.' 'Les almanacs nouveaux courent icy les rues; et suivant l'usage ordinaire, on en voit plusieurs qui par les estampes dont ils sont parez nous dépeignent l'histoire en burlesque de ce qui s'est passé dans le courant de la précédente année.

'Les dames ayant esté au Palais, pour y acheter des etreines de folies, et croyant y trouver des ecrans où ces plaisanteries fussent mises en tailles douces, les marchands leur ont dit que les commissaires leur ont fait défenses d'en vendre où il fust parlé du Prince d'Orange. Cela fait voir qu'on n'approuve pas les méchantes railleries qu'on est accoutumé de faire sur les princes, quoy qu'ennemis. Aussi les honnestes gens les ont toujours fort condamnées. Mais la nation y est portée naturellement. Elle est médisante et chansonnière sur toutes sortes de sujetz, pour et contre; car elle ne s'épargne pas elle mesme, et en cela elle est différente de toutes les autres, qui ne parlent jamais que contre leurs ennemis. Jugez sur ce pied-là comme les pauvres dames sont traittées. Elles sont chosonnées à outrance; aussy, en vérité, donnent elles matière fort ample à la médisance.

'Madame de Granville, qui est cette dame dont je vous ay fait mention cy devant, venue de Casal, où elle a trouvé le secret de se debarasser de plusieurs maris consécutivement, a payé la gracieuse hospitalité de l'ambassadeur de Venise d'un présent du mal de Vénus. L'ambassadeur a fait le mesme présent à la Marquise de Nesle. Celle-cy à Monsieur de la Meilleraye, qui en a fait liberalité à Madame de Choiseul, d'où elle s'est communiquée à Monsieur le Duc d'Albret, et de luy à Madame de Polignac. C'est une génération qui va à l'infy; semblable à ces grands fleuves qui se divisent en une infinité de branches, on se perd à les suivre. Mais de savoir toutes les querelles, les jalousies, les rages que cela cause, il y auroit des volumes à faire. On est allé jusqu'à se déchirer dans les lieux les plus saints, sans respect des mystères, pendant la messe aux Têatins où la plus part des dames se trouvoient. On n'entendoit que leurs murmures. On sait tout à la cour. Il a falu leur interdire ce rendez-vous, profané par la violence de leurs passions.

'C'est assez salir nos entretiens de ce détail monstrueux. Pour contrepoison, je vous diray qu'une dame de beaucoup d'esprit que vous connoissez, retirée depuis quelques années aux incurables, se meurt. Cette pauvre dame s'est reduitte à ce triste estat par des austeritez affreuses. Elle ne vivoit que de racines, depuis quelques années, et menoit dans le monde une vie de la Trappe. Cela luy a causé une maladie d'où il n'y a point de retour. La nature affoiblie a perdu ses premiers errements; et quand elle a voulu y remédier par une methode plus proportionnée à ses forces, il estoit trop tard. A propos de la Trappe, à la fin j'ay attrapé les 4 lettres, qui composent un petit volume, où l'abbé est traitté gaillardement par un auteur anonyme, dont le stile et le raisonnement sont nerveux, et font plaisir au lecteur.'

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 30 Dec.*

E78. 1693, Jan. [16/] 26. 'Nouvelles de Paris de la cour et de la ville.' 'On divertoit icy à merveilles le Prince Royal de Danemarc. Il a veû le Roy et tous les princes; et bien qu'il ne paroisse qu'incognito, on luy rend en particulier les honneurs deûs à son rang. Il a entretenu sa Majesté dans son cabinet assis et couvert. Monseigneur l'a receû à l'entrée de son appartement et ainsy du reste. Madame de Meyercroon luy a donné 2 fois le bal, et il la donné luy mesme aux dames, dans sa maison, à l'hostel de la Reyne Marguerite. Monsieur a fait aussy une grande feste pour luy, où tous les princes et princesses étoient. Ils allèrent à l'opera, en suite de quoy il y eut grande collation au Palais Royal, apres laquelle commença le bal, où plus de 200 dames étoient priées. Les masques n'eurent la permission d'entrer qu'apres minuit. Il en vint une si grande foule que cela causa un desordre épouvantable. La plus part ne purent entrer et furent obligez de demeurer dans les cours, ou dans le jardin, aussy tourmentez du froid que ceux qui se trouvèrent dans les appartements le furent de la presse et de la chaleur. Le Prince de Danemark changea 3 fois d'habitz, ou de déguisements. Ceux qui avoyent des billets pour entrer ne furent guére plus heureux que les autres. La confusion fit perdre connoissance. Il n'est pas jusques aux laquais qui voulurent forcer les portes; et pour moderer leur fureur Monsieur ordonna qu'on fist main-basse sur eux; et qu'on en pendist, sans autre forme de procez. Cette menace reprima leur ardeur. Ils se retirèrent prudemment. Parmy tout cela vous pouvez juger combien de filoux. Il y eut un assez hardy pour mettre la main sur les pierreries de Mademoiselle, qui en étoit toute couverte. Monsieur de Chartres heureusement s'en apperçeut. L'excuse du filou fut qu'il trouvoit les diamants si gros qu'il les avoit soubçonnez faux, et qu'il s'en étoit voulu éclaircir, il n'en fut autre chose. Ces messieurs les filoux font parler d'eux. Ils courent la nuit apres la proye. On dit qu'ils arrestèrent l'autre soir le carrosse de Monsieur le Prince. Sur quoy ses pages et ses valetz de pied ayant crié qu'ils étoient bien hardis de sattaquer à Monsieur le Prince, ils eurent l'honnesteté de luy faire un compliment, disant qu'ils étoient de pauvres officiers. Monsieur le Prince leur jetta 20 pistoles, avec quoy ils se retirèrent.

'Un nommé Cavois, qui faisoit profession dans le quartier du Marais de faire plaisir à la jeunesse, a esté depuis pendu. L'occasion de son malheur vint d'avoir refusé de rendre le pain benit. Le curé indigné du mépris rechercha sa vie et trouvant qu'elle étoit chargée de crimes, il en donna avis à Monsieur de la Reinie, qui envoya des gens pour l'arrester. On trouva chez luy 5 ou 6 demoiselles qu'on emmena en prison 2 à 2 en plein midy; beaucoup de gens de considération, qui avoyent du crédit dans la robbe, ont fait ce qu'ils ont pû pour sauter le malheureux, mais inutilement. On a trouvé qu'il y avoit eû des informations contre luy pour un meurtre. Ainsy il a passé le pas. Sa femme et une nièce ont assisté à la potence, et ont esté stigmatisées et fouettées, les demoiselles ont esté enfermées, etc.

'Au reste, Monsieur le Comte de Grammont est revenu des portes du trepas contre toute espérance, et se porte bien. Une préparation nouvelle d'oppium l'a sauvé.

'La guerre continue toujours entre les 2 partis de nos Academiciens, modernistes et antiquaires, ils se chamaillent incessamment. Voicy une nouvelle epigramme contre Monsieur Perraut.

Pour quelque vain discours sottement avancé
 Contre Homère, ou Platon, Ciceron, ou Virgile,
 Caligula par tout fut traité d'insensé,
 Néron de furieux, Adrien d'imbécile:
 Vous donc qui dans la mesme erreur
 Avec plus d'ignorance, et non moins de fureur,
 Attaquez ces héros de la Grece et de Rome,
 Perraut, fussiez vous Empereur!
 Comment voulez vous qu'on vous nomme?

2½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 25 Jan.*

E79. 1693, [Jan. 30/] Feb. 9. Paris. 'Il est vray que le bruit qu'on a fait courir du mariage de Mademoiselle avec le Prince Royal de Danemarc n'est qu'une imagination. On luy a fait tous les honneurs imaginables. Il doit s'en aller dans un mois d'icy, c'est à dire un peu avant Pasques.

'On dit que le Chevallier de la Val [Sir Ralph Delavall] a pris une flotte Danoise, qui avoit chargé des vins et des eaues de vie à Bordeaux, et autres lieux de France, laquelle étoit escortée par 3 vaisseaux de guerre. On croit que cela irritera les Danois, qui se plaignent d'ailleurs de divers autres vaisseaux qu'on leur a pris, et qu'ils reclament depuis longtemps, sans qu'on leur fasse justice; et que ces mécontentemens les pourroyent bien obliger à prendre nostre party. Nos ambassadeurs sont en mer du 27 du mois passé.

'Le voyage du Roy à Chantilly est fixé au 10e. du mois prochain. Toute sa maison y est assignée pour le 8e. La revue s'y fera, et le Roy ne sera en tout que 10 jours dans ce voyage, sans passer plus loin.

'On ne compte le fort de la campagne que dans le Piémont, dont on veut tascher de venir à bout. On fortifie le château de Nice, bien loin de le démolir, ce qui marque encore qu'on n'a pas envie de le rendre. Monsieur de Vauban y est toujours; et toutes les voitures, tant de muletz que de charrettes, en Dauphiné et en Provence ne sont occupées qu'au transport des munitions.

'L'argent est icy d'une rareté extraordinaire, comme je vous l'ay déjà marqué. J'ay veû des officiers qui n'ont pû estre payez de 500 livres au Trésor Royal, et à l'extraordinaire des guerres. Pour peu que cela durast, je ne say ce que deviendrait le commerce. Les mylords de la finance laissent protester leurs

lettres; et le commerce ne se fait plus qu'en papiers. On croit bien que les six millions en espèces que Monsieur Turmenies a fait voiturier, et les augmentations de gages de messieurs de la robbe, ont asséché les bourses. C'est ce qui obligera encore à remuer le prix des monnoyes.

'Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées est party pour Toulon. La nouvelle des 13 barques prises chargées de blé ne s'est pas trouvée vraye. Mais on a fait encore diverses prises.

'Nos affaires sont toujours brouillées à Rome, où le Cardinal de Fourbin s'ennuye beaucoup. On persuade aux Italiens qu'il vaut mieux que Cazal demeure à la France qu'entre les mains de l'Empereur, qui se trouve déjà trop puissant par les troupes qui sont en ce pays-là, et dont on ne pourroit se garantir des invasions en cas de mort du Duc de Savoye, qu'on croit toujours n'en pouvoir réchapper, quoy qu'il paroisse se porter mieux. L'affaire des bois contre le clergé a passé. On en fait déjà un forfait de six milions, et on en espere tirer bien davantage.

'Il est venu un homme depuis un mois d'Angleterre, qui a passé en Hollande. Il dit, à l'égard de l'Angleterre, qu'on n'y est pas encore las de la guerre, mais si fait bien en Hollande, où elle ruine tout le monde.

'On doublé tous les officiers des mousquetaires, en sorte qu'il y a à présent 2 soulieutenants, 2 enseignes et 2 cornettes dans chaque compagnie.

'On commence à diminuer sur le nombre des vaisseaux qu'on ne compte plus qu'à 85 ou 86. Je croy bien qu'il y en auroit davantage si on les pouvoit tous armer, mais il manque quelques agrez et des matelots. L'année passée on en prit par force, mesme dans les rivières; et cette année je croy qu'on en fera de mesme.

'Le desordre des affaires des Sieurs Boileau et de Vaux est extrême. Ils doivent pres de 1,600,000 livres, et on aura bien de la peine à payer le Roy, à qui de cette somme il est deû 900,000 livres. Gély y est ábysmé, comme je vous l'ay mandé, et Alvarez y est pour 4 à 500,000 livres d'endossements. Il y a longtemps qu'on n'a veû une si grande déroutte. On ne peut pas comprendre comment ils ne sauroient rendre raison de 7 à 800,000 livres sans montrer de perte. Cela fatigue fort Monsieur de Pontchartrain, qui voudroit bien soutenir les financiers et gens d'affaires, dont il est important de maintenir le crédit. Le Roy travaille toujours beaucoup, et prend sur luy. La longueur de la guerre ruine tout.'

3pp. *French.*

E80. 1693, [Jan. 30/] Feb. 9. 'Fragments d'une lettre de Paris'. 'La guerre civile entre les Académiciens continue toujours. Apropos de l'Academie, il y a depuis 2 jours une place vacante. Monsieur Pelisson est mort à Versailles

d'avant hier la nuit. Il y avoit 6 ou 7 jours qu'il traisnoit, mais tout d'un coup il est mort sans y penser. Ses domestiques le trouvèrent trépassé en entrant dans sa chambre. On dit qu'il a oublié de se confesser, quoy qu'on ne pust pas l'accuser d'estre méchant Catholique; il en soutenoit trop bien la profession et les droitz. Le Roy a tout fait scéller chez luy, apparemment à cause des mémoires dont il estoit chargé. Il avoit de bons bénéfices, et avoit reçu beaucoup de gratifications de sa Majesté. Cependant ses créanciers n'en sont pas mieux payes. On ne croit pas qu'il se trouve a beaucoup pres de quoy les satisfaire. Voilà encore par sa mort, comme autrefois par celle de Monsieur de Balzac, le prix de la poésie à bas; car c'estoit luy qui depuis ce défunct en faisoit largesse. On croit que Monsieur de la Loubère, qui est aupres de Monsieur de Pontchartrain le filz, luy succedera pour la place académique, ayant esté déjà une fois sur les rangs. Le défunct étoit un parfait courtisan, ne désemparant jamais de la cour, si ce n'est quand il venoit icy pour voir Mademoiselle de Scudéry. Voilà un long et vieil amour, car la muse a plus de 80 ans, et il en avoit bien 72. Elle sera inconsolable de cette fascheuse séparation. Quand pres d'un siècle a cimenté une étroite amitié, les racines en doivent estre profondes.

L'homme qui a la vertu de la baguette, qui fait trouver les assassins, dont il a esté tant parlé cy devant, est arrivé icy. Monsieur le Prince le tient chez luy enfermé, ne voulant pas qu'il ne soit assuré de tout ce qu'on a dit de luy. Peut-estre a t il occasion de faire expérience de sa capacité naturelle. Quelques procez verbaux que la justice en ait faitz, il se trouve beaucoup d'incrédulés qui n'y ajoutent point de foy. Il seroit impossible, disent ils, que depuis le commencement du monde, il ne se fust trouvé des exemples de cette merveille. Je trouve pourtant qu'après les precautions publiques qui ont esté prises pour s'eclaircir du fact, il y auroit quelque témérité de vouloir estre toujours sur la négative.

'Madame de Turenne veut, dit-on, épouser Monsieur le Chevalier de Bouillon son beaufrère. Cela fait un grand desordre entre les maisons de Bouillon et de Vantadour. Le père la veut plustost tuer que d'y consentir. On a mesme fait courir le bruit qu'elle étoit grosse, et par conséquent qu'il y avoit nécessité de faire ce mariage. On ajoute qu'elle mesme l'a dit. Mais on croit dans le monde que la maison de Bouillon, qui seroit bien-aise d'avoir une riche héritière pour un de ses cadetz, et qui d'ailleurs voudroit se décharger du payement de 20,000 livres qu'elle paye à cette jeune veuve, la porte à cette affaire et fait courir le bruit de la nécessité. On ne sait pas si le Pape consentiroit aisément à donner une dispense pour épouser 2 frères. Il y a un expédient à cela, c'est que la veuve dit qu'il n'y a point eû de consommation.

'Il court icy parmy le monde une bibliothèque satirique qui réjouyt assez ceux qui ont une connoissance particulière des intrigues des hommes, et des femmes. Par exemple, un Traitté de la Sagesse par Monsieur de la Feuillade

dédié à Monsieur de la Meilleraye, parce que ces messieurs sont accusez d'estre un peu trop eventez. Ainsy des autres. Ce ne sont que des tittres, ne vous imaginez pas qu'il y ait des livres.

'À Rome, où l'on est fort pointilleux, une des grandes satisfactions que le Pape demande à nostre clergé roule sur un mot. Le Pape veut qu'on mette *quicquid*, et nous *si quid*. C'est qu'au lieu de dire qu'on desavoue tout ce qui a esté fait contre son autorité, nous disons, s'il y a quelque chose, etc. La délicatesse conciste à tenir en suspens que rien ait esté fait, au lieu que ce seroit avouer par *quicquid* qu'effectivement il y a eû de l'attentat.

'Le filz de Monsieur de Meyercroon a eû une jambe cassée ou demise par le carrosse du Prince de Danemarc, dont il est page, qui a passé par dessus. La mère est tres affligée de cet accident.'

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French*.

E81. 1693, Feb. [6/] 16. Paris. 'L'arrest pour la diminution des espèces n'ouvre point encore les bourses. On est fort étonné de la rareté de l'argent, toutes les receptes étant à sec. Il y a un projet cette année arrêté pour 8 millions de fortifications, mais on ne sait encore où en prendre le premier sol. Les souffermiers demandent des diminutions exorbitantes, et la plus part veulent tout abandonner. Le fardeau est terrible. On ne doute point d'une refonte générale des espèces cette année. Lors qu'on aura réduit les louis d'or à 11 livres et les écus à proportion, on fera des cavaliers, où la figure du Roy sera à cheval, et tout d'un coup on mettra les louis d'or à 14 livres et le reste à proportion, ce qui jettera 50 millions dans les coffres du Roy. C'est le Sieur Deschiens, le plus rude des maltotiers, qui est chargé de l'affaire de la recherche des bois contre les ecclesiastiques. Le forfait du traité n'est que de six millions, mais on croit qu'il sera poussé au double.

'Les dernières lettres de Piémont portent que la maladie du Duc de Savoye est desespérée. On croit apprendre sa mort au premier jour. Il a fait le Prince Eugène par son testament régent de ses etats. Ce prince revient en poste de Vienne où il étoit. Monsieur de Catinat est dans la vallée d'Aust, où il dispose ses troupes pour entrer en Piémont. Les préparatifs sont fort grands; cependant il y a un peu de surcis sur la marche, car on en destine beaucoup pour l'Alemagne, où l'on est persuadé que Monseigneur ira commander, le Roy luy ayant dit qu'il luy donneroit de l'exercice cette campagne.

'On est fort content des négociations de Monsieur Fériol à la Porte, où l'on dit qu'il y a un traité qui oblige à ne point écouter de paix, l'un sans l'autre. On assure que l'Abbé Morel a fait des négociations avec plusieurs princes d'Alemagne, mécontents du neuvieme Electorat, pour se liguier avec les roys du nord contre l'Empereur. En effet le Prince de Danemarc s'en retourne

plustost qu'on n'avoit creû, et au lieu de passer en Angleterre, il s'en retournera chez luy à droiture par la Hollande. On n'a rien oublié pour le mettre dans nos intérêts. On a tenu des appartements ce caresme à Versailles expres pour luy, où Mademoiselle a paru avec une magnificence extraordinaire. Cela a fait dire qu'on songe au mariage, mais il n'y a rien de fait, ny apparence prochaine. Ce prince-la paroist assez indifferant.

'Monsieur de Breteuil, Intendant des Finances, travaille à la levée du scellé chez le Sieur Boilleau, dont je vous ay parlé dans mes précédentes. On examine ses papiers. En suite il ira chez le Sieur de Vaux. Cette affaire la fait un bruit extraordinaire et est tout à fait mauvaise. On croit qu'on va rendre leurs meubles. Cela décrie fort les gens d'affaires.

'On ne sauroit oster de l'esprit de beaucoup de gens que Pelisson est mort Huguenot, parce qu'il ne s'est point confessé. On dit mesme qu'il l'a déclaré au Père la Chaise et à Monsieur de Meaux [Bossuet], qui l'avoient voulu disposer à ce devoir. Mais qui peut savoir cette vérité? Ces messieurs n'ont garde de la dire. Pour moy je n'en croy rien. Il a donné trop de marques contraires. Pour justifier qu'il est mort bon Catholique, c'est qu'il travailloit à un livre de controverse, et a témoigné que son plus grand chagrin étoit de ce que la mort ne luy laissoit pas le loisir de l'achever. Cependant je vous diray qu'un ecclésiastique de mes amis a dit, il y a longtemps, qu'il n'étoit pas làdessus ce qu'il paroissoit; et cet ecclésiastique est plus Huguenot que Catholique. C'est sur ce bruit commun que la chanson que je vous envoie [missing] a esté faite. Ce qu'il y a de fascheux, c'est qu'il laisse pour plus de 550,000 livres de debtes à payer, qui apparemment ne le seront pas. Il jouyssoit de 30,000 livres de rentes en bénéfices, pensions ou bien-faitz du Roy, dont l'usage n'a point servy à l'acquiter.

'Monseigneur va mécredy prochain pour 4 jours à Anet, où Monsieur de Vendosme le traitera à son ordinaire. Combien croyez-vous que pendant ce temps-là il s'y boira de bouteilles de vin? Il y a de gajures pour six mille. Aprésent qu'il s'achette au poids de l'or, c'est une vraye dépense; car l'excellent champenois se vend jusqu' à 50 sous la bouteille. Monsieur l'Abbé de Fénelon, précepteur de Monseigneur le Duc de Bourgogne, aura la place de Monsieur Péllisson à l'Academie. Outre que c'est un homme de mérite, sa charge là luy donne de droit, aussy a t on déjà fait les démarches pour cela. Les régles veulent qu'on attende un mois apres la mort de l'académicien avant que de pourvoir à sa place.'

3pp. *French.*

E82. 1693, Feb. [13/] 23. Paris. 'Le Roy a esté tourmenté pendant une nuit d'une violente colique. Le lendemain il ne sortit point, mais à force de

remèdes il en est revenu. On attribue cela à ce qu'il mangea trop de pois de Gennes, dont on en a de verds tous les mois de l'année. On dit aussy qu'il se fascha fort contre Monseigneur de ce qu'ayant fait une partie de chasse pour le Prince Royal de Danemarc, le Roy Jaques l'obligea de faire partir les equipages avant que le Prince fust arrivé au rendez-vous, ensorte qu'arrivant quelque temps apres, il ne put joindre, et manqua la chasse. Le Roy gronda fort Monseigneur de ne l'avoir pas attendu, et dit qu'il devoit partager l'equipage en deux, et en laisser partir la moitié avec le Roy Jaques. Il envoya faire des excuses au Prince, qui est party samedi pour aller visiter les places de Flandre.

'Hier je me trouvay avec un des principaux officiers, resté derrière pour faire partir les equipages. De la manière qu'il nous parla, ce Prince non seulement ne passera point en Angleterre, mais mesmes il évitera la rencontre du Roy Guillaume, en sorte que s'il le trouve arrivé en Hollande pendant qu'il y sera, il ira dans d'autres villes que celles où il le saura. Il dit qu'on n'est pas content de l'Angleterre, àcause des obstacles au commerce; qu'il est persuadé que si le Roy de Suede ne le troubloit pas, il se déclareroit pour nous, mais que la crainte réciproque tient tout en balance. Il dit que jamais la résolution n'avoit esté prise de passer en Angleterre. Je conclus de tout cela qu'il ne tiendrait pas à cette cour de s'unir avec nous contre les intérêts de la Ligue. Ils prétendent qu'il n'est pas vray que la Suède ait consenty au neuvieme Electorat, non plus que le Danemarc.

'Des gens qui ont intrigue dans les bureaux assurent que nous ferons un grand effort cette année; mais que les suivantes nous nous tiendrons sur la défensive, purement et simplement.

'La disette d'argent dans le commerce a épouvanté le monde; mais le rabais des espèces commence à le faire remuer.

'Le projet de la guerre pour cette année est de 80,000 hommes sur le Rhein, où Monseigneur pourra aller, quoy que cela ne soit pas encore bien décidé; de 45,000 hommes en Flandre; de 60,000 en Piémont; de 10,000 sur la Mozelle; et de 10,000 en Catalogne. Il se répand un bruit que Monsieur de Luxembourg ne commandera pas en Flandre, et qu'il se retirera en son gouvernement de Normandie; mais c'est un bruit que je ne puis assurer bien fondé. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que Monsieur de Bouflers, à qui ce mesme bruit porte que le Roy donnera le commandement de Flandre, est fort à la mode, et admirablement bien dans l'esprit du Roy, qui est en continuelles conférences avec luy. Il est vray que Monsieur de Luxembourg a esté icy quelque temps, sans aller à Versailles àcause d'un procez considérable qui l'y retient. Quoy qu'il en soit, l'affaire de Steinkerque ne luy a pas servy; et ses débauches avec les petits maistres ne plaisent pas au Roy, qui ne luy croit pas une si grande application qu'à Monsieur de Bouflers. Les astrologues ont

prédit à Monsieur de Luxembourg qu'il seroit tué, blessé ou pris prisonnier cette campagne, et il est homme à donner assez dans les pronostics.

'Le Roy va toujours, le 5e. du prochain, pour 10 jours à Chantilly faire la revue de sa maison. Le Prince de Danemarc assista jeudy à la revue qu'il fit des gardes françaises et suisses, où Monsieur de Bouflers se donne beaucoup de mouvement. Pour ce qui est de Monseigneur, il est présentement à Anet chez Monsieur de Vendosme avec les princes, où il se divertira 5 ou 6 jours. Les faiseurs de tiltres de livre pour la bibliothèque satirique en ont fait un qui porte, *Du Genie de la Politique du Cardinal de Richelieu par Monsieur le Marquis de Croissy, dédié au Roy*. Vous voyez que cela est bien malicieux. Malheur à l'auteur de cette médisance, s'il étoit découvert.

'Les nouvelles de la crise arrivée au Duc de Savoye de cette érépelle et gale universelle, qui est sortie sur tout son corps, faisoit espérer quelque bon changement dans son état. Mais quoy que Madame la Duchesse de Savoye ait écrit à Monsieur qu'elle ne savoit pas pourquoy on vouloit en France qu'il fust en danger de sa vie, on croit fort communement que ces lettres sont politiques. On sait que peu de temps apres cette crise, il a eû des suffocations, et qu'il a pris tous ses sacrements. On dit que c'est un médecin de Padoue, qui luy a donné un bon cordial, qui luy a fait sortir du corps ces impuretez. L'attachement qu'on a toujours à fortifier les passages et les villes frontières du Piémont, et ce qu'on a contremandé quelques ordres, tant pour les marches des troupes que pour les munitions, tiennent les esprits en suspens sur les projects des grands effortz qu'on devoit faire de ce costé là.

'Les Princes d'Italie ont fait faire de grandes remontrances à l'Empereur sur les desordres et les ruines causées par les Alemans; à quoy l'Empereur a répondu qu'apres cette année on les en déchargera; prétendant qu'ils pourront prendre des quartiers d'hyver sur nous. C'est dequoy on n'est pas persuadé icy.

'On ne doute point qu'on ne veuille faire encore une refonte générale de toutes les especes, d'où il reviendra 40 à 50 millions au Roy, qui gagnera un écu sur chaque louis d'or, dont on fera des cavaliers, comme je vous l'ay mandé, qui vaudront 14 livres et les espèces d'argent à proportion. Là dessus le Duc de la Ferté a dit plaisamment, S'il nous en coûte un ecu pour mettre le Roy à cheval, que sera ce quand nous le mettrons en carrosse?

'Les fermiers generaux sont fort embarassez pour le payement des souffermes, qui demandent d'étranges diminutions. Tous les officiers de marine ont ordre de s'en aller dans leurs ports.

'Monsieur de Pompone a donné quelques atteintes au Roy, pour le porter à quelques restitutions pour la paix; mais comme il a veû que l'esprit du Roy n'y est pas porté il n'en parle plus. Nos affaires à l'ordinaire vont de travers à Rome, on n'y voit point de fin. Le Cardinal de Fourbin voudroit en estre rappelé.'

4pp. *French.*

E83. 1693, [Feb. 20/] March 2. Paris. 'L'avis donné au grand docteur est une pure illusion, sans avoir aucun fondement. Il n'y a nulle raison, ny apparence quelle qu'elle soit. On ne songe plus à ces sortes d'entreprises, et nous serons assez empeschez à nous tenir sur la défensive, à l'égard de la mer. C'est assurément un piège dans lequel on a voulu faire donner. Ainsy je suis tres persuadé qu'on se doit tenir en repos de ce costé-la. Il n'y a nul préparatifs à rien, qui approche de faire craindre quoy que ce soit. Il est vray que les officiers de marine ont ordre de se rendre à leurs vaisseaux, et qu'on voudroit bien tascher d'attraper la grande flotte marchande, qu'on dit devoir partir d'Angleterre où il y a plus de 250 vaisseaux. Monsieur de Némond est en mer pour cela; mais on dit que l'escorte est trop forte. Tous les vaisseaux qui sont en état ont ordre de se joindre audit Sieur de Némond, mais tout cela n'égallera pas la force de l'escorte. Le bruit s'est répandu que Jean Bart avoit esté coulé à fond, au retour de la conduite de nos ambassadeurs du nord; mais cela est encore incertain.

'Le Roy part jeudy 5e. de ce mois pour son petit voyage de Chantilly, où il fera simplement la revue de sa maison. Les grands préparatifs qui se font à Namur et aux environs ne laissent point douter qu'on veuille prendre Charleroy. Le bruit que Monsieur de Luxembourg ne commandera pas n'est point fondé. Il n'est que de Paris.

'Les dernières nouvelles de Turin sont que le Duc de Savoye est entièrement desespéré. Il a nommé des personnes pour former un conseil pour gouverner, en attendant que le filz du Prince de Carignan soit en âge. Madame sa mère et Madame la Duchesse sa femme en seront, avec le Prince Eugène et 4 seigneurs piémontois. Le Prince de Carignan, c'est à dire le sourd et muet, est dans la citadelle de Turin, avec le régiment des gardes. Le Duc prétend que le jeune Prince épousera sa fille aînée, moyennant quoy il luy donne tout ce qu'il luy peut donner des biens dont la disposition luy appartient. Quoy que le Prince de Soissons soit assez méprisé icy à la cour, le Roy dans cette conjoncture a eû des conférences particulières avec luy. Bien qu'on ne sache pas au vray de quelle manière les affaires tourneront, apres la mort du Duc, en ces quartiers, et qu'on n'ose juger si cette mort nous sera desavantageuse ou non, on espère qu'il y aura de la division pour le gouvernement, et qu'ainsy nous en pourrions profiter.

'Dans 4 ou 5 jours, c'est à dire dans le temps du départ du Roy, on aura le plan des armées, des troupes, et des commandans. J'ay veû un etat de tout ce dont est composé la flotte angloise, qui a esté envoyé à la cour. On a peine à croire qu'on puisse armer un si grand nombre de vaisseaux. Ceux de Hollande n'y sont pas compris.

'L'argent s'est un peu remué, àcause de la diminution qu'on apprehendoit; mais hier matin on publia une prolongation pour tout ce mois. Le temps

qu'on a esté sans en trouver a étonné les ministres. Il faut des stratagêmes pour le tirer des bourses, et luy donner une circulation. Ceux qui en ont craignent de le perdre de vue. Ils n'ont pas trop de tort, car souvent on ne le revoit plus. On ne doute nullement de la deuxième conversion générale, avec un grand profit pour le Roy.

'Il y a des gens qui se sont précipitez par les fenestres des chambres où on les avoit enfermez, et pris par force pour les enroller.

'Si le Prince de Bade va sur le Rhein, on croit assurément que Monseigneur ira; mais ce ne sera qu'après l'expédition de Flandre, la campagne s'ouvrant plus tard en Allemagne.

'Nous croyons avoir gagné la Reine de Pologne, qui porte aprésent son epoux à la paix. On sait pourtant que l'Empereur a ses partisans dans cette cour; et l'on dit que pour gagner la Reine il propose le mariage de sa fille avec l'Electeur de Bavière; mais on sacrifiera encore de l'argent pour l'empescher.

'Je vous confirme que les affaires des Sieurs Boileau et de Vaux, receveurs généraux du Dauphiné, sont dans un desordre excessif. Ils se trouvent court de plus de 800,000 livres et en doivent plus de 1,600. On ne trouve pas seulement dans leurs effetz de quoy payer au Roy plus de 900,000 livres qu'ils luy doivent. Cette banqueroute fait grand tort au crédit des gens d'affaires.'

P.S. 'Voicy une rélation d'un tremblement de terre epouvantable arrivé en Sicile et à Malte faite par le Chevallier de la Ville-aux-Clercs, de la maison de Brienne.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 3 March.*

Enclosing:

E83(1). 1693, [6/]16 Jan. Malthe. Letter from the Chevalier de la Ville-aux-Clercs. 'Le neuvième de ce mois a dix heures du soir il fit un tremblement de terre le plus terrible qu'onût jamais senti en ce pays-ci. Son Eminence estoit partie ce jour là et estoit au Bosquet. Les galeres estoient au nombre de quatre en Sicile. Le quatre [*recte onze*] qui estoit le dimanche à une heure trois quarts apres midy, il en survint un autre si epouvantable et si long que tout le monde crût que toute la ville alloit perir. Le peuple couroit dans les rues criant misericorde. Je me trouvay pour lors au coin de l'infirmerie et de la Cantarade et fus si épouvanté du bruit de ce tremblement et des clameurs des gens qui sortoient de toutes parts que je fus long de me remettre. Il y a peu de maisons qui n'ayent esté entr'ouvertes de la dernière secousse. La voute de l'église de Notre Dame de Pilaxe est tombée, une partie du clocher de St. Laurens du Bourg a esrasé la sacristie. L'église des Jesuites et leur college ont beaucoup souffert, mais ce n'est rien en comparaison du damage que la cathedrale et l'église de la Gusmane ont reçu à la cité vieille, il est irreparable. Les chanoines sont obligez de faire l'office dans la rue, toute la ville a deserté, les maisons n'estant plus habitables, on s'est retiré dans les grottes. Son Eminence qui estoit dans le temps du tremblement à la chasse sous le jardin du Bosquet vit les murailles s'ébouler à ses pieds; un rocher se détacha et roula fort pres d'elle. Le chateau où le neveu de S.E. jouoitût une estrange secousse, qui obligea les joueurs de sortir au plus vite. Son Eminence ne voulut point revenir à la ville, dont les habitans sont sortis en foule pour se retirer à la campagne. Le mecredy suivant nos galeres

retournerent, et leur retour nous causa une consternation que j'auray de la peine à vous exprimer. Estant arrivez à Augouste le neuf le tremblement du soir tua quatre cents personnes dans cette villèlà; le Gouverneur craignant un plus grand malheur ordonna qu'on fit des tentes hors les maisons dans les jardins et autres lieux pour n'estre pas exposez à la chute des bâtimens, luy mesme en fit faire une dans la place qui est entre le chateau et la ville. Le samedi se passa sans mouvement, ainsi l'on croioit estre quitte du mal et des allarmes, mais le lendemain à pareille heure on sentit ici le tremblement; il fut si epouvantable à Augouste que toutes les maisons, eglises, couvents et toutes les habitations furent renversées en telle sorte qu'on ne sçauroit connoistre où estoient les rues dans lesquelles tous ceux qui s'y trouverent furent écrasez, mais ce qui est de plus surprenant, c'est que dans le même moment le feu prit à une guerite où il y avoit un magasin de poudre et enleva les pierres en haut qui en tombant firent encor beaucoup de desordre et tuerent ceux qui estoient dans les tentes, entr'autres le fils unique du Gouverneur. Elles blessèrent beaucoup de nos gens qui se trouverent sur les galeres. On compte que nous y avons perdu par ce malheur cent quatrevingt personnes, entre lesquelles il y a une pilote, un chyrurgien, les sous-come, les conseillers, sousescrivain, timoniers et autres braves mariniens. Le Grand Maistre avoit heureusement deffendu aux caravanistes de descendre à terre, depeur qu'il n'arrivât quelque desordre, acause de ce que le Chevalier Boyer capitaine de galere avoit fait mettre à la chaisne sur sa galere quelques soldats de la garnison dans un voyage que les galeres firent à Augouste, lors que vous estiez encore ici. On ne sçait pas encor le nombre de tous ceux qui ont peri par cet accident, mais on juge avec raison qu'il y en a plusieurs. Le Chevalier de Caulet qui commandoit les quatre galeres faisoit presser l'embarquement du biscuit dans le magasin avec le Chevalier Ferrandy receveur de la religion, et comme on avoit desja rempli plusieurs sacs, la secousse arrivant les gens du magasin en se pressant pour en sortir presserent ceux qui estoient les plus pres de la porte et jetterent dehors Caulet, Ferrandy et trois écrivains; tous les autres perirent sous les ruines du magasin. Ce qui restoit d'habitans ne voulurent pas permettre qu'on enlevât le biscuit et nos galeres sont revenues depourvues comme elles estoient allées et si le mauvais temps les ût chargé on seroit mort de faim pendant le trajet, n'y ayant aucunes provisions. Le Chevalier Fardela, qui avoit esté receveur à Augouste, estant descendu à terre pour quelques affaires qu'il avoit, a esté enseveli dans les ruines.

'Augouste n'est pas la seule ville qui a souffert de ce tremblement, on nous assure que tout ce qui est autour du Mont Gibel a eu la mesme disgrâce. Nos galeres rev[en]ant d'Augouste ont remarqué en passant un peu loin de Syracuse que l'église cathedrale de cette ville estoit abbatues [*sic*]. Catenea aura eu sans doute le mesme sort, Dieu sçait si Messine en aura esté exemte. La femme du Gouverneur d'Augouste est venue ici sur une de nos galeres et quoy qu'on ait fait pour l'obliger de descendra à terre, elle n'en voulut rien faire. On luy a offert toutes les assistences dont elle pouvoit avoir bezoin. S.E. fait partir incessamment le general avec l'esquadre pour aller donner tous les secours qu'il pourra à Syracuse et à Augouste, les deux villes dont nous tirons toute nostre subsistence. Le malheur qui leur est arrivé nous apporte un grand prejudice, nous y avons perdu nostre biscuit et nos autres provisions qui y estoient. Cela nous jette dans un grand embarras pour la campagne prochaine. S.E. a fait escrire au receveur qui est à Venise de faire en sorte que nous y ayons du biscuit. L'on embarque sur nos galeres des chyrurgiens, des medicaments et autres choses necessaires pour secourir ceux qui ne sont qu'estropiez à Augouste. Quand on les aura soulagez, je crois qu'on fera plusieurs petits voyages en Sicile pour escorter les bâtimens qu'on y envoira chargez de bled. Il nous est d'une grande consequence dans l'embarras où nous sommes que le bled vienne seurement

sans hazarder les bâtimens. Au reste il est vray que le malheur est bon à quelque chose, ce coup de fouet de la main de Dieu nous a rendu plus gens de bien que nous n'estions. Les demoiselles se sont mises dans la devotion, on a banni les comedies et les musiques que l'on préparoit pour le carnaval, on les a changez en vœux et en prieres. Dieu veuille que *passato il pericolo non si gabbi il santo*.

'P.S. 'Depuis ce que dessus escrit nous apprenons que le tremblement a esté general par toute la Sicile et quil faut qui y ait perdu 80 milles personnes. Depuis il est encor venu d'autres lettres de Gesnes et autres lieux qui marquent un desolation épouvantable, mais on assure que Messine et Palerme en ont esté exemptes. Il y a cinq villes entierement perdues et une infinité de villages et maisons de campagnes; on ajoute que le mont Gibel s'est enfoncé et a fait une ouverture de trois milles de diametre. Lors que cela commancea l'air estoit enflammé, rempli d'exalaizons sulphurées et insupportables. Les lettres de Venise portent qu'une partie de Messine a fort souffert quoy qu'il y ait peri peu de monde, mais que dans le general de la Sicile il y a peri plus de cent cinquante milles personnes.'

2pp. *Copy, not in the hand of Legoux. French.*

E84. 1693, [Feb. 27/] March 9. Paris. 'Nous ne saurions savoir la disposition des armées qu'au retour du Roy de Chantilly; parce que ce ne sera que là qu'il se determinera, et il ne se déclarera qu'à son retour.

'Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées est party de Toulon avec 22 vaisseaux. L'admiral est de 110 pièces de canon, 3 autres vaisseaux de 100 pièces, et le reste depuis 90 et 80 jusqu'à 60. De ces 22 il y a en a un qui va porter St. Olon à Tethouan, pour son ambassade à Fez et Maroc, et un autre qui reste pour croiser; ainsy reste à 20 avec lesquels on ne doute pas qu'il ne vienne passer le Détroit, pour le joindre aux vaisseaux de Brest. Il est certain que nous avons reçu des agrez du nord, sans quoy il auroit esté impossible de suffire à tout.

'On est assuré du Roy de Danemarc; mais la question est d'engager le Roy de Suède, sans lequel il n'oseroit remuer. Il n'y a aucune apparence qu'on leur propose de s'entremettre pour la paix. On ne cherche qu'à les engager et à les eblouyr les yeux par de l'argent, et des conditions avantageuses. Depuis 3 ou 4 mois le Roy paroist plus échauffé pour la continuation de la guerre. Ce n'est pas que dans le fondz on n'en soit bien las, et qu'on ne souhaite ardemment la paix; mais le Roy ne veut pas faire un pas en arrière. Le grand avantage que nous avons vient de la pauvreté de la noblesse, qui donne une fourmillière d'officiers, dont la France ne manquera jamais. Quoy qu'il en soit le Roy met le tout pour le tout, pour sa gloire.

'Il a paru 45 vaisseaux sur la coste de Bretagne, ce qui y cause de grandes allarmes. St. Malo en est particulièrement étonné.

'L'edict pour la taxe sur les ecclésiastiques acause des bois se publie. On s'empresse pour entrer dans le traitté, et il est déjà à six millions. Le clergé en est fort allarmé. Il y a tel evesque à qui il en coûtera plus de 100,000 livres.

Les ecclésiastiques se plaignent d'estre surchargez, et disent que depuis 8 ans ils ont donné plus de 50 millions au Roy. Ceux qui n'ont point de bois dans leurs bénéfices craignent fort que le corps ne se rachette par une taxe sur tous les particuliers. Et qu'ainsi ceux qui n'y auront point d'intérêt en souffriront.

'On a remarqué que des prédicateurs, quittant leur sujet, se jettent sur les louanges du Roy, et finissent par des exhortations au peuple à la patience. Cela fait grand mal au coeur, parce qu'on voit bien que pour avoir de l'argent on en viendra à la fin à de grandes extremitez.

'On a esté averty qu'il y a des gens qui font semblant d'estre ministres, et qui s'entendent avec le Sieur Desgrais, pour surprendre des gens dans des assemblées. On assure mesme qu'il y en a déjà de notez.

'On n'entend plus parler de l'état de la santé de Monsieur le Duc de Savoye. Des gens qui ont correspondance en son pays disent qu'on la fait icy plus malade qu'il n'a esté; que sa maladie s'est tournée en fièvre tierce, laquelle les médecins ne veulent pas arrester, dans l'espérance que cela servira à consumer une partie des méchantes humeurs qui le travaillent. Je persiste à vous assurer que c'est une pure illusion que le dessein d'une descente en Angleterre. Quoy que tout se passe icy avec un secret extraordinaire on connoistroit cela par mille circonstances, qu'on ne pourroit pas cacher aux yeux de tout le monde. Ainsy ma pensée est que c'est un faux bruit pour embarasser.

'Comme tout la cour est à Chantilly, d'où elle ne reviendra que samedi, les nouvelles du monde sont stériles, outre que nous voicy dans le temps où chacun fait retraite pour les devotions.

'Monsieur l'Archevêque de Rheims est fort satisfait de l'abbé Gourgas, qui presche le caresme à Rheims, avec un applaudissement général. Il y a quelques jours qu'un prédicateur, preschant contre l'yvrongnerie, dit qu'autrefois les exhortations sur ce sujet ne s'adressoyent qu'aux crochetteurs et aux porteurs-d'eau, mais qu'àpresent l'infection s'étoit répandue parmy le beau monde, et qu'il n'étoit pas jusqu'aux dames de la première qualité à qui il falloir les adresser. Cette censure regarde celles du Fauxbourg St. Germain, qui en sont accusées, à qui le vin et le tabac sont ordinaire comme aux hommes.

'Madame de Vantadour a demandé congé à Madame pour se retirer chez elle, et y garder sa fille Madame de Turenne; parce que le Chevallier de Bouillon est revenu sous prétexte que ses playes se sont rouvertes, et qu'il faut qu'il soit icy quelque temps pour se faire pancer. On appelle cela *difficilis custodia*. Elle aura beau faire si les parties sont d'intelligence contre elle.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 March.*

E85. 1693, March [6/] 16. Paris. 'Le Roy déclara mardy à Chantilly qu'il partiroit au commencement de may, pour se mettre à la teste de son

armée sans dire laquelle; et ordonna à Monsieur le Prince de tenir son gros bagage prest pour le premier dudit mois. Sur cela Monsieur le Prince d'Elbeuf et autres courtisans supplièrent sa Majesté de trouver bon qu'ils servissent dans son armée d'aydes de camp. Le Roy leur dit qu'encore qu'il eust ordonné ses bagages il n'y avoit encore rien de déterminé, que rien ne pressoit et qu'ils auroient le temps d'attendre ses ordres. Cependant il a nommé seul Monsieur le Duc d'Albret, filz de Monsieur de Bouillon, pour ayde de camp de Monseigneur. Cela fait penser qu'encore que sur le bruit, qui s'est répandu par tout, qu'il iroit en personne (ce que tout le monde croit) pourtant il se pourra faire qu'il n'y aura que Monseigneur. De dire où, c'est ce qu'on ne sait pas. Mais on parle toujours de Charleroy, dont la prise paroist plus difficile, et de plus grande importance à la cour qu'à la ville, où l'on croit que ce n'est pas une affaire. Elle passe à la cour pour meurt[r]ière, et l'on y dit que le siège merite la présence de Monseigneur. Cependant on croit aussy qu'on fera de grands efforts en Alemagne, pour affirmer les bonnes intentions de nostre amy le Turc, et appuyer ceux qui ne sont pas contens du neuvieme Electorat. L'Abbé Morel est de retour; son voyage a esté secret, mais on ne doute pas qu'il n'ait esté en Alemagne.

'Il est arrivé une barque à Marseille venue de Constantinople en peu de jours, mais on ne sait pas ce qu'elle apporte.

'Voicy un estat de tous les vaisseaux de la Méditerranée, au nombre de 22. Il y en a un, comme je vous l'ay mandé, qui doit conduire St. Olon à Maroc, et un autre qu'on laissera pour l'escorte ou pour croiser. Reste à 20 qui passent en Ponant, pour se joindre à Brest; car on ne croit pas qu'ils aillent à Final, ny à Naples, comme quelque bruit en avoit couru, pour bruler les vaisseaux espagnols. Le fondement de ce bruit avoit esté sur ce qu'il y a des flustes chargées de massonnerie et propres à combler quelque entrée de port. Le vaisseau nommé le *Foudroyant* a esté nommé le *Soleil Royal* à Brest, qui est le mesme nom de l'amiral brulé l'année passée.

'Un corsaire de St. Malo a pris le paquebot d'Angleterre, qui alloit en Espagne, monté de 28 canons; mais le capitaine du paquebot jetta le paquet dans la mer. Le *St. Louis* venant du Havre à Brest, ayant rencontré 2 grands vaisseaux anglois s'est sauvé par la fuite, et les a évitez étant meilleur voilier.

'Monsieur de Némond doit monter le *Formidable*, l'un des 10 qu'on a ordre d'armer à Brest. Il y en a 12 autres qu'on arme à mesure que les matelots arrivent. L'escadre dudit Sieur de Némond va entrer dans ledit port pour carenner, et on prendra les matelots sur ceux de 10 premiers vaisseaux plus avancez.

'Monsieur de Chateaurenaud, qui n'a pas esté encore en mer, comme on le disoit, monte le *Terrible*, dont l'armement s'avance. Le *Soleil Royal* et le *Merveilleux* sont prests.

'Par la supputation qu'on fait, on ne compte que 84 vaisseaux compris les 20 de la Méditerranée pour composer toute la flotte. Cela ne va pas si loin qu'on croyoit, et ne sera pas si tost en mer qu'on se l'étoit imaginé. On ne croit pas qu'on entre dans la Manche. On se tiendra simplement sur la défensive.

'On a envoyé des troupes pour garder les costes de Normandie et de Bretagne. On tient aprésent pour assuré que le Duc de Savoye ne sauroit vivre. Le dernier courrier du Comte de Tessé portoit qu'il étoit à l'agonie, et qu'il avoit reçu l'extrême onction. On le croit aprésent mort.

'Etat des vaisseaux de la Méditerranée commandez par Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées, vice-amiral, partis de Toulon le premier de mars 1693. Savoir,

1. <i>Le Royal Louis</i> , monté par luy, de 116 canons, et de mille hommes, Chabert capitaine. Cy	116c.	1000h.
2. <i>Le Fulminant</i> , Monsieur de la Porte, chef d'escadre.	100c.	750h.
3. <i>Le Lys</i> , Monsieur de Caugoulin, chef d'escadre.	86c.	650h.
4. <i>Le Monarque</i> , Monsieur Palle.	90c.	650h.
5. <i>Le Sceptre</i> , Monsieur de Septerne.	86c.	650h.
6. <i>Le Belliqueux</i> , Monsieur de Bellefontaine.	80c.	500h.

Autres vaisseaux à 2 pontz.

7. D'Aligre, X [<i>sic</i>].	70c.	450h.
8. <i>Le Contant</i> , Chavigny.	70c.	450h.
9. <i>L'Invincible</i> , Bidaut.	70c.	450h.
10. <i>L'Heureux</i> , Desfrancs.	70c.	450h.
11. <i>Le Bourbon</i> , Riberville.	66c.	450h.
12. <i>Le Phénix</i> , Desherbiers.	60c.	350h.
13. <i>L'Apollon</i> , Le Baron Desadrets.	60c.	350h.
14. <i>L'Arrogant</i> , le Chevalier de Chateaurenaud.	60c.	350h.
15. <i>Le Furieux</i> , Serquigny.	60c.	350h.
16. <i>Le Sérieux</i> , Blenac.	64c.	380h.
17. Montgon, X.	58c.	350h.
18. Le Comte d'Aunay, X.	58c.	330h.
19. <i>L'Entreprenant</i> , Sévigny.	60c.	350h.
20. Du Quesne, X.	64c.	370h.
21. <i>L'Arc en ciel</i> , Le Moteux.	50c.	300h.

C'est celuy qui va mener St. Olon à Maroc.

22. <i>L'Aquilon</i> , La Roche.	54c.	300h.
Total 22 vaisseaux.	1552c.	10230h.

'Il court icy un bruit qu'il y a eû une espèce de sedition à Londres, où lon a célébré le jour de la naissance du Roy Jaques. On ne comprend pas le livre brûlé de Monsieur Burnet, ny comment il s'est hasardé à le faire. On regarde le Parlement qui s'assemblera sans l'autorité du Roy Guillaume comme un coup de massue à sa dignité et à son crédit. On dit qu'il s'est plaint que le

Roy de France avoit des créatures au Parlement et en Angleterre et l'on assure qu'on a arrêté en Hollande et en Angleterre plusieurs François.'

At the foot, in Jurieu's hand: 'On n'a pu lire dans le chiffre les noms des 4 vaisseaux marqués X. Cest pourquoy on s'est contenté de mettre les noms des capitaines.*

'La liste de Rochefort [nos. G10–11] est plus exacte et c'est à quoy il s'en faut tenir.'

4pp. *French.*

E86. 1693, March [6/] 16. 'Autres nouvelles de Paris.' 'Il y a un arrest du Conseil qui donne cours aux pistoles d'Espagne, et aux piastres, sur le pied des ecus et des louis d'or, et qui ne donne terme que jusqu'au premier de may pour les espèces non reformées, apres quoy elles seront confisquées au proffit du Roy, en quelque lieu qu'on les trouve. Et comme il y a du proffit pour les dénonciateurs, les opiniâtres courront risque de grosses amendes, outre la perte de leur argent. Tout est fort cher, le pain, le vin, la viande, et la volaille, parce que, le grain étant fort cher, on n'a pas fait les nouritures ordinaires. Les marchandises augmentent à proportion parce que les marchands, qui ne veulent rien perdre, veulent se récompenser de la dépense extraordinaire qu'ils font. C'est pourquoy heureux qui peut vivre, et qui en a de reste!

'Le mariage du filz de Monsieur le Duc de la Force avec Mademoiselle de Croissy s'étant rompu, il se marie avec Mademoiselle d'Alégre, soeur de feue la Marquise de Couslin, qui étant morte sans enfans, Monsieur d'Alégre retire les 400,000 livres qu'il luy avoit données, et les donne à Monsieur de la Force, avec 8 ans de nourriture pour eux et tout leur train. Quoy qu'il ait beaucoup d'enfans il est en pouvoir de le faire, étant un des plus riches seigneurs de France. À l'égard de Monsieur de la Force, il n'est pas riche, et ne passe pas pour tel. Mais il sera duc et cette qualité est un friand morceau pour les demoiselles.

'Le mariage prétendu de Madame de Turenne avec le Chevallier de Bouillon fait toujours bien du bruit, et cause beaucoup de desordre entre les maisons de Vantadour et de Bouillon. Le Duc de Vantadour a menacé le Chevallier de le charger par tout où il le rencontreroit. Il y a quelques jours qu'ils se trouvèrent à l'hostel de Soissons, où l'inventaire de la défunte Princesse de Carignan attire tout le monde. Mais les amis empeschèrent le desordre. Le duc voyant passer le chevallier, qui a toujours avec luy beaucoup de gens, luy dit qu'il faisoit bien de mener toujours une escorte nombreuse. Depuis le Roy leur a défendu les voyes de fait et ordonné de terminer leurs différens par les voyes ordinaires de la justice.

* The missing names are supplied in no. E89 below.

‘Monsieur le Prince a perdu tout d’une voix son procez au Conseil contre le Comte de Chateaulvilain. Il s’etoit opposé à son inventaire sur des ancienne[s] prétentions qu’il a contre le comte, qui en a eû main-levée. Présentement il travaille en diligence à son inventaire. On ne croit pas que Monsieur le Prince fasse juger le fondz de l’affaire, qui n’a pas la reputation d’estre bien fondée, n’étant que pour parer à ce qu’on croit, le payement de l’obligation de feu Monsieur de Longueville à feu Monsieur de Morstein qui est de 400,000 livres qui luy furent prestez dans le temps qu’on travailloit à le faire Roy de Pologne. Il n’y a rien de nouveau au Parnasse.

‘Les procez de l’épicier et du médecin et de Monsieur Vedeau de Grammont demeurent suspendus jusqu’après les festes de Pasques, c’est à lire après la *Quasimodò*.’

2pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 26 March.*

E87. 1693, March [13/] 23. ‘Ce n’est pas ma faute si vous n’avez pas reçu de mes lettres, car je ne manque pas tous les lundys de vous écrire. Je ne say d’où cela vient. Vous en aurez sans doute reçu deux à la fois.

‘On ne croit point d’autre dessein que de joindre les vaisseaux de la Méditerranée à ceux de Brest. Je croy que Monsieur le Comte d’Etrées doit avoir passé à présent le Détroit, ou qu’il en est bien pres. Le bruit de Final est une imagination, aussy bien que celui de bruler la flotte d’Espagne. On ne veut pas tarder à faire la jonction des flottes, comme l’année passée, et les expéditions proposées la reculeroyent.

‘Ce que je vous ay mandé du détail où le Roy entre est tres certain. Du temps mesme de Monsieur de Louvois il avoit un détail de tous les officiers, depuis le grand jusqu’au plus petit. Et quand il a des emplois à donner, il a toujours devant luy son état prest pour faire son choix. Vous seriez étonné que jusqu’aux moindres bagatelles il est informé de tout. Il sait à Versailles jusqu’à une salade et à une figue tout ce qu’on en donne au tiers et au quart; et pour les fontaines, ce qu’il entre d’eau dans les réservoirs et ce qui en sort. À l’égard de Paris, il sait aussy tout ce qui s’y passe, par les mémoires qu’on luy envoie. Il ne se passe pas la moindre chose dans ses armées qu’il ne sache; et depuis la mort de Monsieur de Louvois, il est bien plus chargé d’affaires. Car Monsieur de Louvois répondoit de son chef à une infinité de lettres; au lieu que Monsieur de Barbezieux les luy porte toutes, sans les ouvrir. Il les lit ou se les fait lire le soir et là dessus il donne ses ordres. Or il part tous les jours deux courriers de Versailles, et il en arrive autant, le soir et le matin. Cela le fatigue plus que tout le reste.

‘Monsieur de Louvois avoit pour pensionnaires les espions mesme du Roy Guillaume. Je say, par exemple, qu’à Mons ils le venoyent trouver, et qu’il

faisoit par eux donner de faux avis au Roy Guillaume, tout cela par l'argent, qu'on n'épargnoit pas, et la bonne chère qu'on leur faisoit. Les moines luy servoyent beaucoup pour les débaucher; car ils les luy envoyoyent sous prétexte d'estre bien mieux récompensez.

'On a encore envoyé depuis peu 1,200,000 livres à Constantinople. Et ceux qui y négocient en font espérer une grande diversion cette année par les grands efforts contre l'Empereur.

'Le Roy ne s'est point encore déclaré sur l'état de ses armées, ny sur ceux qui les commanderont; au moins la chose est si secrette que personne n'en sait rien.

'Je vous ay mandé qu'on ne faisoit fonds pour la marine que sur 84 ou 85 vaisseaux. Il y en aura davantage l'année qui vient, car on en construit 10 de 100 pièces de canon.

'La viande est fort chère, outre que la Normandie n'a pas fait les nourritures ordinaires, à cause des grandes dissipations de l'année passée. C'est qu'on enleve tout pour les armées, et si l'on prend encore, comme on le dit, 14,000 beufs, nous serons icy affamez. À l'égard des volailles, elles sont aussy hors de prix, a cause de la cherté des grains. En sorte qu'il en coûte beaucoup pour vivre, et dans certaines provinces il y a des gens qui meurent de faim à la lettre. Les evesques sont obligez de nourrir chacun un certain nombre de pauvres, proportionnement à leurs facultez. L'Evesque de Limoges s'est enfermé dans un seminaire, et laisse tout son revenu aux pauvres. Les gentilshommes dans plusieurs provinces sont aussy obligez à nourrir des paysans, et les bourgeois dans plusieurs villes. Avec tout cela on assure que Monsieur de Pontchartrain a dans ses porte-feuilles pour 100 millions de propositions de nouvelles affaires, ce qui passe toute imagination. L'affaire des bois du clergé est accommodée. Monsieur l'Archevêque a obtenu du Roy que leur corps en sera quitte pour 4,600,000 livres, savoir 4 millions pour sa Majesté et 600,000 livres pour les frais et remises des avances. Ils sont fort heureux d'en estre quittes pour cela, car les traittans s'échauffoyent et avoyent desjà offert 6 millions, et auroyent bien passé audelà.

'On commence à douter que le Duc de Savoye meure de sa maladie. Les dernières nouvelles sont qu'il se portoit mieux quoy qu'il ait pris ses sacrements. Monsieur de Vauban n'est pas encore de retour de Provence, et une partie des troupes destinées pour le Piémont en a esté détachée; peut estre en enverra-t-on d'autres en leur place.

'On ne croit pas que le Roy marche, mais bien Monseigneur, comme je vous l'ay marqué. Les festes de Pasques ont occupé la cour, aussy bien que le reste du monde. C'est pourquoy il n'y a pas grandes nouvelles de ce pays-cy.'

3¼ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 26 March.*

E88. 1693, March [13/] 23. 'Nouvelles de Paris, tant de la cour que de la ville.' 'Monsieur l'Abbé de Polignac, homme de qualité, bienfait de sa personne, et de grande érudition, est nommé par le Roy pour l'ambassade de Pologne, en la place de Monsieur d'Enneval, qui y est mort. Il ne luy manque que du bien; mais sa Majesté ne luy donnera pas le loisir d'en desirer. Il aura des bénéfices. Il y en a de bons à donner, et il court risque d'estre un jour cardinal. La Pologne nous en a déjà fourny deux. Outre cela il est intime amy de Monsieur le Cardinal de Bouillon, qui luy facilitera les voyes. Le Président de Némond est mort; il n'avoit point d'enfans, comme vous savez. Il laisse une veuve, qui a bien 50,000 livres de rente. Voilà donc Monsieur de la Moignon President à Mortier; car cette charge luy revient. C'est un tres honneste homme. Il auroit bien voulu que Monsieur de Némond eust coulé encore quelques années, pour donner le loisir à son filz, encore trop jeune, de prendre sa charge d'avocat général. Au reste, il marie sa fille avec Monsieur de Poissy, filz de Monsieur le President de Maisons, et luy donne 100,000 écus comptant, et 100,000 livres apres sa mort. C'est beaucoup pour luy, qui a beaucoup d'enfans. Mais sa femme aura 1,500,000 livres si elle ne les a déjà eûs; car son beaupere Monsieur Voisin, conseiller d'estat, est un Crésus. Pour ce qui est de Monsieur de Maisons, quelle richesse! Il ne donne pourtant à son filz que 22,000 livres de rente, de sorte qu'il prendra patience avec 40,000 livres de rente, en attendant le surplus, car on ne compte pas la charge de conseiller.

'Mademoiselle de Montpensier est morte, ou peu s'en faut. Il y a plus de 4 jours qu'elle ne peut uriner. Tous les remèdes n'y font rien. On l'a sondée inutilement. On dit qu'elle a un abcez dans des endroitz où la médecine n'a pas droit d'entrer. Monsieur et Madame sont fort assidûment aupres d'elle. Aussi, dit-on qu'elle en a beaucoup de reconnoissance. Elle leur donne tout ce qu'il luy reste à donner. Vous direz peuteestre, que luy reste t il, apres avoir enrichy de ses bienfaitz Monsieur le Duc du Maine, et Monsieur de Lauzun? Il est vray qu'elle a donné au premier plus de 200,000 livres de rente, et à l'autre je ne say combien. Cependant elle a encore 100 mil écus de rente à disposer; et quelque grand prince qu'on soit, cela n'est pas à mépriser. Monsieur de Lauzun se promeine dans la cour, mais il n'est pas admis dans les appartements. Il n'y a que les Princes du Sang; outre que son règne n'est plus de ce monde. Hier en attendoit au Palais d'Orleans le Roy, qui luy devoit rendre visite: mais j'y étois jusqu'à 7 heures du soir, et il n'y étoit pas encore venu.

'Monsieur de Barbezieux a supplié le Roy de trouver-bon que Monsieur de Courtenvaux son frère se défit du régiment de la Reine dont il est mestre de camp, et qui est un de nos meilleurs. Sa Majesté luy dit que puisque Monsieur de Louvois l'avoit achetté, il pouvoit le vendre, et qu'il donneroit son agrément. Monsieur de Barbezieux repliqua que sa Majesté avoit fait trop

de bien à sa famille pour en retirer de l'argent, et qu'il prioit sa Majesté d'en disposer en faveur de qui il luy plairoit. Croiriez vous bien que 114 officiers l'ont demandée? Cela paroist incroyable. Le Roy l'a donnée à Monsieur de Chamarante le filz, qui est un tres bon sujet; sur quoy il y a deux réflexions à faire. La premiere sur le grand nombre d'officiers en France capables de commander, la deuxieme sur le juste discernement de sa Majeste, qui ne se trompe jamais dans les choix qu'il fait. Il connoist tous ceux qui le servent depuis le général jusqu'au sergent. Il sait de quoy ils sont capables. Il connoist leur genie, leurs [*sic*] humeur, leur caractère et leur conduite. Cesar, dit-on, autrefois appelloit par leurs noms jusqu'aux moindres de ses officiers; mais les connoissoit-il *intus et in cute*?*

'On parle si diversement de l'homme à la baguette† que je n'en veux point encore dire mon avis. Les uns citent des epreuves convaincantes, les autres en rapportent qui marquent de l'incertitude. C'est un bon paysan qui ne paroist pas capable de finesse. Il s'appelle Jaques Aimas, né à St. Véran en Dauphiné, le 8e. de septembre 1662. Il est toujours chez Monsieur le Prince, qui luy fait faire un voyage en Bourgogne, pour y découvrir quelque chose. Le Roy n'a pas voulu souffrir ses expériences à Versailles, où on l'avoit mené. Les gens de justice s'en moquent, et disent que si on les laissoit faire, ils le mettroient en prison, et luy feroient son procez. Le moyen de se déterminer dans une si grande contrariété de sentiments! Les gens simples et naturels croient aisement. Les esprits forts croient à peine ce qu'ils voyent.'

3pp. *French.*

E89. 1693, March [20/] 30. Paris. 'Quand on ne voit pas ce qu'on écrit on ne sait ce qu'on fait. Voicy les noms des 4 vaisseaux que j'avois oubliez, sc. *l'Eclattant*, commandé par Monsieur d'Aligre; *Le Constant*, capitaine Monsieur de Chavigny; *Le Fleuron*, Capitaine Mongon; *Le Ferme*, Capitaine du Quesne-Monier [cf. no. E85].

'Il est vray qu'il y avoit quelque dessein sur la flotte d'Espagne, qui étoit vers Cajette, sur le chemin de Naples. Un corsaire de la Méditerranée fameux comme Jean Bart sur l'ocean, avoit donné l'avis à Monsieur de Pontchartrain; mais le vent ayant refusé trois fois Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées, on croit que les Espagnols ont eû le loisir de pourvoir à leur seureté. Car on dit qu'ils n'étoient point en lieu à l'abry de l'insulte. Au surplus on fera passer au plustost le Détroit à cette flotte, pour n'estre pas exposé au mesme retardement de l'année dernière.

'L'armement de Brest ne sera achevé que dans le mois de may, pour mettre toute la flotte ensemble. Nous n'en avons pas encore le détail assuré; je

*Inside out.

†[Divining] rod.

l'attens. On saura le nombre des frégates, et des brulotz. Il ne faut pas douter qu'il n'y ait plus de 80 grands vaisseaux. Monsieur de Pontchartrain a fort porté le Roy à faire Monsieur de Tourville mareschal de France, pour donner de l'autorité au général. On n'a pas laissé d'en estre surpris. En attendant que nostre prochaine gazette vous apprenne les nouveaux mareschaux de France, je vous diray par avance que mécredy dernier le Roy honora du baston 7 lieutenants généraux, sçavoir, Monsieur le Comte de Choiseul; Monsieur le Duc de Villeroy; Monsieur de Joyeuse; Monsieur de Noailles; Monsieur de Boufflers; Monsieur de Catinat, et Monsieur de Tourville. Ce dernier a esté si transporté de joye de l'honneur qu'il recevoit que tout ce jour-là il fut en extase, ne sachant ce qu'il faisoit. Ainsy nous avons aprésent un demy quartron de mareschaux de France. Car il y en a six anciens, sçavoir, les trois capitaines des Gardes du Corps, Monsieur de Luxembourg, Monsieur de Duras, et Monsieur de Lorge; à l'égard des trois autres, ce sont Messieurs de Bellefons, d'Humières, et d'Etrées. Ce choix du Roy a fait plusieurs mécontents, Monsieur le Comte d'Auvergne, le Duc de Joyeuse, Monsieur de Soubise, de Maulevrier, de Montal, de Chamilly, et autres sont du nombre. On ne croit pas qu'ils servent; ainsy le Roy va faire d'autres lieutenants généraux, mareschaux de camp, etc. Ils sont faitz, mais non plus encore déclarez, non plus que la disposition des armées.

'On tient toujours que le Roy ou Monseigneur partiront dans le 10 ou 12 de may pour la Flandre. On n'est pas encore assuré si le Roy ira, quoy que quelques gens disent qu'il s'en est encore expliqué depuis peu.

'Au reste le temps mauvais, les méchants qualitez d'aliments, et sur tout du vin, causent une infinité de maladies. Le peuple de la campagne est dans une si grande misère qu'il en meurt à tas. On a mesme appréhendé icy les maladies contagieuses. Depuis deux mois est mort icy 20,000 personnes. En sorte qu'on craint fort le temps des chaleurs. Et sur tout, si la récolte prochaine ne remédie à la disette, tout sera dans un étrange état.

'On est fort embarrassé pour la donation que Mademoiselle de Montpensier a faite à Monsieur le Duc du Maine, parce qu'il faut qu'elle soit acceptée; et c'est Madame de Montespan qui ayant fait l'acceptation, n'est pas personne capable, n'étant pas autorisée de son mary, en la puissance de qui elle étoit. Outre cela, on a oublié de mettre de certaines dépendances de la principauté de Dombes, qui en diminuent fort la valeur. Cela fait bien de la peine pour l'intérêt de ce seigneur. Présentement Mademoiselle incline fort à donner tout à Monsieur; et l'embaras est entre les intérêts de Monsieur le Duc de Chartres, et ceux de mondit seigneur le Duc du Maine.

'On a remarqué que le Roy, lors de la nomination des mareschaux de France, étoit fort resveur et pensit; ce qu'on attribue à la peine de faire beaucoup de mécontents, y ayant plusieurs lieutenants généraux plus anciens que la plus

part des nouvellement fait mareschaux. Mais le mérite et la faveur vont devant tout.

‘On ne parle plus de la maladie de Monsieur le Duc de Savoye. On avoue mesme qu’on l’a fait icy plus mal qu’il n’étoit, et toujours Madame la Duchesse sa femme en a écrit dans ces termes à Monsieur, qui a mesme esté scandalisé de ce qu’on avoit mis dans les Gazettes, qu’il avoit reçeu l’extrême onction.

‘Nous avons appris l’enlèvement de deux compagnies du régiment de la Couronne, en allant de Dinan à Chasselet, par la garnison de Charleroy. On a aussy pris quantité de barques vers St. Malo. Nous ne nous en vantons pas.’

3¼ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 March from Harwich.*

E90. 1693, [March 27/] April 6. Paris. ‘Fragments d’une lettre...dont on ne peut déchiffrer qu’une partie, parce que la plus part des endroitz n’ont pas marqué.’ ‘Voicy le département des armées à l’égard des officiers généraux.

‘Premièrement pour l’armée de Flandres.

‘Monsieur de Luxembourg général, avec Monsieur le Duc de Villeroy et Monsieur de Joyeuse, nouveaux mareschaux de France, qui serviront avec luy en second. Les lieutenants généraux...De Rubantel. 9 mareschaux de camp, savoir De Roquelaure, de Gassion, de Marsin, de Bezons, De Solre, de Précontal, de Mailly, de Montmorancy, et Mylord Lucan ou Sarsfield.

‘Armée de la Mozelle.

‘Monsieur de Boufflers, nouveau mareschal de France, général. 8 lieutenants généraux, savoir, le Duc de Maine, le Marquis de Montrevel, de Bartillat, de Talart, de Montchevreuil, de Busca, de Gassé, il ny a que ces 7. 8 mareschaux de camp, savoir, De Lagnon, de la Motte...de Vandeuil, de Crequy, le Prince d’Elbeuf, de Bressé, De Nassau.

‘Armée d’Italie.

‘Monsieur de Cattinat, nouveau mareschal de France, général. 7 lieutenants généraux, savoir, Monsieur de Vendosme, Monsieur de Langalerie...La Roquette, de Larré, Monsieur le Grand Prieur. 6 mareschaux de camp, savoir, Dusson, le Chevalier de Tessé, Bachevilliers, de Varenne, de Médavy...

‘Armée d’Allemagne.

‘Le Mareschal de Lorge, général, avec Monsieur le Comte d’Uxelles. Lieutenants généraux, De Rével, Mylord Montcassel, de la Bretesche, de Vilars, de Mélac. 6 Mareschaux de camp, savoir, le Duc de la Ferté, de Barbézières, de Bourg, d’Alégre, de Vaubecourt, de St. Frémont.

‘Armée de Roussillon.

‘Monsieur de Noailles, nouveau mareschal de France, général. 4 lieutenants généraux, savoir De Langeron, de St. Sylvestre...

‘Camp volant sur la Meuse.

‘Monsieur le Marquis d’Harcourt, avec de Laumaria, et Scheldon brigadier.

‘Ainsy voila 4 grandes armées, une petite, et un camp volant. Les vieux lieutenants généraux, qui aspiroyent au baston, sc. Messieurs de Montal, de Maulevrier, le Duc de Choiseul, et autres sont mécontents, et ne serviront pas. Monsieur le Comte d’Auvergne cherche à vendre sa charge. Monsieur le Prince de Soubize, qui est à la teste de la gendarmerie, est aussy au desespoir. Messieurs les Ducs du Maine et de Vendosme sont fort brouillez avec Monsieur de Luxembourg, et ont demandé à ne servir pas sous luy.

‘On n’a pas encore le détail du departement des troupes. On parle toujours assez incertainement du départ du Roy, quoy que les dames se disposent à l’accompagner, y en ayant 60 de nommées. Plusieurs croyent que le Roy ira à Mets, pour estre en estat de donner ses ordres en Flandre et en Alemagne. Les uns disent qu’on en veut à Mastrik, ou à Bruxelles, d’autres à Charleroy, Huy, et Liége. Le bruit sourd est qu’on veut jouer des couteaux, et que le Roy a en teste de donner une bataille.

‘Pour ce qui est de la mer, nous n’y ferons rien. Il y a bien de la peine à remplir le nombre des matelotz. Nostre flotte de la Mediterranée a esté dispersée par les vents. Ainsy l’entreprise sur les vaisseaux Espagnols à Baye qu’on vouloit bruler, ou bombarder, ou combler le port est échouée. Monsieur d’Etrées passera le Détroit pour venir en Ponant. Sa famille est au desespoir de l’honneur fait à Monsieur de Tourville.

‘On veut faire effort contre l’Alemagne. C’est un engagement avec nostre amy le Turc. Une lettre de Vienne du 14 de passé dit qu’ils se sont approchez d’Essek, que 20,000 ont passé la Save, et ont fait de grands ravages, que Tékely avec les Tartares vont entrer en Transylvanie et qu’ils veulent étourdir les Alemands, en entrant plustost en campagne qu’ils n’ont accoutumé.

‘Et comme vous estes curieux des affaires de finance, j’ay trouvé moyen d’avoir copie d’un estat certain de l’imposition de la présente année, c’est à dire du revenu ordinaire. Mais comme ce seroit une grosse affaire de vous l’envoyer en détail et que cela vous seroit assez inutile, je vous diray seulement en gros que cela monte à 31,275,875 livres.

‘Mais ce que vous trouverez de plus surprenant, ce sont les affaires extraordinaires qui se sont faittes pendant les 4 dernières années, 1689, 90, 91, et 1692, qui montent à plus de 250 milions. Il y a outre cela pres de 20 milions déjà sur le papier pour cette année. Cela fait trembler tout le monde.

Il y a entre autres un nouveau traité qui oblige toutes les villes et lieux fermez de rachetter les censives des choses qui relèvent du Roy. Le royaume s'appauvrit fort par ces levées immenses et extraordinaires. Le Languedoc et la Guyenne, autrefois si riches, sont misérables. Les Parlements de Toulouse et de Bordeaux ont esté obligez de rendre des arrêts, pour faire des catalogues exacts des nécessiteux, qui mouroyent de faim, et qu'on oblige chaque ville d'en nourrir certaine quantité. Le clergé crie, on parle de prendre le 6me. de son revenu.'

3½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 6 April.*

E91. 1693, [March 27/] April 6. 'Nouvelles de Paris, tant de la cour que de la ville.' 'Jeudy dernier Monsieur de Chateauvilain, filz de Monsieur de Morstein déffunt, epousa Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. Le voilà fortifié d'une grosse alliance à la cour. Il n'a besoin que de cela; car il a assez de bien pour luy et pour elle.

'Mademoiselle de Montpensier mourut hier au soir sur les 5 heures du soir, apres avoir disputé le terrain contre la mort depuis pres de 3 semaines. Les médecins l'ont alternativement crevée d'hémétique et de kinkina [cinchona]. Ces messieurs ne s'accréditent pas en ce pays-cy, où l'on a souvent recours aux charlatans, qui quelquefois par hazard réussissent, et au moins quand ils ne le font pas, ils dépeschent les malades avec plus de diligence. Depuis 2 ou 3 jours cette princesse ne vouloit plus prendre de nourriture. On dit qu'elle a remis son testament entre les mains du curé de St. Severin avec ordre de le remettre à Monsieur. Cela confirme ce qu'on a dit depuis le commencement de sa maladie, qu'elle luy donnoit tout ce qu'elle pouvoit. Elle donne à tous ses officiers et domestiques pendant leur vie les mesmes appointements qu'ils avoyent pendant la sienne. Et en particulier elle laisse quelque argent à ses filles d'honneur. Cela me paroist digne de la générosité d'une grande princesse. Elle avoit beaucoup de pierreries; car elle avoit hérité de celle de son ayeule Marie de Médicis. Cela avec ses meubles aidera à payer pour environ 3 millions de dettes, dont sa succession est chargée.

'Mardy dernier nous entendismes la harangue de Monsieur l'Abbé de Fénelon à l'Academie. Je ne le croyois pas si grand orateur, quoy que d'ailleurs il se soit acquis beaucoup de réputation d'esprit et de capacité. Il recita son discours en homme ferme, qui se possédoit; et sans avoir recours à son papier, quoy qu'il fust interrompu au milieu par des Academiciens paresseux, ce qui l'obligea de suspendre sa déclamation, qu'il reprit comme si de rien n'eust esté. Il y eut des traits d'une eloquence sublime, et des pensées nouvelles bien tournées. Il fut applaudy. Monsieur de Bergeret, directeur de mois, répondit, *orator parum vehemens*. L'A[b]bé de Lavau fit part à la compagnie d'une nouvelle devise, qu'il a fait pour le Roy, dont le corps est

toujours le soleil, dont les rayons perçent un amas de nuages, qui veulent offusquer sa lumière. L'ame est dans ces mots: *Nec conjurata morantur*. L'application n'en est pas difficile à faire. Il l'expliqua par les six vers que voicy:

Les elements liguez et la nature entière
S'efforcent vainement d'interrompre son cours
Sans jamais s'affoiblir, et sans autre secours
Que celuy qu'il reçoit de sa propre lumière.
D'un pas toujours égal il fournit sa carrière,
Et le monde entier void toujours
De cet astre puissant dépendre ses beaux jours.

L'Abbé de Choisy leut une version que Monsieur Perraut avoit faitte en vers d'un des plus beaux endroits d'Homère. Je ne say si elle ne vaut pas autant que l'original; du moins tous les auditeurs en furent fort satisfaitz; et messieurs les antiquaires n'eurent pas le mot à dire contre luy, qui par là se justifia de la fausse imputation qu'il méprise les anciens. Sa pensée n'étant que de les admirer dans ce qu'ils ont fait de beau; mais en homme libre, qui ne donne ses suffrages qu'au mérite des choses, sans une lasche complaisance pour celles qui ne sont pas de cet ordre, et qui ne passent dans le monde des savants que sous la protection de l'idolatrie qu'on a pour les auteurs.

'Au reste, vous pouvez penser qu'on n'oublia pas, suivant l'ordre, et l'ancienne coutume, le panégyrique de Monsieur Pelisson, à qui Monsieur de Fénelon succède. Sur tout, on le justifia des faux soubçons qui ont couru de sa mécréance. Ce qui n'a pas empesché les médisans de faire cet epigramme contre luy tout de nouveau:

Pélisson ce monstre amphibie,
Au dehors Catholique, au dedans Huguenot,
Vient de finir la comedie
En hypocrite et faux devot.
Chaque party le desavoue,
Chacun le traite en imposteur;
Et personne icy ne le loue
Qu'un esprit foible et radotteur.*

Il faut estre bien malicieux pour parler si mal d'un si galant homme, et d'une muse dont la galanterie est si vénérable.

'Il y a icy un divorce entre deux jeunes mariez, Monsieur Laugeois le filz, Conseiller au Parlement et Mademoiselle Croiset àprésent Madame sa femme. Apeine ont ils 30 ans ensemble, et déjà le diable s'en mesle. La jeune epouse, qui n'avoit veû le monde qu'au travers des grilles, a trouvé plus de

* 'C'est la vieille Mademoiselle de Scudéry' [original note].

goust dans la conversation des plumets marins, qui viennent faire la cour à son beaufrère Monsieur de Tourville, aprésent Maréchal de France, que parmy les porterobbes. Son epoux l'a trouvé mauvais, il s'en est plaint à son père et à sa mère, qui sont entrez bonnement dans ses intéretz. La jalousie est venue à la traverse, on a parlé à Monsieur le Président père de la jeune dame, la chose est allée jusqu'aux oreilles de Monsieur de Pontchartrain son oncle. Enfin le mary ne se trouvant pas assez satisfait, a quitté la partie, il est allé à la campagne et a écrit la lettre de divorce à sa femme. Il luy marque qu'il ne peut s'accommoder avec elle, que leurs humeurs sont incompatibles, et qu'il ne veut plus de commerce avec elle, etc. Le pauvre jeune homme n'a point encore d'expérience, il a tout le tort du monde. Apropos de Monsieur de Tourville; son beaupère, le jour qu'il fut nommé Mareschal, luy fit présent de 100,000 livres. Il a de quoy luy en donner bien d'autres, si ses dignitez augmentent. Il fut si aise, ce jour là, qu'en se jettant aux pieds du Roy il pensa le faire tomber.

'Nostre Gazette vous instruira de tous les officiers généraux que le Roy a faits, il y en a 117, et si il y en a encore beaucoup qui méritent de l'estre, il faut avouer le vray que nostre France est bien martiale. Où trouver un pays si fécond en bravoure et en gens capables de commander? C'est un avantage signalé; autant de compagnies de gendarmerie, de mousquetaires, de gardes du corps sont autant de pépinières d'officiers.

'A l'heure qu'il est Monsieur de Grammont Vedeau est sur la sellette, il ne sera pourtant pas jugé de quelques jours.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 6 April.*

E92. 1693, April [3/] 13. Paris. 'On s'est pressé de supprimer l'ordre de St. Lazare, parce que le Pape vouloit le détruire; et on a voulu, en le prévenant, en éviter la honte, et luy donner quelque satisfaction; mais nous n'en sommes pas mieux en cette cour là. On est fasché de ce qu'on y fait contre le Turc, quoy qu'on n'ose pas le témoigner.

'Le voyage du Roy est pour le 14e. de may. Beaucoup de gens veulent que ce soit pour Mets; et que la principale armée sera celle de Monsieur de Boufflers sur la Meuse. On fait état de 160,000 hommes dans celle-là et celle de Flandre. Le Roy augmente ses equipages et ses livrées. Il y a 30 dames nommées pour l'accompagner. Le secret est grand, car d'autres gens, qui ne parlent que par présomptions, voyant que le Roy veut paroître avec éclat, s'imaginent qu'il veut aller droit à Bruxelles, et tascher cette campagne de pousser les ennemis à faire la paix, car la longueur de la guerre incommode fort; et à la fin on seroit fort embarrassée sur les fonds nécessaires à une si grosse dépense.

‘L’armée de Piémont ne sera pas forte. Peu de cavallerie encore restera t elle en Provence et en Dauphiné. À la reserve de quelques dragons, le reste ne sera qu’infanterie.

‘On envoie quelques troupes en Normandie pour la garde des costes. Mais il n’y aura que 4,000 hommes de troupes réglées, le reste milices, on ne sait pas encore qui les commandera. Ce pourra estre Monsieur le Maréchal de Bellefons.

‘On n’a point de nouvelles positives de Monsieur le Comte d’Etrées. On garde un grand silence en la marine. Par la supputation que nous avons faite de tous les vaisseaux qui sont dans les ports, compris les 20 de la Méditerranée, nous n’en trouvons que 78 et cependant on compte sur 84 ou 85. Les corsaires n’iront point en mer pendant cette campagne. On a eû besoin de leurs equipages et matelots. Barthe a demandé à servir dans l’armée. Il commande un vaisseau de 52 pièces de canon, et est capitaine de vaisseaux du Roy.

‘Il y a eû quelques assemblées de religionnaires pres de Nismes. On y a tué quelques gens, pris divers prisonniers, plusieurs envoyez aux galères, et des femmes renfermées dans des chateaux. Pour tout cela ils disent qu’ils ne cesseront point de s’assembler.

‘Les lettres de Cazal disent que la garnison n’ose s’ecarter; que les ennemis empeschent que rien y puisse entrer. Et ils croient que dans peu ils seront resserrez de plus pres. Messieurs de Louvignies, Orsin, et le Gouverneur de Valence allèrent le 27 du passé reconnoistre la place, soutenus de 500 chevaux et de quelque infanterie. Ils veulent y faire 3 camps.

‘Les lettres de Pignerol du 3 de ce mois disent que Monsieur le Duc de Savoye, estant allé à Quiers, eut le lendemain un accez de fièvre, qui luy dura 27 heures. On voiture tous les jours du bled et des farines pour les Espagnols, qui commanderont. On y fait aussy un grand amas de bois pour eux; mais aucunes provisions pour les Alemands. Quelques uns d’entre eux ayant voulu enlever une fille de Mondovi, les habitans ont pris les armes, et en ont tué une quinzaine. Ils se tiennent en armes pendant la nuit, au nombre de 3 à 4,000. Et le jour ils se retirent chez eux.

‘Le Roy a fait 4 brigadiers du corps des ingenieurs, pour leur donner courage, parmy lesquels sont un neveu de Monsieur de Vauban, et Lapparat, qui servoit en Piémont. Monsieur de Vauban est un des mécontens, d’avoir esté oublié dans la promotion des nouveaux mareschaux de France, dignité à laquelle il y a longtemps qu’il aspirait. Le bruit couroit icy que le Roy Guillaume étoit passé en Hollande, mais suivant les lettres du 6 cela n’est pas encore vray.

‘Si Monsieur de Louvois revenoit au monde, il seroit bien surpris de voir un

de ses principaux ouvrages renversez. C'est l'ordre des Chevalliers de St. Lazare, pour l'établissement duquel il s'est donné tant de peines. Le Roy, qui depuis sa mort a eû de grands scrupules là dessus, apres avoir fait examiner l'affaire par des commissaires nommez à cet effet, l'a enfin supprimé par un edict, qui se publie par les rues. Il remet les choses au mesme etat où elles étoient, rendant les maladreries à ceux à qui elles appartenoyent. Mais en mesme temps il a institué un nouvel ordre, qu'on appelle de St. Louis, dont la marque sera un cordon rouge, où sera attachée la médaille d'or de St. Louis. Le Roy en est le Grand Maitre, Monseigneur Grand Vicaire. Tous les maréchaux de France le porteront, attaché avec un petit ruban rouge au pied de leur croix. C'est un pur ordre militaire qui ne sera accordé qu'aux personnes de mérite, et toutes les preuves consisteront en des certificats de 10 ans de service sur terre, ou sur mer. Sa Majesté fait 20 Commandeurs, scavoir 4 à chacun 4,000 livres et 16 à chacun 3,000, 24 Chevalliers à chacun 2,000 livres, 24 autres qui auront 1,500 livres, 48 chacun 1,000 livres, et 12 chacun 800 livres, un Tresorier 4,000 livres, un Greffier 3,000, un Huissier 1,400 livres. Le surplus sera pour les frais. On prétend que le Roy prendra ce fonds de 300,000 livres, savoir 200,000 livres sur le revenu des Invalides et 100,000 livres sur la Marine. C'est à dire sur les 3 deniers pour livre qu'on paye aux Tresoriers. Le Roy récompensera par des pensions ceux qui ont des commanderies de St. Lazare, sans restitution de fruits. Pour ce qui est de Messieurs les Chevalliers, ils n'auront qu'à vendre leurs croix.

'Autre surprise, si Monsieur Colbert étoit rédivivus, il a bien pris la peine à abolir le nom et le titre de Surintendant. Le voicy ressuscité. Monsieur de Pontchartrain l'est. Le Roy fait Monsieur Pelletier de Souzy et Monsieur de Caumartin Controlleurs Généraux. Ils donneront 600,000 livres chacun. Mais ils vendront leurs charges d'Intendans des Finances 400,000 livres. Il n'importe; c'est toujours 1,200,000 livres qui reviennent au Tresor Royal. (Je viens d'apprendre que cela n'est pas encore fait.)

'On a fait depuis peu une affaire qui chagrine fort messieurs les notaires. C'est qu'on établit des controlleurs de leurs actes, sans quoy nuls. Pour un acte de 100,000 livres les controlleurs auront 5 solz, et de là en montant jusqu'à 20,000 livres pour le controle de quoy et tout ce qui sera au dessus on payera 20 livres. Ils sont allez en corps jusqu'au nombre de 60 se présenter à Monsieur de Pontchartrain pour luy faire leurs remontrances. Ils furent fort mal reçeûs. Monsieur de Pontchartrain leur dit que cela avoit l'air de sedition; et que s'il les traittoit comme ils le méritoient, il les enverroient coucher hors de chez eux. Ils s'en revinrent au plus viste. L'affaire est réglée. Elle vaudra plus d'un milion par an au Roy. Le Sieur Deschiens en est le traittant avec plusieurs autres de la faveur.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 April.*

E93. 1693, April [3/] 13. Paris. 'Après les cérémonies ordinaires on porta avant hier le coeur de Mademoiselle d'Orleans au val de Grace, et ses entrailles aux Celestins. Mademoiselle en faisoit les honneurs. Demain ou jedy on portera son corps à St. Denis, avec la mesme pompe qui fut observée pour Madame la Dauphine. Les chiru[r]giens qui l'ont ouverte ont trouvé les parties nobles fort belles; mais le dedans fort brulé par les remédes. Ces messieurs en l'embaumant oublièrent de piquer ses entrailles, et les enfermèrent dans la boiste qui a servy à les transporter aux Célestins. Cette méprise fit un effet assez extraordinaire et assez plaisant. C'est que ces boyaux étant remplis de vent, et se trouvant échauffez dans cette boiste, jedy matin sur les 6 heures, comme les prestres disoyent la messe dans le lieu où étoit le corps, tout d'un coup la boiste vint à crever, avec un bruit si grand que tous ces prestres et autres assistans prirent la fuitte, croyant que le diable étoit dans la chambre.

'Les prestres qui venoyent pour relever les autres, par un degré particulier, ne trouvant plus personne dans la chambre, et d'ailleurs épouvantez de la méchante odeur qui s'y étoit répandue, s'en retournerent au plus viste. On eut assez de peine à les rassurer tous, et à ramasser toutes ces entrailles déchirées par les vents qui en étoient sortis.

'Le testament olografe écrit et signé de cette princesse en 1685, et qu'elle avoit déposé entre les mains de Madame d'Epéron religieuse Carmelite, fut ouvert le 7 de ce mois. Elle fait Monsieur son legataire universel de tout ce dont elle a pû disposer, et Monsieur le Premier Président son exécuteur testamentaire. Elle donne sa maison de plaisance de Choisy à Monseigneur. Elle ordonne le remboursement à tous ses officiers du prix de leurs charges, tant à l'égard de ceux qui les ont effectivement achetées que de ceux qui les tiennent par don. Elle donne à Mesdemoiselles de Breval et du Cambout, ses filles d'honneur, à chacune 20,000 livres, à ses femmes de chambre 12,000 livres chacune. Le reste seroit trop long à rapporter. On croit que le testament sera imprimé, ainsy vous pourrez le voir dans la suite.

'Monsieur de Lauzun, à l'occasion de cette mort, a fait beaucoup de demarches, qui ne luy ont pas fait honneur dans le monde. On dit qu'aussy tost que la princesse fut morte, il fit demander en mariage Mademoiselle de la Moignon à monsieur son père, qu'il savoit bien estre promise, il y a quelque temps, à Monsieur de Poissy filz de Monsieur le Président de Maisons. Il alla porter au Roy un testament fait en 1672 que Mademoiselle avoit déposé en ce temps-là entre les mains de Madame la Comtesse de Nogent. On trouvoit tout cela d'autant plus extraordinaire qu'il n'ignoroit pas le dernier testament de 1685. Quand il en parla à Monsieur le Premier President (auquel le Roy, et en suite Monsieur, luy avoyent ordonné de le porter), ledit Seigneur President luy dit avec son froid, et son ton ordinaire: "Il faut avouer, Monsieur, que Mademoiselle avoit de grandes considerations

pour vous. Car depuis François Premier, on n'a point ouy parler d'une si grosse rançon."

'Monseigneur est ravy d'avoir la maison de Choisy. Le Roy luy dit qu'il en étoit fasché, parce que cela luy feroit faire de fréquentes absences de Versailles. On croit qu'il s'accommodera des meubles avec Monsieur, à qui ils appartiennent. Le Roy y doit estre allé aujourd'hui, pour visiter les lieux avec luy et Monsieur. J'oubliois à vous dire que Monsieur de Lauzun s'est présenté à la cour avec le plus grand d[e]uil qu'on puisse porter en long manteau. On a jugé par là et par toutes ses démarches qu'il avoit voulu persuader le monde que son mariage avec Mademoiselle étoit vray. Cela a offensé le Roy et Monsieur, auprès de qui il n'est pas trop bien. Monsieur du Maine ny luy n'étoient point dans les bonnes grâces de Mademoiselle, à sa mort, et mesme longtemps auparavant, et l'on croit que si elle avoit pu revoquer les présents qu'elle a faitz à l'un et à l'autre, elle l'auroit fait.

'Une Dauphinoise de Vienne qui avoit des affaires à régler avec son mary, qui étoit dans les troupes de Piémont, n'ayant pas dequoy faire le voyage, s'enrolla sous l'habit d'homme; et ayant trouvé son mary mort, apres avoir pris ses papiers, réglé ses affaires, et passé en revue, a déclaré le fait à son confesseur, qui l'ayant découvert à Monsieur de Tessé, on l'a renvoyée saine et sauve, son capitaine étant resté fort surpris de ce stratagème.'

3pp. *French.*

E94. 1693, April [10/] 20. Paris. 'Je suis fasché de l'inconvenient de la lettre dont l'écriture n'a pas bien marqué. La drogue étoit trop vieille, je la rafraichiray plus souvent.

'On parle mal du crédit de Monsieur de Barbesieux, on ne croit pas qu'il se soutienne. Cette affaire de St. Lazare a renouvelé de mauvais discours contre feu Monsieur de Louvois. On a remarqué qu'il y a quelques jours que des courtisans ayant demandé à Monsieur le Duc de Vendosme, qui étoit au disner du Roy derrière sa chaise, si son equipage étoit prest: "Comment prest?" leur dit-il, "je n'ay pas le premier sol." Le Roy, qui l'entendoit, se retourna et luy dit, "Monsieur de Vendosme, épousez Madame de Louvois."

'On juge à beaucoup de circonstances que l'armée principale du Roy sera celle de Monsieur de Boufflers sur la Meuse. Cela et diverses négociations de cet hyver avec des Liégeois, qui persuadent qu'on y a quelque intelligence, font croire qu'on en veut à Liège.

'On dégarnit fort le Piémont. Il a couru un bruit qu'il y avoit un accommodement secret, soit paix, ou trêve; mais les gens sensez s'en moquent. On fait dire pourtant au Roy et à Monsieur que dans peu on verra ou l'on entendra des nouvelles qui réjouyront bien tout le peuple.

‘Le Roy a esté triste du peu de succez de la flotte de la Méditerranée, qui avoit dessein de bruler les vaisseaux espagnols à Bayes. On dit qu’outre que le temps a esté contraire, l’entreprise étoit mal concertée. On croit que Monsieur le Comte d’Etrées va passer le Détroit, et l’on espère que, s’il rencontre la flotte angloise qui va à Smirne, et qui n’est escortée que de 24 vaisseaux, il les battra et prendra beaucoup de vaisseaux marchands.

‘Le Roy, qui devoit partir au commencement de may, ne doit plus partir que le 14 et peut estre le 20. On recule toujours ce voyage. Le bruit du dessein d’une descente oblige à mettre force troupes sur les costes, en Bretagne et en bas Poitou. Il y aura pres de 30,000 hommes de troupes réglées, ou milices. Ce bruit de descente est cause qu’on se défie des nouveaux convertis, et qu’on les observe. On prend toutes sortes de précautions là dessus.

‘Le Roy a donné le commandement général de la cavallerie des armées de Flandre et de la Meuse à Monsieur le Duc de Chartres et à Monsieur le Duc du Maine. Il dit au premier qu’il seroit général de la cavallerie dans la petite armée de la Meuse, qui sera pourtant de 50,000 hommes; et ce sera celle-là qui entrera en action pour former quelque siège, et où le Roy sera. Celle de Monsieur de Luxembourg qui sera la grande armée couvrira et, comme au siège de Namur, s’opposera aux ennemis.

‘Monsieur le Comte d’Auvergne est fort mécontent, et ne servira pas. Il vend tous ses equipages. Il y a longtemps qu’on luy donne des dégouts pour l’obliger à se défaire de sa charge de général de la cavallerie, dont il ne fait point l’exercice. Mais son principal mécontentement est de ce qu’il n’a point esté fait Mareschal de France.

‘Le pain sera tres cher à l’armée. On fait marché avec des boulangers à 5 et 6 solz la livre, et pour la viande à 7 et 8 solz. Le vin de champagne à 45s. la bouteille. Cela embarrasse fort tous les officiers, tant généraux qu’autres, qui ne sont pas trop riches.

‘Jusqu’icy les affaires de finance que Monsieur de Pontchartrain avoit faittes étoient volontaires. En voicy deux qui commencent à estre forcées, et qui font beaucoup de bruit, celle des notaires, et celle de l’amortissement des censives du Roy. Tout le monde tremble pour l’avenir; car l’argent devient rare et s’épuise.

‘On parle d’une affaire de 80 millions; mais on ne dit point encore ce que c’est.

‘Le bruit qui a couru que les ennemis ont investy Casal continue. On dit qu’il ne sort ny n’entre rien dans la place, et que les chefs des ennemis ont esté la reconnoistre. Mais il y a des provisions pour longtemps, et on se fie sur ce que les ennemis ne savent pas assieger comme nous.

‘Le Roy fait Monsieur de Vauban grand-croix du nouvel ordre de St. Louis.

Il y a presse d'y entrer, c'est la mode. Les princes en veulent estre, et tous les officiers présentent des placets pour estre Chevalliers; le nombre en sera bien tost remply.

'On débite icy un nouveau livre, qui a pour tistre *Le Neptune François*, propre particulièrement pour la marine, et où sont toutes les cartes des mers, des costes, et des portz.

'On ne sait encore si les especes baisseront à la fin de ce mois. On croit qu'on prolongera jusqu'au premier de juin.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 18 April.*

E95. 1693, April [10/] 20. 'Autres nouvelles de Paris.' 'On croyoit que le testament de Mademoiselle d'Orleans seroit imprimé, mais il ne le sera pas. Il est fort simple. On y remarque 2 choses: l'une qu'elle n'a rien laissé pour dire des messes; l'autre qu'elle n'a rien laissé aussi à la Comtesse de Fiesque, sa dame d'honneur, qui a consumé presque toute sa vie à son service. Je vis passer mardy dernier sa pompe funébre. Il n'y avoit rien d'extraordinaire, tout y estoit blanc suivant l'appareil ordinaire des filles.

'Il est mort deux Academiciens depuis Monsieur Péliisson, savoir Monsieur de Bussy Rabutin et Monsieur de La Chambre. Le premier, qui écrivoit avec tant de politesse, est mort en Bourgogne assez vieux. Il a fait quantité de volumes de l'histoire de son temps. Mais ils ne verront pas si tost le jour. Son gendre Monsieur de la Rivière m'a dit qu'il en avoit passé 28 par ses mains, et m'a promis de m'en faire voir quelquesuns. Ce seront des ouvrages curieux. Le second étoit filz de ce fameux médecin Monsieur de la Chambre, qui a fait les *Caractères des Passions*, etc., et qui étoit attaché particulièrement au service du feu Chancelier Seguier qui luy avoit donné un logement dans son hostel. Une de ses [*sic*] places à l'Academie est reservée à l'Abbé Bignon neveu de Monsieur de Pontchartrain, jeune, mais d'un grand mérite. L'autre n'est pas encore destinée. Peut estre sera t elle pour Monsieur de la Bruyère, auteur des *Caractères de Theophraste*, livre qui a fait du bruit et dans lequel les caractères et les moeurs de nostre siecle qui servent de commentaires valent bien le texte. Ou bien ce place sera pour Monsieur de la Loubère, qui a déjà eû pensée dy entrer, homme de mérite, qui est aupres de Monsieur de Pontchartrain le filz.

'Madame de Bregis, dame d'atour de feu la Reyne Mère Anne d'Autriche, est morte aussi. Elle avoit 80 ans et ne se lassoit point de vivre. Elle avoit esté belle en son temps, favorite du Cardinal Mazarin, et fort aimée de la Reine sa maitresse, qui l'avoit comblée de graces et de richesses, dont elle ne faisoit part à personne, pas mesme à aucun de ses enfans qu'elle ne vouloit point voir, et qu'elle a eû de la peine à souffrir dans sa chambre à l'article de la

mort. On m'a dit qu'elle avoit fait un testament par lequel elle deshéritoit ses filz, et donnoit tout à sa fille la Marquise Descaux. Elle a fait tout ce qu'elle a pû pour obliger Monsieur, chez qui elle avoit un appartement au Palais Royal, de s'approprier 230,000 livres qu'elle avoit mis en dépost entre ses mains, dequoy il donna avis à ses enfans aussy tost qu'elle fut morte. Elle laisse encore outre cela 4 à 500,000 livres, qui les accommoderont bien.

'Les Gazettes vous apprendront le jugement definitif qui a esté rendu contre Monsieur Vedeau de Grammont qui a esté plus sévère que l'on ne croyoit.

'Monsieur de La Moignon, qui apres la mort de Monsieur de Némond devoit estre Président à Mortier, n'a pas jugé à propos de changer sa condition d'Avocat Général, pour estre à la queue de plusieurs jeunes barbes, dans l'esperance que, lors que son filz sera en age, il luy remettra sa charge, pour entrer dans le Conseil eu qualité de Conseiller d'Estat.

'On a achevé d'imprimer l'histoire du Cardinal Ximènes de Monsieur l'Evesque de Nismes, autrefois l'Abbé Fléchier; mais elle ne se debite pas encore. L'auteur nous en a dit quelques morceaux qui sont tres beaux. Vous savez avec quelle eloquence il parle et écrit.'

2pp. *French.*

E96. 1693, April [17/] 27. Paris. 'Les affaires se font icy avec un tel secret qu'il n'y a personne de la cour, moins de la ville, qui puisse en nulle manière pénétrer dans les desseins et les projets; pas mesme ceux qui travaillent dans les bureaux. On ne parle que par conjectures, et on fait des raisonnements la plus part inutiles. Par exemple, sur le voyage du Roy, on est bien persuadé qu'il le fera. Cependant il y a des gens qui en doutent, et qui disent qu'il n'y a point d'apparence que le Roy s'éloigne, lors qu'on nous menace d'une descente. Pourtant tous les préparatifs se font pour le voyage, et tous les équipages s'aprestent. Chacun dit que c'est pour l'Alemagne, et que le Roy ne passera pas Metz. Il est certain qu'il y a des equipages de Monseigneur qui prennent la route de Chateautierry, et que tous les officiers pour l'Alemagne partent. Monsieur le Mareschal de Choiseul est party, et Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge s'en va au premier jour. Les deux armées de Flandre et de la Meuse, où sera Monsieur de Bouflers, seront de 160,000 hommes.

'À l'égard de la mer, nous avons accoutumé d'avoir un etat exact de tous les vaisseaux qui vont en mer longtemps avant cette saison; mais nous ne l'avons pas. Tout ce que nous savons en gros, c'est que la flotte n'est pas encore en estat. Monsieur de Tourville est party avec une difficulté d'urine. Il dit à un de mes amis, qui luy remontoit le danger où il alloit s'exposer, qu'il faloit qu'il partist mort ou vif. Pour le nombre de vaisseaux il ne sauroit estre que

de peu plus de 80. Encore faut il que ceux de la Méditerranée joignent, et ils ne sont pas en état de partir de quelques jours. De sorte qu'il y a toute apparence qu'on se tiendra sur la simple défensive.

'Monsieur de Matignon part pour aller garder les costes de Normandie avec 34 bataillons et 4,000 chevaux, tant troupes réglées que milices. Le Mareschal d'Etrées s'en va à la Rochelle. Monsieur de Chaunes est party pour la Bretagne.

'Au reste, on ne parle dans les compagnies que des malheurs du temps, de la misère des provinces, du manque de vivres et de l'argent qui est rare. Turmenies, trésorier de l'extraordinaire des guerres, a laissé protester force lettres, et ne paye point. Il veut se débarrasser des avances; et cela fait grand tort à son crédit, parce que les marchands ne veulent plus luy prêter, ce qui étoit pourtant d'un grand secours dans le besoin, où l'on se trouve souvent. Tout le monde crie parce que les affaires commencent à devenir forcées.

'Julien, qui avoit défendu Coni, est icy. Il a veû le Roy, qui luy a promis de l'employ, et luy a fait des offres avantageuses, s'il vouloit changer de religion. Je ne say s'il le fera. On dit qu'il a quitté le service, parce qu'on vouloit qu'il obeist à un homme sous lequel il ne vouloit pas servir; et que pour cette raison Monsieur de Schomberg le menaça. Le dégoût que cela luy causa fit qu'il voulut absolument son congé.

'Les gens qui croyent savoir les affaires disent que ce n'est plus un obstacle pour la paix que l'intérêt du Roy Jaques, et qu'on void bien qu'il n'y a plus rien à faire pour luy; que dès le temps que la prétendue descente manqua, il pria le Roy de ne plus s'arrester à le soutenir, voyant bien qu'il n'avoit plus rien à espérer.

'Le principal but de cette campagne est d'encourager nostre amy le Turc à tenir-bon. C'est pourquoy on veut faire des efforts contre l'Alemagne. Quoy qu'il en soit, chacun juge mal de nos affaires, si la guerre traîne en longueur. Le peuple est trop misérable, et gare le desespoir, et que tout ne se debande.

'On fait courir icy le bruit que le Roy Guillaume quittera la Flandre, et montera sur sa flotte. C'est ce que les gens de bon sens ont de la peine à croire.

'Le Duc de Savoye a eû des accez de fièvre; ce qui a fait dire qu'il y avoit quelque traitté de paix ou trêve, c'est que les Piémontois ont porté des vivres à Pignerol, et que les commerces ont esté libres. Mais depuis on a dit que Monsieur de Savoye avoit consenty qu'ils payassent leurs contributions en espèces, au lieu d'argent, et il est vray qu'on a retiré des troupes en assez grand quantité de ce pays-là, où l'on se contentera de garder les passages, qui ont esté fortifiez par Monsieur de Vauban.

'Autant que nous le pouvons savoir, les ministres arrestez ne sont pas mal

traitez à le Bastille; mais il est tres malaisé d'en apprendre des nouvelles certaines. Il y en est mort un de ma connoissance, qui fut blessé d'une chute lors qu'il fut pris; pour les autres, je ne say qu'en dire.

'La nouvelle de la résurrection de l'ancienne charge de Surintendant des Finances, et de deux Controlleurs Généraux, ne s'est pas trouvée vraie, quoy que tout le monde la crust. On se contente de l'autorité, et l'on se moque des tiltres.

'Il y a presse d'entrer au nouvel ordre de chevalerie, mais le Roy ne pourvoira qu'à la St. Louis. Cependant il s'en trouve un ancien, qui reprend vigueur. C'est celuy des Chevaliers du St. Esprit de Montpellier, qui avoit esté confondu dans celuy de St. Lazare, à l'institution duquel le Grand Maistre de cet ordre s'étoit opposé, lors que Monsieur de Louvois le forma sur les ruines de plusieurs autres. Mais il ne fut pas écouté pour lors dans ses remontrances. L'autorité étouffa ses raisons. Aprésent il a présenté sa requête, qui fait voir l'ancienneté de l'établissement, la possession des revenus, etc. Mais un de ses meilleurs moyens, c'est qu'il a demandé Monsieur l'Abbé de Luxembourg pour Grand Maistre. Le Roy luy a fait justice et cet abbé est pourveü de cette dignité, avec prétention de faire revenir 100,000 écus de rente en commanderies, qui dépendront du Grand Maistre. La difficulté est d'en retrouver les tiltres que Monsieur de Louvois avoit fait enlever.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 25 April.*

E97. 1693, April [17/] 27. 'Autres nouvelles de Paris.' 'Le bruit a couru d'un nouveau testament de feue Mademoiselle d'Orleans, qui a fait peur à Monseigneur, et à Monsieur, mais, comme il estoit imparfait, il n'a pas eü de lieu, et celuy de 1685 subsiste.

'Une dame de qualité, ayant quelque fantaisie pour le Marquis de Rochefort, luy écrivit, il y a quelques jours, sans estre connue de luy, un billet en ces termes. "Il y a si longtemps que j'ay du goust pour vous, que je ne puis me résoudre à retarder plus longtemps de vous le faire savoir. Je vous donne rendez-vous à la première loge de la comédie. Si vous m'y reconnoissez j'en seray fort honteuse, si vous ne m'y reconnoissez pas, j'en seray fort fâchée."

'Le jeune marquis ne manqua pas de la trouver. Apres la conversation pendant la comédie, il l'accompagna chez elle, où je ne say ce qui se passa jusqu'à xi heures du soir qu'il y resta; mais apres cela il alla trouver une troupe de petits maîtres de sa cabale, auxquels il montra le billet, et fit confidence de toute l'histoire, si bien que par là elle s'est rendue publique. La pauvre dame ne savoit pas combien les jeunes gens de la cour sont indiscrets, et sur tout celuy-cy, qui fait profession ouverte d'indiscrétion. Le diable de l'affaire, c'est qu'on dit que le cavalier ne se porte pas bien. Jugez des ris et des discours sur cette aventure.

'L'affaire du Sieur Denis médecin, dont je vous ay parlé, continue de se plaider, elle n'est pas encore jugée. Il pensa estre assommé tout de bon à la dernière audience par les femmes.

'Le malheur de la guerre produit toujours des brigands. Il y a quelques jours que 2 coquins entrèrent dans la maison d'un auditeur des comptes, sur le quay des 4 nations, épiant l'occasion que les gens étoient absents. Ils trouvèrent la femme de cet auditeur avec une seule servante. Ils la lièrent à la quenouille du lit, la baillonnerent et luy prirent tout son argent.

'Monsieur de la Reinie mesme, nostre juge de police, fut attaqué il y a quelques jours en revenant de Versailles sur les 8 heures par 8 voleurs; mais le guet survint à propos, qui en tua 2, en prit 2 autres, et mit le reste en fuite.

'Le filz de Maginville Tresorier des Bastimens du Roy, et Tresorier de Monsieur, a fait depuis peu une action qui le décrie fort, sur tout au Parlement où il est conseiller indigne. Il voyoit souvent une jeune dame nommée Madame Giraud, et de laquelle il faisoit l'amant. Cette dame ayant quelque argent à placer, il luy persuada de luy prester 2,000 livres sur son billet endossé par son frère, homme d'église. Estant chez elle malade, elle luy confia la clef de son cabinet, où le jeune homme trouvant son billet il prit la peine de s'en saisir. La dame quelques jours apres visitant son cabinet, et ne trouvant plus ce billet, elle l'envoya chercher, il nia d'abord la chose, mais enfin pressé il l'avoua, et dit que si elle n'en faisoit point de bruit il luy en donneroit un autre, ou la payeroit. La surprise de cette infidélité augmenta la maladie de la dame. Le transport au cerveau luy en vint, bref elle est morte, et le jeune homme nie tout, quoy qu'il y ait beaucoup de témoins à qui elle s'en est plainte. Que de friponnerie dans le monde! ô siecle! ô moeurs!

'Le bon homme St. Martin, Gouverneur de la Maisons des Invalides, se fait tailler de la pierre à 80 ans.'

2½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 25 April.*

E98. 1693, [April 24/] May 4. Paris. 'Je vous ay bien dit que l'on assuroit que le Roy seroit dans l'armée de Monsieur de Boufflers; mais non pas qu'elle seroit la plus grande. Elle sera la plus considérable, parce qu'on croit que ce sera elle qui fera quelque siège, tandis que celle de Monsieur de Luxembourg, qui sera plus forte en nombre, couvrira comme au siège de Namur; ainsy je n'y voy pas de contradiction.

'Le régiment des gardes est commandé pour partir, sans qu'on dise pour où. Il défilera le 11, 12 et 13 de ce mois. Tous les equipages et la gendarmerie se tiennent prestz. Mais il n'y a point de jour déterminé pour leur départ. On ne doute pas que le Roy ne parte, mais le jour n'est pas pris, quoy qu'on dise que ce sera le 16 de ce mois, pour Chantilly, où il séjournera le 17 et d'où il

partira le 18. Je vous ay dit qu'on fait estat de 150 à 160,000 hommes pour les 2 armées de Luxembourg et de Boufflers.

L'armée d'Alemagne sera de 66 bataillons et 152 escadrons, divisée en 2 corps, dont l'un sera commandé par Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge et l'autre par le Mareschal de Choiseul. Il y en aura un qui passera le Rhein à Nieustat le 13 de ce mois. L'opinion commune est que le grand effort sera en Alemagne, pour donner courage au Turc. J'ay veû des lettres de ce pays-là qui font grands fonds sur Tékely, qui a un corps de 7 à 8,000 hommes de bonnes troupes, et qui pour sa personne est fort accrédité parmy les Hongrois, et en état de débaucher bien des Alemans s'il avoit tout l'argent qu'il demande.

Le Grand Seigneur ny le Muphti ne veulent point de paix. Mais le Grand Visir est un homme de peu de valeur, et que nous voudrions bien faire changer. Ils ont beaucoup de troupes, mais méchantes, et la plus part asiatiques. Nos correspondants ont fait ce qu'ils ont pû pour faire périr Mylord Paget, à qui on a fait faire 28 journées de marche, où il n'en faloit que 20. On assure que le Grand Seigneur a fait mourir ses deux neveux filz du dépossédé.

Les lettres de Marseille du 24 avril portent qu'on arme 35 galères, qui seront prestes du 10 au 15 de ce mois. On fait faire 14,000 sacs à terre, qu'elles porteront on ne sait où.

Il est arrivé à Brest le 25 du passé 6 vaisseaux de Rochefort, d'où on en attend encore 15. La flotte de Bordeaux et celle de Bayonne au nombre de 160 à 180 vaisseaux de charge, chargez de vins et autres munitions pour le munitionnaire, sont entrez dans la rade le 27 du passé. On y attend Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées, qui doit joindre, mais il n'est pas encore party, du moins que l'on sache.

La Normandie est fort allarmée du bruit de la descente. La misère y est grande. Les 2 galères qu'on a équipées du nombre de celles qui étoient restées desarmées à Rouen, et qui étoient venues à Havre, sont passées sur la coste et arrivées à St. Malo. Elles ont couru grand risque d'estre prises. Elles se sont sauvées par le Ras Blanchart [the Race of Alderney]. Un quart d'heure de retardement les faisoit perdre.

Je vous confirme qu'on veut faire un effort considérable cette année, parce qu'on est persuadé que nous ne pourrions pas soutenir une si prodigieuse dépense encore deux ans. On craint fort les nouveaux moyens de tirer de l'argent. On parle de taxer tous les carrosses indifféremment à 100,000 livres par cheval, en sorte que le moindre carrosse payera 200,000 livres. Toutes les chambres garnies, auberges, etc., doivent payer une permission, et sont fort allarmées. On se dispose à une nouvelle monnoye, qui donnera encore bien de l'argent. La refonte et la nouvelle empreinte des cavallos se fera cette année. On met tout en usage pour avoir de l'argent. Les cens et les los et ventes de tout ce qui relève du Roy va bien incommoder des gens.

'Jeady dernier on receût des nouvelles de Pignerol qu'on y avoit arresté et mis dans le cachot le Comte de Fenille, accusé d'avoir voulu livrer la place aux ennemis. On luy a trouvé des armes cachées et beaucoup d'argent, on dit 500,000 livres. C'est un fameux bandit de Piémont, scélerat au dernier point, qui l'année dernière couppa la teste à un boucher qu'il soubçonnoit de le vouloir assassiner. Monsieur de Catinat voulut le faire arrester, mais on le sauva, parce qu'il est utile au service. Il a quitté celuy du Duc de Savoye, acause qu'il estoit poursuivy pour beaucoup de méchantes actions. Il avoit esté regagné, à ce qu'on prétend, pour nous faire piéce. On dit que dans le mesme temps qu'il fut arresté, on vid paraistre à la vue de Pignerol sur les hauteurs quelques troupes des ennemis qui se retirèrent à la nouvelle de son emprisonnement.

'Hier matin le Roy déclara qu'il laissoit Monsieur pour commander dans le royaume en son absence, pendant le voyage qu'il iroit à Angers, pour contenir les peuples dans l'obeissance, qu'il auroit 45,000 hommes distribuez dans les provinces de Normandie, Bretagne et Poitou, que Monsieur le Mareschal d'Humières seroit sous luy d'un costé, avec le Mareschal d'Etrées de l'autre, pour s'opposer aux descentes. Le Roy offrit à Monseigneur de prendre ce party là, ou celuy de venir avec luy. Il a choisy le dernier. Le Roy n'en a pas été fâché parce que Monsieur est populaire, aimé des peuples, et capable de les contenir par sa familiarité. Il ira de costé et d'autre selon le besoin. Le Roy a dit de plus qu'il ne déclareroit point son dessein qu'à Compiègne. Quoy que ce ne soit pas le chemin d'Alemagne, on croit toujours qu'il ira, et que le dessein est sur Mayence; que ce sera Monsieur de Boufflers qui agira, et fera le siège. La Maison du Roy n'est point encore commandée. Plusieurs de la gendarmerie croient aller en Alemagne. On vient de me faire savoir ces dernières nouvelles que je ne savois pas quand j'ay commencé à écrire. On juge, quoy qu'il en soit, que l'intention du Roy, puisqu'il laisse le commandement du royaume à Monsieur, est de s'avancer beaucoup sur la frontière; et peut estre d'entrer dans le pays ennemy. Le Mareschal de Bellefons demeurera ainsy sans employ, et ira faire sa campagne dans son gouvernement de Vincennes, ou à la Trappe pour laquelle il a beaucoup de devotion. Monsieur le Mareschal de Noailles aura 18 à 19,000 hommes en Catalogne. Vous juges bien par là que par tout on fait des effortz extraordinaires pour jouer à quitte ou à double, et forcer les ennemis à demander la paix, apres cette campagne, qu'on espère devoir estre décisive.

'Les evesques de Bearn ont envoyé un procez verbal, certifié d'eux tous, par lequel ils déclarent que dans leurs visittes ils ont trouvé 130 paroisses qui manquent de pain absolument; on est bien empesché d'y remédier. Les amas qu'on a fait pour les magazins des armées l'ont fait encore encherir icy depuis peu. Sans le secours de celuy qui est venu de Barbarie, Marseille seroit à la faim; mais il en est venu grand quantité de ce pays-là.

'Si Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées peut passer, on ne fait pas état de laisser plus de 6 vaisseaux du Roy dans la Méditerranée.

'Madame la Duchesse de Choiseul a eû ordre de se retirer dans un convent, ou à une maison de campagne. Il y en a quantité d'autres qui pourront essayer la mesme disgrâce, et qui la méritent du moins autant qu'elle.'

4³/₄ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 3 May.*

E99. 1693, May [1/] 11. Paris. 'Si vous avez trouvé quelques contradictions dans mes lettres, c'est parce qu'on veut estre court, et qu'on ne s'explique pas assez quand on écrit comme je fais d'une manière secrette.

'Il est vray que l'on compte toujours sur le papier 160,000 hommes, y compris les petits corps séparez. On a dit que l'armée principale ne seroit pas celle du Roy, mais de Monsieur de Luxembourg, pour s'opposer aux ennemis, tandis que celle du Roy entreprendroit quelque siège, et ne seroit que de 50,000 hommes; je dis sur le papier; car il faut toujours rabattre un quart, quand se vient à l'effectif. Comptez donc sur le projet 80,000 hommes à Monsieur Luxembourg, 50,000 au Roy, et 25 ou 40 pour les autres petits corps sur la Mozelle et ailleurs.

'Le Roy s'est déclaré qu'il alloit à Valenciennes. Il doit partir samedy prochain. Delà on ne sait pas où il ira. La gendarmerie doit se rendre aux Estines, et sous Mons. Que ce soit une conséquence qu'on en veuille à la Flandre, cela n'est pas certain, car plusieurs croient toujours qu'on en veut à Liège, et que l'on fera de grands efforts en Alemagne, où l'armée doit passer le Rhein le 20 de ce mois. Le Marquis de Villars, qui commande la cavallerie en ce pays-là, part aujourd'hui pour y aller. La plus part des officiers qui sont de cette armée d'Alemagne y vont à regret, parce que tous voudroyent estre dans l'armée du Roy, qu'on croyoit devoir aller à Metz. Car ce n'est que depuis peu qu'il s'est déclaré pour Valencienne.

'Monsieur ne partira qu'à la fin de ce mois, et se tiendra à Saumur, Angers, ou Laval, on croit plustost ce dernier. Ses officiers et son bagage partiront vers le 20 de ce mois. Il a ordre de répandre de l'argent où il jugera à propos.

'Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées est party de Toulon le 28 du passé, on ne sait pas s'il a fait grand chemin; mais toujours c'est pour passer le Détroit. Comme on a plus de troupes en Catalogne cette année que les précédentes, et que les 35 galères marchent, on croit qu'on a dessein sur Roses.

'Le Roy a esté fâché de ce qu'on a fait courir le bruit dans le monde que sa flotte du Ponant desarmoit, et en a temoigné de l'indignation. Il a donné 3,000 livres de pension à Julien, qui a changé de religion, et luy a promis le premier régiment qui vaqueroit.

'Nostre Gazette parle de ces messieurs les Députez aux Etatx qui ont esté

arrestez; mais elle ne parle pas du Sieur de Pile, autrefois secretaire de Monsieur Amelot, qu'on assure avoir esté aussy arrêté avec plusieurs autres François, qui entretenoyent des intelligences icy. Monsieur de Turmenies, Tresorier de l'extraordinaire des guerres, est toujours court d'argent, et ne paye pas. On est surpris de ce que Monsieur de Pontchartrain le laisse manquer de fondz, ce qui altère son crédit d'une manière à luy oster les moyens de faire des avances dans les occasions où souvent on en a besoin. L'argent est toujours fort rare, et les bourses sont fermées. La cherté des vivres est grande. Les pauvres abordent de tous costez à Paris, où il est difficile que la police soit observée pour le pain, parce qu'il n'y en a jamais qu'au jour la journée. Tout le monde se plaint, et chacun craint pour la récolte, car on a besoin de chaleur, et il fait des pluyes froides qui nous incommode. Le soleil ne paroist que par intervalles, et l'on se chauffe avec plaisir les matins et les soirs. Pourveu que la chaleur vienne bien tost, on se sauvera encore, parce que les apparences sont belles, moyennant qu'il fasse un autre temps, autrement tout seroit perdu. Il s'en va toujours du monde. On a arrêté plusieurs gens sur le chemin de Flandre.

'Il est malaisé d'avoir de justes nouvelles de la Bastille. On assure que les ministres qui y étoient en ont esté transférez. Une personne qui y a esté longtemps, et qui avoit des moyens pour avoir des nouvelles de tout ce qui s'y passoit, n'y en a jamais pô rien découvrir. On a seû seulement d'un de ceux qui y étoit, qu'il n'y estoit pas maltraitté, et qu'au contraire il se louoit du bon traitement. Il y a un apoticaire, autrefois de la religion, qui y entre. On luy a fait prêter serment de ne rien dire; il l'observe religieusement.

'L'Evesque de Sisteron presse un de nos amis que vous connoissez de faire revenir son beaufrere Monsieur Caille, et luy donne sa parole qu'on ne luy demandera rien, qu'il vivra à sa fantaisie, et sans aucune contrainte. Cela fait croire qu'on voudroit fort que tout ce qu'il y a de réfugiés prissent ce party là. Mais d'un autre costé on publie icy que l'armement destiné pour la descente dont on nous menace en France est remply de réfugiés, ce qui jette de nouveaux soubçons.

'Il y a des gens icy qui assurent que la cause de ce qu'on a arrêté le Bourguemaistre de Dort est qu'il avoit proposé à l'assemblée de Messieurs les Etats de supplier le Roy Guillaume de travailler à la paix; parce que la Hollande ne pouvoit plus supporter les frais de la guerre, qui la ruynoient entièrement.

'Le Roy a commencé de porter le nouvel ordre de St. Louis, et a déjà nommé une partie des Grands Croix et des Commandeurs. Monsieur de Montchevreuil, de Chateaufort, de la Rabliere et de Riverolles sont des premiers, et des Grand Commandeurs. Monsieur de Vauban n'en est pas comme on l'avoit dit; mais luy, La Feuillée, St. Sylvestre et Polastron sont

mareschaux de camp. Il y en a encore plusieurs autres, la plus part ceux qui avoyent des commanderies de St. Lazare. On a oublié Monsieur de Bullonde, qui avoit une commanderie depuis l'affaire de Cony. Il n'est plus à la mode. Messieurs de Chanlay, Davejan et Desaleures sont aussy Commandeurs.

'Tout le monde est pres à partir. Les rues sont remplies d'équipages plus ou moins lestes selon le pouvoir des gens, car il y en a beaucoup qui n'ont guère de finance.

'Le vieil Abbé Talemant, qui avoit 75 ans, frère de Madame de Ruvigny, mourut mécredy matin, et fut enterré jedy au soir. Monsieur à donné son abbaye du Val Chrestien, qui est à sa nomination, au filz de Monsieur de Maginville son trésorier. Sa charge d'aumosnier de Madame est aussy perdue pour sa famille. Il ne voulut pas la vendre, il y a quelques années, et quand il l'a bien voulu depuis, il étoit trop tard.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 8 May.*

E100. 1693, May [8/] 18. Paris. 'Je vous écriray desormais deux fois la semaine, quand il y aura matière. Le Roy part aujourdhuy pour Chantilly, où il séjournera demain, et il ira mécredy à Compiègne. Il y séjournera jedy jour de la Feste-Dieu. On doute qu'il soit bien certain encore de ce qu'il entreprendra, car il a plusieurs projets et prendra celui qui luy conviendra le mieux. Pour moy je croy toujours qu'on en veut à Huy et à Liège, dont on dit que les habitans sont las de la guerre, et qu'on ne les retient que par force. Apres qu'il aura exécuté ce qu'il veut faire en ce pays-là, on croit qu'il fera encore un détachement pour l'Alemagne, où l'armée doit estre de 55,000 hommes, quoy que Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge ait dit qu'il ne comptoit que sur 40,000. On fait estat que cette armée a passé le Rhein samedy 16me. de ce mois.

'Tout le monde géné[r]alement est si indigné des dames qu'il mène qu'on a eû la hardiesse de jeter des billets pour luy faire scavoir qu'il eust bien mieux valu distribuer l'argent qu'il en coûte aux pauvres, qui sont à la faim, que de faire une dépense aussy inutile. Le desespoir du menu peuple le rend hardy. Et mesme on trouve étrange qu'on ne laisse aucunes troupes pour le contenir. On travaille à fixer le prix du pain, et à distribuer des bledz dans les provinces qui en manquent, comme la Normandie, où la misere est extrême, et où l'on a appréhendé le pillage. Les impôts sur le menu peuple font beaucoup crier. On croyoit qu'on supprimeroit la taxe des chambres garnies, contre laquelle Monsieur de la Reinie nostre juge de police a fort parlé, mais inutilement, car on m'a dit qu'on a déjà fait un rolle pour Paris. On craint beaucoup d'autres impôts par la nécessité de l'argent, qui s'est trouvé fort court cette fois-cy, les officiers mesmes n'étant pas payez.

‘Les pierreries de Monsieur courent les rues pour avoir de l’argent. Il doit partir le 28 de ce mois, pour aller à Vitré en Bretagne, au lieu de Laval, parce qu’il y a là un chateau à Monsieur de La Trimouille, où il sera logé commodément.

‘Monsieur de Tourville fait mettre les vaisseaux de Brest à la rade. Il y en a 51. On en attend 15 de Rochefort, qui ne sont pas encore arrivés, et 4 ou 5 de Port Louis et de Dunkerque. Il en est sorti un du Havre, qui, ayant été poursuivi par les ennemis, a été obligé de s’échouer volontairement.

‘Les 18 vaisseaux de la Méditerranée, qui étoient sortis de Toulon le 28 du passé, ne sont partis pour passer le Détroit que le 4^e. de ce mois. Les vents contraires sont cause qu’on n’en a point encore de nouvelles. On espère que, lors que tout sera joint, on sera en état de tenir teste aux ennemis. Parmy ce nombre de vaisseaux il y en a plusieurs qu’on a achetés de Danemarc et de Suede, qui ne sont pas de la force ny si estimez que les nostres qui se fabriquent dans nos ports. On ne compte que 18 vaisseaux de Toulon, quoy que l’estat soit de 22, y en ayant un à Maroc et les 3 autres pour tenir la mer; nous avons pourtant compté sur 20.

‘Suivant les dernières lettres de Marseille, Monsieur le Bailly de Noailles marquoit qu’il mettoit à la voile le 10 de ce mois avec 35 galères. Il mande qu’il écrira icy ce qui réussira de sa course, sans dire où. On veut à Paris qu’on ait dessein sur Roses, parce que l’armée y est plus forte que les années précédentes, étant de 20,000 hommes; mais cela n’est pas certain.

‘On a seû par hazard une chose de conséquence. Un moine Récollect de Versailles dit à une personne de la cour que le Roy avait fait faire 4 petits bastiments, qui vont sous l’eau, qui coûtent plus de 50,000 écus. Le courtisan en ayant parlé à Monsieur de Pontchartrain, il detourna le discours et s’en moqua. Cependant l’ayant rapporté au Roy, on a fait arrêter le Récollect, pour savoir d’où il tenoit ce qu’il avoit dit. Quoy que je ne veuille pas affirmer la chose comme absolument vraie, néanmoins ayant connoissance moy mesme d’un de mes amis, qui a été auteur d’une pareille machine, dont j’ay veû le modèle, il y a réflexion à faire. Cet homme m’avoit employé pour en faire la proposition à Monsieur le Marquis de Seignelay, qui vid le modèle; mais il ne donna pas là dedans, quoy que l’auteur prétendist lever toutes les difficultez. Ainsy on pourroit bien depuis y avoir secrettement travaillé. C’est un petit bastiment fait comme un poisson, dont la queue sert de gouvernail. On peut mettre 5 ou 6 hommes dedans. Cela nage entre deux eaux, et peut aussy aller sous les vaisseaux qu’il est aisé de percer par dessous; et quand on veut, on remonte sur la superficie de l’eau; mais je croy cela plus facile dans un port qu’en pleine mer. Toutefois il prétendoit, pourveu que les vaisseaux fussent à l’ancre, qu’il pouvoit se servir de sa machine. Comme depuis la mort de Monsieur le Marquis de Seignelay je n’ay point veû cet

homme, je n'en puis rien dire de plus particulier. Il prétendoit que cette découverte devoit contribuer à sa fortune, et étoit fâché de ce qu'on n'y avoit pas fait assez d'attention.

'Le Duc de Savoye est toujours incommodé. On espère qu'il se détachera de la Ligue, dont le terme à son égard expire le mois prochain. On dit qu'il fait plusieurs demandes si difficiles à luy accorder, qu'il ait occasion par le refus de se retirer. 1. Il demande qu'on le dédommage de tout ce qu'il a perdu, ou qu'il pourroit perdre dans la suite. 2. Qu'on luy adjuge la partie du Montferrat qu'on a accordée à son préjudice au Duc de Mantoue. 3. Qu'on luy paye la dot de sa trisayeule, dont il fait monter le principal et intérêts à 10 millions. Il ne veut point consentir au siège de Casal, où l'on a laissé entrer toutes les munitions dont on avoit besoin. Cela et les troupes retirées font juger un accommodement. Le Marquis de Léganez a esté luy porter quelque argent; mais il a remis au retour du courrier qu'il avoit envoyé à l'Empereur.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 15 May.*

E101. 1693, May 15/25. Paris. 'Par l'état général que nous avons des armées, suivant les projets, on compte: En Allemagne 45 bataillons, qui font 31,500 hommes, et 152 escadrons, qui font 24,320 hommes. C'est en tout 55,820.

'Sous Tournay 52 bataillons, qui font 26,400 [*recte* 36,400] hommes, et 117 escadrons, qui font 18,700 [*recte* 18,720] hommes. En tout 55,120 [*sic*].

'La 3e. armée sous Mons, 78 bataillons, qui font 54,600 hommes, et 161 escadrons qui font 25,760 hommes. En tout 80,360.

'La 4e. en laquelle il y a eû beaucoup de changements en Italie, 92 bataillons, qui font 64,400 hommes, et 36 escadrons, qui font 5,760. En tout 70,160 hommes.

'En Roussillon 22 bataillons faisant 15,400 hommes, et 40 escadrons faisant 6,400. En tout 21,800 hommes. Et le total de toutes les troupes monte à 283,260 hommes.

'On peut bien rabattre quelque chose là dessus. Les experts disent que nous entrons toujours en campagne beaucoup plus fortz que les ennemis, mais que nous en sortons bien plus foibles. Les changements qui ont esté faits dans l'armée d'Italie ont esté par les detachements faitz, soit pour l'Allemagne, ou pour le Piémont, pour remplacer les troupes qui ont esté envoyées, d'un costé et d'autre, comme dans les provinces, pour se défendre contre les desseins de la descente; mais en gros le nombre doit estre ainsy.

'Le Roy change sa route, ayant pris par le Quénoy, où l'on croit qu'il laissera les dames. Il tient la marche si secrette que les mareschaux des logis de sa

maison ne sont instruits que le matin du lieu où il doit coucher le soir. De sorte qu'on parle toujours avec incertitude du lieu où il doit tomber. On prétend néanmoins qu'on en sera éclaircy aujourd'huy à la cour. Si cela est, nous le saurons dans deux jours.

'Il y a des gens qui prétendent que l'Evesque de Munster est d'intelligence avec nous, et qu'il favorisera nos desseins.

'Le Roy ne laisse pas d'estre inquiet des menaces de la descente. En sorte qu'il a écrit à Monsieur pour le presser de partir. Ainsy il partira jeudy prochain, en relais de carrosses. Il passera pas Alençon, et doit estre dans quatre jours à Vitré. Il n'a point receû d'argent, mais le Roy luy destine cent mil livres par mois. Il a emprunté 100,000 écus. Ses pierreries ont courru les rues, pour en avoir. Mais à la fin il s'est trouvé des gens de bonne volonté qui luy en ont offert, et qu'il a fort bien pris.

'Par la verification que nous avons faite des vaisseaux en rade de Brest, aprésent joints, nous nen trouvons que 67.

'On ne croit pas que Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées vienne en Ponant, du moins si tost. Le 15 il n'étoit pas encore party. Il avoit mis à la voile, mais les vents contraires et un grand temps le firent relascher. Il y eust mesme 2 de ses plus grands vaisseaux qui coururent risque, s'estant heurtez, mais en long, en sorte qu'il n'y a eû que peu de mal, qui sera bien tost réparé.

'Les galères ne sont pas non plus encore bien avancées; cependant on tient pour certain le siège de Roses, dont on espère que les Espagnolz seront plus effrayez que de tout ce qui se passe en Flandres.

'Un vaisseau du Roy, nommé le *Pélican*, sortant de Bayonne, a touché. Il est de 52 pieces de canon, mais on dit qu'il n'est point endommagé. En récompense nostre Gazette assure que le *Chateau de Vinzor* [*Windsor Castle*], vaisseau anglois, monté de 660 hommes, a échoué, et que les débris en sont venus jusqu'à Boulogne.

'2 corsaires zélandois on[t] pris en Méditerranée 2 vaisseaux venans d'Alep, riches de 4 à 500,000 livres, dont les Marseillois sont fort allarmez, et craignent fort pour un autre vaisseau, qui apporte en marchandises plus de 400,000 livres. Nous avons perdu aussy 4 bastiments sortis de St. Malo. On commence à dire que cette ville qu'on croyoit fort riche, acause de la quantité de prises que les corsaires de là ont faites, ne l'est pas tant qu'on pensoit, et qu'au contraire elle se trouve incommodée des dépenses et des pertes, tant il est vray que ces sortes de profitz s'en vont ordinairement en fumée.

'On ne doute point icy du siège de Heidelberg [*sic*], Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorges ayant fait passer le Rhein à ses troupes le 18 de ce mois. Le bruit a couru icy que les Alemands en avoyent osté tous les magazins, et qu'ils avoyent évacué la place, n'y ayant laissé que 2 méchans régiments, avec ordre

de se retirer, si nous nous en approchions, et de l'abandonner. Cela ne se confirme pas.

'On parle icy de la paix de Pologne avec le Turc comme d'une chose assurée. On dit que l'Empereur a fait un dernier effort pour l'engager à la continuation de la guerre, en luy envoyant de l'argent; mais on ne croit pas qu'on le fasse changer d'avis.

'Le bruit court toujours de la déposition du Grand Vizir, et que le Grand Seigneur a juré qu'il tueroit de sa main le premier qui luy parleroit de la paix, le Muphti le portant toujours à la guerre. Enfin on prétend pousser si loin les affaires en Allemagne que cela encourage encore la Porte à continuer de faire de grands efforts. Et l'on compte sur cette campagne, comme devant décider, et obliger les ennemis à demander la paix.

'Les affaires de Savoye tiennent les esprits en suspens. Mais ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'on retire de part et d'autre du Piémont les troupes. Madame la Duchesse a mandé à Monsieur que le Duc son epoux n'avoit jamais été si mal qu'on l'avoit dit en France.

'Monsieur le Cardinal d'Etrées revient de Rome, et l'on dit qu'il se défait de tous ses equipages. Nos affaires ny sont point encore accommodées, on espère qu'elles le seront bien tost.

'Le Roy n'a point fait ses devotions par les chemins, comme on s'y attendoit, aussy n'a t il point distribué les bénéfices vaquans. On n'en sait pas bien les raisons. Plusieurs croient qu'il y a là quelque chose de meslé, qui dépend de l'autorité du Pape.

'Deux ou trois beaux jours nous ont fait croire que le mauvais temps se lassoit de nous persecuter, mais depuis il pleut continuellement et nous retombons dans nos premières allarmes pour la recolte. Le ciel est irrité contre nous.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 22 May.*

E102. 1693, May [19/] 29. Paris. 'Monsieur partit hier matin à 6 heures en relais de carrosses. Il avoit esté incommodé le jour précédent et s'etoit fait seigner le mécredy. Il s'etoit morfondu à la procession de la Feste-Dieu la semaine passée, où il assista pendant la pluye pour plaire au peuple. Madame a fort pleuré de son départ, craignant qu'il ne s'en trouve mal. Il va passer par Alençon et doit arriver dimanche à Vitré.

'Quoy que la province de Bretagne souffre moins que la Normandie, les esprits y sont mal disposez, n'étant pas si accoutumés que les autres provinces aux surcharges. On est toujours en allarmes en ce pays-là, où le peuple crie toujours à la faim; et les plus mutins tiennent là dessus des propos hardis et fascheux. Un abbé de mes amis m'a assuré qu'un nouveau Catholique étant mort ces jours passez dans le Fauxbour St. Anthoine, un faux zélé de

commissaire voulut entreprendre de le faire traîner sur la claye, le peuple s'émut et s'assembla pour l'empescher, et fit courir risque au commissaire. Il falut l'enterrer honnorablement. Cela fait voir que l'animosité du peuple n'est plus contre la religion, mais contre les magistrats de la police, contre lesquels il se déchaisne horriblement.

'L'affaire de Lyon est apaisée; on a donné le fouet et la fleur de lys à quelques femmes, qui en suite ont esté banies. Mais pour contenter le peuple, on luy fait donner le pain à un sol la livre, la ville se chargeant de dédommager les boulangers.

'On croit déjà voir des vaisseaux ennemis sur les costes de Normandie. Cela fait crier. Nous avons aprésent 63 vaisseaux à la rade de Brest. On croit que ceux de la Meditterranée viendront, quoy qu'on parle toujours du siège de Roses, où nous n'avons pas avis que nos galères soyent encore arrivées.

'Le Roy est au Quesnoy, où il sejourne acause des equipages fort délabrez par les méchans chemins. On a écrit qu'il alloit à Mons; mais on n'a point encore de nouvelles qu'il y soit arrivé.

'La ville s'est assemblée pour donner quelque ordre à la subsistance des pauvres. Les officiers se taxent selon leur pouvoir, et ont fait un petit fonds. Monsieur l'archevesque se charge d'en nourrir 500 jusqu'à la récolte. Et les intendans des provinces espèrent donner si bon ordre par tout, qu'avant qu'il soit peu le blé, et par consequent le pain, diminuera d'un tiers. Ce qui est fort à souhaitter pour la seureté publique.

'Monsieur de Pontchartrain a esté en conférence avec Monsieur le Chancelier et Monsieur le Président des Monnoyes pour savoir si on tiendra le rabais des espèces ou non, y ayant des inconveniens par tout. L'assurance de la diminution n'a pas produit un grand effet, les bourses étant toujours serrées. On croyoit qu'on avoit supprimé l'edit concernant la taxe des chambres garnies, auberges, etc. Mais on le met à execution. Cela fait encore crier, car la plus part des hostes sont fort gueux, et les taxes grosses. Il y en a quantité qui débagagent la nuit leurs meubles, qui faisoyent tout leur richesse, et qui par conséquent congédient tout leur monde. On ne les presse pourtant pas, car on ne fait que leur envoyer des billets pour les avertir de venir payer leurs taxes; mais on craint la suite. Ils vouloyent s'assembler pour présenter des placetz à Monsieur, mais son départ l'a delivré de leurs importunitéz.

'Monsieur le Duc de Savoye se porteroit bien, dit on, s'il s'abstenoit du commerce des femmes, dont il ne se peut passer. On écrit de Grenoble qu'il a signé la Ligue encore pour 3 ans. La Provence craint, quoy qu'il y ait des troupes pour garder les passages.'

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 May.*

E103. 1693, [May 22/] June 1. Paris. 'Voicy l'ordre du mouillage de nostre flotte de Brest que nous n'avons pu avoir qu'aprèsent.

'Première ligne du costé du port de Brest, qui est composée de 20 vaisseaux, savoir (je n'ay pas le nom des capitaines):

	<i>hommes</i>	<i>canons</i>	
1. La Sireine	400	60	
2. Le Parfait	450	70	62*
3. L'Excellent	400	60	56
4. L'Agréable	400	62	58
5. Le St. Esprit	450	76	
6. Le Victorieux	600	100	
7. L'Ambitieux	650	96	
8. Le Glorieux	400	62	60
9. Le Conquérant	550	82	70
10. L'Admirable	800	106	
Soleil Royal			
11. Le Terrible	1000	108	
12. L'Orgueilleux	600	90	
13. Le Content	400	60	in Thoulon
14. L'Illustre	450	76	66
15. Le Pompeux	550	82	74
16. Le Juste	390	66	
17. Le Souverain	600	80	
18. Le Formidable	650	90	
19. L'Intrépide	600	90	82
20. Le Bizarre	450	70	

'Seconde ligne, de l'autre costé de Brest, composée de 21 vaisseaux, savoir:

	<i>hommes</i>	<i>canons</i>	
1. Le Courtisan	400	60	
2. Le Vermandois	400	60	58
3. L'Ecueil	450	70	
4. Le Florissant	450	82	80

*The corrections to the numbers of guns in the right-hand column were apparently made in Nottingham's office, but Legoux himself corrected the number of men in no. 11 from 900 to 1,000, and wrote 'Soleil Royal' over 'Terrible'. The copy at BL Add. MS. 21553, ff. 23-4, incorporates Legoux's corrections but not Nottingham's and ends at 'perdue de vue'. For other copies see *HMC 17: House of Lords MSS., N.S.I* (1900), pp. 101, 292-4, and no. E104 below.

5. Le Merveilleux	850	106	
6. Le Magnanime	600	90	
7. Le Henry	450	70	
8. Le Courrier	400	60	
9. L'Ardent	450	70	
10. Le Grand	600	90	80
11. Le Terrible	900	106	
12. Le Vainqueur	600	90	
13. Le Brillant	400	60	66
14. Le Prompt	400	60	
15. Le Capable	400	64	
16. Le Sanspareil	400	60	
17. L'Aimable	450	70	70 [<i>sic</i>]
18. Le Dauphin Royal	700	104	100
19. La Couronne	500	80	68*
20. Le Fort	450	70	
21. Le Magnifique	650	96	

‘Corps de réserve, composé de 27 vaisseaux, savoir:

	<i>hommes</i>	<i>canons</i>	
1. L'Entendu	390	66	
2. Le Neptune	300	50	
3. Le St. Jean d'Espagne	350	64	
4. Le Marquis	400	62	60
5. Le St. Michel	400	60	54
6. Le Précieux	400	60	56
7. Le Téméraire	400	60	52
8. Le Mignon	450	70	
9. Le Modéré	400	60	
10. Le Trident	300	50	
11. L'Heureux Retour	358	52	
12. Le Courageux	400	60	
13. Le Brave	400	60	
14. Le Diamant	400	60	
15. Le François	350	54	

* Unclear correction; it looks more like 58, but that seems unlikely.

16. Le Brusque	400	60	
17. La Marie Elizabet	300	50	
18. Le Vigilant	390	50	52
19. Le Maistre	400	60	
20. Le Vaillant	390	58	
21. Le Fortuné	400	60	
22. Le Fidèle	300	50	
23. Le Prince	400	60	
24. Le Castrigon	350	52	
25. L'Indien	400	60	
26. L'Envieux	400	62	
27. La Perle	400	62	

'Il y a encore dans le port le *St. Louis* et l'*Eole*. On attend Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées avec les siens, et 2 ou 3 autres. Voilà 68 vaisseaux, où il y a 30,118 hommes, et 4,876 canons. On a nouvelle depuis, que cette flotte a mis à la voile, et qu'on l'avoit perdue de vue. On tient pour assuré Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées devant Roses, assiégée par Monsieur de Noailles.

'Quoy que plusieurs nient le renouvellement de l'alliance avec le Duc de Savoye, les plus savans avouent pourtant qu'il a consenty encore pour quelque année, sans qu'on sache au vray combien. Il n'a tenu qu'à Pignerol, qu'il demandoit pour faire la paix avec nous; on ne luy a pas voulu accorder.

'Informez vous de ce que vaut le pain la livre à Londres. Car on dit icy qu'il y est fort cher.

'On s'étonne toujours icy comment les ennemis par l'expérience ne deviennent point sages, et qu'ils se laissent toujours prévenir. Pour contenter le peuple, on chante aujourd'hui *Te Deum*, pour la prise de Heidelberg. Monsieur de Pontchartrain est icy. On dit qu'on fait garde autour de sa maison; mais cela ne paroist pas.

'On prétend que le Caimacan, aprésent Grand Visir, est grand homme de guerre, et qu'il poussera fort les affaires, encouragé par les conquêtes que nous faisons en Allemagne.

'Le Roy a eû avis que Monsieur Du Fay, Gouverneur de Fribourg, est mort. Voilà 2 grands gouvernements à donner, Tournay vaquant par la mort de Monsieur de Maulevrier, et Fribourg.'

4pp. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 30 May.

E104. Another copy of the same letter, with insignificant verbal differences; without the corrections or the endorsement, but with the following postscript,

which is not in the hand of Legoux: 'Paris ce 5me. juin 1693. On soubçonne fort que nostre armée navale est allée à Cadis pour bombarder cette ville là et étonner l'Espagne des deux costez, c'est a dire sur l'ocean et sur la Mediterranée. Outre que cela facilitera a jonction de Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées, et que si les Anglois et Hollandois envoient leur flotte marchande, on sera en état de la prendre, quelque escorte quelle puisse avoir.'

4 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *French.*

E105. 1693, [May 22/] June 1. 'Autres nouvelles de Paris.' 'Le beau temps se confirme, et se fortifie. Nos espérances le suivent, et nous commençons à bien augurer de la récolte. Les bleds se raccommoient, c'est le principal. Cela encourage tout le monde à secourir les pauvres, qui souffroyent beaucoup. Chacun s'efforce et les assiste. La ville a fait un fonds pour faire travailler ceux qui sont en état de le faire aux ouvrages publics. On leur donne du pain, et un peu d'argent. On fait la guerre aux vagabons et aux fainéants, qui ne veulent point concourir à se tirer de la misère, et que l'oisiveté engage aux méchantes actions, ou du moins, qui sont à charge au public. Les parroisses font aussy leur devoir pour entretenir les misérables incapables de travail. Ce seroit une chose admirable si nous pouvions imiter le bel ordre qu'on observe aux lieux où vous estes; car je ne voy rien de plus consolant que déffacer les tristes images de la souffrance de tant de misérables. Mais cela est plus aisé dans les républiques que dans les etats monarchiques, où les réglemens ne sobservent pas avec la mesme exactitude.

'C'est Monsieur de la Loubère qui aura la place vacante de l'Académie. Il est attaché à la maison de Monsieur de Pontchartrain. Outre qu'il a assez de mérite, la faveur du ministre est un grand épaulement par tout. Monsieur Dubois est renvoyé à une autre occasion, si son âge luy permet d'attendre, car il a pres de 80 ans. Il a aquis assez de reputation d'ailleurs, et n'en sera guère moins estimable, quand il mourra sans la dignité ou sans le nom d'academicien. Cette compagnie fait plus de bruit de loin que de pres, au contraire des autres objetz qui grossissent à mesure qu'on s'en approche. Quand on l'examine à bout portant, on n'y trouve pas tout ce qu'on s' imagine. Ces messieurs là se chamaillent souvent entre eux sans respect pour la morale. Ils se pensèrent battre l'autre jour pour un mot que les uns rebuttoient et que les autres vouloyent faire passer. On dit assez familièrement, *J'ay percé la nuit au jeu*. Il y en a qui veulent substituer cette manière de parler à celle de *passer la nuit*. Sur cela quelques uns d'entre eux s'en mocquant, il y eut des gens de cour qui l'appuyoyent, et qui menaçèrent d'employer l'autorité du Roy. Si cela est, il faudra que, pour bien parler, le médecin demande desormais à son malade comment il a percé la nuit.

'Monsieur le Comte de Maulevrier est mort d'une difficulté d'urine. Il a eû

le chagrin et la douleur, avant que de mourir, de se faire tailler inutilement. Ce qui joint à celle d'avoir esté oublié par le Roy dans la nouvelle promotion de mareschaux de France, n'a pas peu contribué à sa mort. On publie un arrest du Conseil qui proroge le prix courant des espèces d'or et d'argent jusqu'à la fin de ce mois et une lettre du Roy à Monsieur l'Archevesque pour chanter le *Te Deum* acause de la prise de Heidelberg.

'Aventure fascheuse arrivée à un[e] jeune dame.

'Il y a icy une fort jolie dame qu'on appelle Madame de Villandry, fille de Monsieur Turgot de St. Clair, Maitres des Requetes, mariée avec un petit filz de feu Monsieur le Chancelier d'Aligre, jeune, gaye, spirituelle, et fort capable de donner de l'amour. Apeine avoit elle veû le monde qu'on l'a mariée. Véritablement elle se donnoit de petits airs un peu extraordinaires, et assez capables de donner de la jalousie. Aussy le mary en a pris plus que de raison, y ayant peut estre moins de réalitez que d'apparences. Quoy qu'il en soit, la division s'en est ensuivie; et il en est venu jusque là que d'accuser la jeune dame d'estre entachée du mal que les Napolitains appellent mal à propos francésé. Pour témoins contre elle on a fait paroistre, comme contre les meurtriers de Jules Cesar, ses chemises. Le père indigné, malgré tous les parens, a demandé une visite en justice. Les chirurgiens et les médecins l'ont faite. La confusion qu'elle a eue de comparoistre devant de telles gens en cet estat est plus à imaginer qu'à dépendre. On a condamné le mary comme un imposteur. Elle a esté justifiée. On a trouvé seulement que *floribus albis laborabat*. Cela sera peut estre cause qu'on défendra desormais les visites en justice, comme on a fait autrefois le *congrez* dans l'affaire du Marquis de Langeais qui en suscita l'occasion. Il estoit bien nécessaire que le public fust informé que cette jeune et aimable personne au teint de lys et de roses n'étoit pas tout a fait régulière sous le linge!

'Voicy quelques coupletz de chanson sur cette aventure sur l'air des Trioletz.

'Pauvre petite Villandry [corrected in error from Boislandry],
 Ne pleurez point vostre aventure,
 Grâce aux soins de vostre mary,
 Pauvre petite Villandry,
 Vostre honneur sera rétably.
 La faculté* vous en assure.
 Pauvre petite Villandry,
 Ne pleurez point vostre aventure.

'Selon Bessiére, et Passerat,
 Rien n'est plus net que vostre affaire;
 Elle étoit en fort bon estat,

*C'est ainsy qu'on nomme l'Ecole de Médecine.

Selon Bessière et Passerat.*

Vous avez chez un magistrat
De vos pièces fait inventaire,
Selon Bessière et Passerat.

'Avec un tel certificat
D'amans vous aurez affluence
Malgré vostre epoux, ce pied-plat,
Avec un tel certificat.
Est il bourgeois, Duc, ou Prélat,
Qui ne vous serve en assurance?
Avec un tel certificat
D'amans vous aurez affluence.'

4pp. *French.*

E106. 1693, [May 26/] June 5. Paris. 'On est dans l'attente des plus grandes et extraordinaires choses du monde. Mais tout se passe dans un si grand secret que personne ne sait rien, le Roy ne s'expliquant à qui que ce soit de ses desseins, et ne disant où il va que le matin lors qu'il part. Les dames sont à Maubeuge, d'où l'on croit qu'elles viendront à Philippeville, et peut estre reviendront icy. On est toujours dans la mesme pensée de Bruxelles, ou de Liège. D'autres disent qu'on ira à Mastrik tout droit, d'autres à Malines et à Louvain. Ce qu'on void de certain c'est que les ennemis ne nous peuvent tenir teste d'aucun costé.

'On dit icy que le Roy Guillaume est dans un fort grand embarras; qu'outre que nous avons 40 à 50,000 hommes plus que luy, il n'a point de corps d'armée ensemble, toutes ses troupes étant divisées en plusieurs corps, qui sont sous les places pour lesquelles on craint. Vous en devez savoir plus que nous là dessus. Mais en général on veut faire les derniers efforts cette campagne, pour finir une guerre trop à charge, et qu'on ne pourroit pas continuer. C'est pourquoy on fera des efforts extrêmes.

'On n'entend point parler en Alemagne du Prince de Bade. Le Mareschal de Lorge exhorte tous les princes d'Alemagne à la neutralité, et offre aus mécontents du neuvieme electorat toute sorte de recours. On espère que la dessus il y en aura qui pourront se servir de l'occasion. On nous assure que la terreur s'est répandue par tout ce pays-là; qu'on a miné le chasteau de Heidelberg, et qu'on y rase la ville. Tout se retire à Francfort.

'L'armée des Turcs est de 80,000 hommes, et les Tartares joints à Tékély en auront 30 à 40,000 avec quoy ils feront une irruption en Transylvanie. Enfin de tous costez on prétend que nous allons pousser à l'extrême.

*Deux fameux chirurgiens de Paris.

‘On connoist aprésent que c’est plustost les immenses provisions de bleds que le Roy a faittes pour les armées, que non pas le manque qu’il y en a eû, qui a pensé nous affamer.

‘Les pauvres qui se sont trouvez sur la routte du Roy, quelque soin qu’on eust pris de les écarter, l’ont étonné. Comme ils cryoyent apres la paix, le Roy a dit qu’il la desiroit autant qu’eux, et qu’il alloit travailler à la leur donner.

‘Monsieur Lapparat, ingénieur à Roses, mande qu’il y ouvrira la tranchée du 29 au 30. Ainsy on croit la chose avancée. D’un autre costé on soubçonne fort que nostre armee navale est allée à Cadis, pour bombarder cette ville-là et étonner l’Espagne des 2 cotez, c’est à dire sur l’ocean et sur la Méditerranée. Outre que cela facilitera la jonction de Monsieur le Comte d’Etrées, et que si les Anglois et Hollandois envoient leur flotte marchande, on sera en état de la prendre, quelque escorte qu’elle puisse avoir.

‘Il a paru quelques vaisseaux ennemis, qui ont fait peur à Dieppe, où il y a 5 à 600 hommes de l’arrièreban. On a fait voir une lettre de Normandie, qui porte qu’on a veû sur les bords de la mer quantité de débris de vaisseaux, qui font juger que les ennemis y en ont perdu; cependant on n’a point veû icy d’apparence de tourmente.

‘On publie icy qu’il est arrivé quelque desordre à Londres, sur le fait du bled qu’on vouloit embarquer, à quoy le peuple s’étant opposé, et la Reine ayant voulu faire emprisonner quelques uns des séditeux, le peuple a esté les tirer de prison. Mais on n’ajoute pas trop de foy à ce bruit.

‘Le Roy porte avec luy 6 millions en louis d’or, pour employer à des usages particuliers et inconnus. Il ne faut pas s’étonner de la rareté de l’argent.

‘Monsieur a esté reçeû à merveilles à Vitré, où l’on a tendu des tapisseries pour son entrée, et où le Parlement de Bretagne a député 2 Présidents à Mortier pour le complimenter. Il ne croit pas avoir grand occupation en ce pays-là, où l’on est pourtant assez mécontent.

‘On fait assigner icy tous les teneurs de chambres garnies, traitteurs, etc. Cela fait fort crier, mais on ne laisse pas d’aller son chemin. Les bons succez et les grandes espérances font qu’on parle haut. Je vous écriray plus au long quand on verra plus clair. Je croy qu’aprésent il est inutile de vous envoyer les ordres de bataille de nos armées, outre qu’elles changent de disposition suivant les projetz.

‘Nous voicy tout à fait dans le beau temps, le soleil se fait sentir. Nos craintes pour la récolte se dissipent, et le courage nous revient. Comme il faut peu de chose pour nous abbatre, il en faut peu aussy pour nous relever.’

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 3/13 June.*

E107. 1693, [May 29/] June 8. Paris. 'On compare nostre etat à celuy des gens qui se ruinent à gagner des procez; car nous prenons toujours des villes, nous battons nos ennemis; nous sommes toujours les plus fortz, mais nous nous minons, le dedans s'affoiblit, les entrailles se gangrennent; et chacun dit, que nous sert-il de faire des conquestes, si nous en devenons tous les jours plus misérables? Sur cette réflexion on a fait ces 4 vers.

À vaincre tant de fois nos forces s'affoiblissent,
Le Prince est triomphant; mais les peuples gémissent.
Ils crévent sous le poids de ses vastes projetz,
Et la gloire du Trosne accable les sujetz.

'Nous voicy au 8e. juin, et nous ne savons point encore le véritable dessein du Roy; parce qu'il ne s'en est point encore ouvert. On est surpris de cette lenteur, car il y a 10 ou 12 jours qu'on avoit assuré que le mystere seroit déclaré. Les courtisans se disent à l'oreille qu'il y a quelque coup manqué. Les gens de bon sens sont pourtant toujours d'avis que c'est à Liège qu'on en veut, parce que ce poste est important pour rompre la communication avec l'Alemagne et attaquer les Hollandois par Mastrik. Les dames sont à Dinan. L'armée de Monsieur de Luxembourg a passé au travers de celle du Roy, qui par les dernières nouvelles étoit vers Timeon. Madame la Princesse de Conty a écrit à Madame qu'elles s'ennuyent beaucoup, et qu'elles espéroient la revenir voir bien tost.

'65 vaisseaux, les autres disent davantage, qui ont paru sur les costes de Normandie, les ont fort allarmées. On assuroit hier qu'il y en avoit quantité à la vue de Dieppe, et que Monsieur le Marquis de Beuvron, Lieutenant de Roy, avoit envoyé querir à Rouen 1,200 hommes de milice. On ne craint pas moins pour la Bretagne, où les peuples ne sont pas trop bien intentionnez.

'Nostre armée navale, à ce qu'on croit, est allée au devant de Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées, qui doit passer le Détroit. On croit aussy toujours quelque dessein de bombarder Cadix.

'Pour ce qui est du siège de Rozes, gens qui doivent savoir les choses disent que c'est une nouvelle de Paris. Cependant on l'a creû certain, et les galères y doivent estre arrivées.

'On est surpris de ce que Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge a tant demeuré à Heidelberg qu'on démolit entièrement. Les généraux n'en ont pû empêcher le pillage, et les soldats s'y sont si fort ennyvrez par l'abondance du vin qu'ils y ont trouvé qu'on a eû mille peines à les rassembler. On démolit le chateau, et l'on croit qu'on en use avec rigueur extraordinaire acause de la réponse que l'Empereur a faite au Pape sur les semonces pour la paix – qu'il ne falloit point faire de paix qu'on n'eust détruit la nation françoise, ou du moins fort humiliée. Ce qui a mis le Roy dans une colére extrême.

'Il y a quelque temps qu'un de mes amis se promenant avec Monsieur de Pompone dans sa maison, où sont les portraits des Cardinaux de Richelieu,

de Mazarin, et de Retz, il luy dit: "Voyez-vous ces 3 grands hommes? S'ils étoient tous 3 au monde, et qu'ils voulussent entreprendre de négocier la paix, ils y seroyent fort empeschez, et toute leur politique n'en viendroit pas about."

'On croit que les affaires de Rome s'accommodent, parce que le Nonce est allé trouver le Roy, et que le Cardinal d'Etrées ne revient pas si tost qu'on disoit.

'Le Duc de Savoye se met à la teste de ses troupes. Il a encore envie de tenter quelque chose contre nous. On avoit envoyé 6 régiments de Piémont en Catalogne. On les a contremandez, et puis on les y fait retourner.

'Des astrologues ont dit icy, il y a 3 mois, que si le Roy partoît de bonne heure, il réussiroit dans son dessein. Ces mesmes gens ont dit que la France souffriroit beaucoup pendant cette année; cela se doit entendre par la misère publique, et la cherté des vivres, car pour les ennemis, ils ne sont pas en état de nous faire beaucoup de mal.

'L'affaire des chambres garnies, auberges, etc., s'exécute, et fait crier. Cela incommode beaucoup de gens.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 6 June.*

E108. 1693, June [2/] 12. Paris. 'On a esté fort surpris d'apprendre avant hier au soir, dans le temps où chacun se flattoit que nous allions voir les plus grands desseins éclorre, que le Roy revenoit. Suivant ces avis il est party mécredy pour aller coucher à Namur, où il a deû séjourner hier, et peut estre encore aujourd'hui. De là il va à Dinan, Philippeville, Mariembourg, Rocroy, Mezières, Rhétel et Reims, où il sera jeudy prochain, et d'où, par la route ordinaire, il se rendra à Versailles. Monsieur l'Archêveque de Rheims part demain pour l'aller recevoir dans sa maison episcopale.

'Monseigneur est party mécredy pour aller en Alemagne. Monsieur le Mareschal de Bouflers l'accompagne avec Monsieur Bellinghen, premier ecuyer, et Monsieur de St. Pouange. Il meîne avec luy 40 pièces de canon. Le Roy luy fait prendre le plus court chemin, c'est à dire qu'il va à Trèves, et à Philisbourg [*sic*], et pourra passer à Manheim. Il a pour officiers généraux 5 lieutenants généraux, savoir, Monsieur le Duc du Maine, Messieurs de Maurevert, de Berthillat, Tallart et Gassé, 4 mareschaux de camp, savoir Messieurs de Lanion, De la Mothe, Vandeuil et Mailly. On compte que sa marche sera de 28 jours, et qu'il aura 27 bataillons, savoir 3 du régiment de Champagne, du régiment Dauphin 3, du régiment de la Reine 3, du régiment du Maine 2, de Poitou 2, de Languedoc 2, de la Chastre 2, des fuzeliers 1, de Perigord 1, de la Couronne 2, de Charolois 1, de Cavois 1, de Linière 1, de Fontenay 1, de Bouflers 2. À l'égard de la cavallerie 56

escadrons, savoir, gardes du corps 300, mousquetaires 300, ce qui fait 4 escadrons. Gendarmerie 8 escadrons, savoir [*recte* et] Anjou 2, Du Maine 2, Courcelles 2, Bouflers 4, Ballivière 4, Courtebonne 4, Langallerie 4, Mélac 4, du Rozel 4, carabiniers 2, et dragons 12, savoir du Régiment Royal 4, du Régiment Dauphin 4, de Grammont 4. Ce qui fait en tout 56 escadrons. Et tout ce corps ensemble ensemble [*sic*] environ 30,000 hommes.

'Le Roy laisse avec Monsieur de Luxembourg 96 bataillons et 194 escadrons. Ce qui fait pres de 80,000 hommes. Ainsy voilà les armées changées. J'avois bien l'ordre de bataille des 2 armées de Flandre, mais aprésent cela est tout changé, et vous seroit inutile. Les desseins sont aussy bien changéz; car on ne parle plus de Bruxelles, ny de Liège, ce qui confirme qu'il y a quelque coup de manqué, et que les grands projetz se tournent tous du costé d'Alemagne pour y seconder les effortz de nostre bon amy le Turc. Au lieu des grandes espérances, les François, qui vont toujours d'une extremité à l'autre, croient que tout sen ira en fumée. Chacun plaint ses furieuses dépenses. On accompare cecy au dessein sur l'Angleterre et l'on blâme le voyage du Roy, avec tant de préparatifs, comme si on pouvoit pénétrer les motifs de cette manière.

'J'ay l'ordre de bataille de l'armée navale général, c'est à dire lors que Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées aura joint. Il est fort long et je n'ay pas de temps. En gros il y a 3 escadres.

'La premiere appelée la blanche composée de 32 vaisseaux de ligne.

'La 2e. blanche et bleue, composée de _____ 31

'La 3e. bleue aussy composée de _____ 31

'Qui font en tout _____ 94 vaisseaux,

où il y a 6,446 canons, et 40,960 hommes.

'28 frégates, ou corvettes, où il y a 300 canons et 1,210 hommes.

'4 galiottes à bombes, avec 144 hommes.

'3 brulotz, où il y a 300 canons et 1,175 hommes.

'3 hospitaux, avec 36 canons et 180 hommes.

'31 bastiments de charge, avec 372 canons, et 1,042 hommes.

'Le total général des bastiments est 190. Canons 7,454. Et 44,711 hommes, non compris les officiers majors.

'On ne sait pas au vray où est Monsieur de Tourville, mais on le croit sur les costes d'Espagne, pour favoriser la jonction de Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées, qui est occupé présentement à assiéger Roses par mer, et qu'il canonne, tandis que Monsieur de Noailles l'assiége par terre.

'Monsieur de Lapparat ingénieur mande que ce siège durera 15 jours. Plusieurs frondeurs prétendent qu'on aura de la peine à en venir à bout. Il y a 2,000 hommes dans la place.

'Les galères qui étoient parties le premier de ce mois ont esté arrestées par les

vents contraires, et obligées de rentrer dans le port de Marseille, où elles étoient encore le 3 et le 4 de ce mois.

‘Le bruit a couru qu’il y avoit eû une sédition à Madrit. Que le peuple avoit déchiré Monsieur de Lokovits ambassadeur de l’Empereur, et que celui du Roy Guillaume s’étoit sauvé, pour éviter la fureur du peuple. Nous n’ajoutons pas grande foy à cette nouvelle, parce que les lettres de Monsieur de Gramont n’en parlent point, et qu’il n’y a pas d’apparence. On disoit que cette emotion étoit venue sur la nouvelle du siège de Roses.

‘On avoit esté fort allarmé sur les costes de Normandie et l’on avoit déjà fait sortir de Dieppe toutes les femmes et les enfans. On y avoit fait venir des milices, avec l’arrièreban, mais on est un peu guery de la peur, les vaisseaux ennemis s’en étant retirez, et n’y paroissant plus.

‘On a révoqué le traitté du café, thé, et chocolat. On met sur le café une imposition de 10 solz par livre à l’entrée du royaume, outre ce qu’il payoit d’anciens droitz. Ainsy on ne le vendra plus que 40s. la livre, au lieu qu’il se vendoit 4 livres. On se remettra à en prendre, car cela faisoit de la peine de le discontinuer.’

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 13 June.*

E109. 1693, June [5/] 15. Paris. ‘L’etonnement aussy bien que les raisonnemens ne finissent point sur le retour du Roy. Le peuple en gronde; il n’est pas jusqu’à la Halle qui ne s’en formalise. Plusieurs ne le peuvent croire, et s’imaginent que c’est une fourberie. Cependant il est certain qu’il vient, et qu’il sera à Versailles le 25 ou le 26 et peuestre plustost. On fait courir des lettres que Liège a traité avec sa Majesté; que Monseigneur, en passant pour Alemagne, en doit aller prendre possession, d’une manière ou d’autre, c’est à dire par traité ou par siège. Àmoins que de cela nos affaires se décrédittent. Car on ne peut souffrir que nos grandes espérances s’en aillent en fumée. Le reste de l’armée du Roy, qui ne va pas avec Monseigneur, se joint à l’armée de Monsieur de Luxembourg, pour la fortifier d’autant. Plusieurs croient que quelque indisposition a obligé sa Majesté au retour. Il faut de bonnes raisons pour couvrir cette manoeuvre, apres les préparatifs immenses et la dépense effroyable qu’il en coûte; à moins qu’on ne satisfasse le public, les bourses se vont resserrer, et tout le monde est dans le dernier étonnement. Il y a une lettre de Monsieur de Barbezieux qu’on répand parmy le peuple, comme un manifeste, dont chacun se moque. Dans peu nous serons éclaircis de tout ce mystere.

‘Les dernières nouvelles d’Alemagne portent que Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge avoit obligé Monsieur le Prince de Bade à décamper en desordre, par le canon, qui luy a tué beaucoup de monde.

'Il y a des gens qui font courir le bruit que la paix est faite avec l'Espagne, et que Monsieur de Bavière se détache des aliez, que le Roy s'engage à luy assurer la succession d'Espagne, etc. Nous tenons tout cela pour contes en l'air, mais il faut contenter le peuple.

'Il a passé icy un courrier qui vient de Roses, et qui n'a voulu rien dire, parce qu'il faut que le Roy soit le premier averty. On assure qu'il apporte la prise de la ville le 9e. de ce mois, que le gouverneur y a été blessé, et que nos galères y étoient arrivées. Ce qui nous tire de la peine où l'on étoit pour elles, qui étant parties le 4 avoyent trouvé un temps fascheux au Golphe de Lyon, ce qui faisoit craindre que mal ne leur fust arrivé.

'Nostre armée navale est à l'entrée de la Manche, dans le temps qu'on le croyoit sur les costes d'Espagne.

'Il est certain qu'il y a eû quelque bruit à Madrit, causé en partie par le siège de Roses, et en partie par la frayeur que les costes ont eue des vaisseaux de Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées, mais il n'est pas vray qu'il y ait eû quelqu'un de massacré.

'Monsieur de Canaples a eû la commission du commandement des armes à Lyon, avec 12,000 écus d'appointements. On doute qu'il puisse y avoir la mesme autorité que le défunt archevesque.

'Le bruit vient de se répandre tout présentement que les Anglois ont fait une descente. Je n'en say pas encore bien la vérité, ny le détail, mais toujours nos costes sont fort allarmées.

'Les harangueurs de l'Académie, où l'on doit recevoir aujourd'hui Messieurs l'Abbé Bignon et de la Bruyère pour remplir 2 des 3 places vacantes, sont attrapez, car ils s'étoient préparés sur les grands projets du voyage du Roy; il faut qu'ils en retranchent la meilleure partie.

'On s'attend à voir Mayence investy au premier jour, et c'est de ce costé-là qu'on espère le plus. Le mécontentement de plusieurs princes, les forces du Turc et nos grandes armées font espérer que l'Empire sera déconcerté. Tout y est dans une grande terreur.

'Quoy qu'on fasse icy des raisonnemens sur la lenteur de Monsieur de Lorge, on tient qu'il avoit des ordres de ne pas aller plus viste. On a admiré les termes de la lettre du Roy à Monsieur l'Archevesque sur le *Te Deum* pour Heidelberg, parce qu'elle porte que sa Majesté avoit donné ordre à ce mareschal de s'emparer de cette place, comme s'il n'y avoit qu'à ordonner.

'On croit que le Duc de Savoye a dessein de faire quelque irruption en France. Je remetz au premier ordinaire à vous en dire davantage, estant pressé de finir.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 13 June.*

E110. 1693, June [9/] 19. Paris. 'La plus grande nouvelle du jour est le voyage de nostre flotte à Cadix, que nous avons préveu il y a long temps, et des lors qu'elle mit à la voile, ce qui aprésent se confirme tout à fait. Il est arrivé des barques qui l'ont trouvée à 100 lieues de Brest, tenant cette route, ainsy on ne doute pas qu'elle n'y soit arrivée. On assure qu'il y a dans ce port là quantité de vaisseaux marchands fort riches, et comme ils ne s'attendoient pas à cette visitte, on les y surprendra, aussy bien que la ville mesme, en danger d'estre insultée, ou du moins bombardée. On fera là la jonction des vaisseaux de Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées, qui ne trouvera apparemment aucun obstacle à son passage.

'Il y a des lettres des costes de Normandie qui marquent que le 13 il avoit paru à 2 lieues de la Hogue 50 ou 60 vaisseaux qu'on jugeoit estre la flotte ennemie, et que les brouillarts avoyent empesché de compter plusieurs autres vaisseaux, que le lendemain 14e. elle avoit disparu, que le 15e. on l'avoit encore veue, mais qu'elle n'avançoit pas, quoy qu'elle eust le vent bon, ce qui faisoit croire qu'il y avoit encore quelques vaisseaux dont ils attendoient la jonction, sans savoir de quel costé ils tourneroyent. Cela tient en cervelle, mais on ne croit pas qu'il se fasse de descente.

'On parle diversement de l'affaire de la Martinique. Le bruit court que les Anglois y ont esté repoussez, et qu'ils y ont perdu 800 hommes en 2 attaques. D'autres disent que les Anglois ont ruiné quantité d'habitations, et enlevé quantité de négres.

'Les mauvais chemins ont retardé le voyage du Roy. On dit qu'il arrivera demain à Rheims, et qu'il y séjournera dimanche. Il n'y a point de fin aux raisonnemens sur ce retour.

'On a fait courir le bruit de l'accommodement de Liège par une infinité de lettres, mais on n'y a point ajouté foy, parce que les nouvelles de cette importance là se publient avec plus de certitude et de rapidité.

'La marche de l'armée de Monseigneur est fort lente, acause des mauvais chemins. Tous les officiers mandent qu'ils perdent tous leurs equipages et leurs chevaux. On craint fort que cette armée ne se trouve fort débiffée quand elle arrivera.

'La confirmation de la prise de Roses, le 9e. de ce mois, est fort seure. Les galères y étoient arrivées le 6me. L'armée marche aprésent à Palamos, et de là à Gironne, c'est le grand chemin de Barcelonne.

'On nous assure que Monsieur de Luxembourg marche droit au Roy Guillaume, à dessein de luy livrer bataille, s'il est d'humeur à la vouloir; ce qu'on ne croit pas, parce que nous sommes supérieurs en troupes.

'On nous menace d'une irruption en Provence, comme celle de l'année dernière du Dauphiné. Pour cela on dit que le Duc de Savoye assemble son

armée. Celle de Monsieur Catinat est dispercée en divers corps, pour garder les passages.

'Il est certain que le Prince de Danemarc a demandé la liberté des galériens pour cause de religion, et qu'on la luy a refusée. Il a aussy demandé la liberté de Madame la Duchesse de la Force, qui luy a aussy esté refusée. On sait bien que les ministres ne sont pas à la Bastille, mais on ne sait pas précisément où ils sont. On croit qu'on les a dispersez en divers lieux, où personne ne les voit. On sait qu'on a transeféé diverses personnes dans des citadelles, où elles sont à la garde de Dieu. Les gouverneurs mesme n'en ont point la connoissance, qui est réservée à des gens qui sont commis pour leur garde. Qui que ce soit ne leur parle, ny ne les voit. On leur donne les aliments par un trou et on les fait entrer dans des latrines fermées, afin que personne n'en puisse avoir ny vent ny nouvelles. Il n'y a pas lieu d'espérer aucun changement en mieux. On se contente de laisser vivre les gens qui se tiennent chez eux sans donner prise sur leurs actions, moyennant quoy on n'exige rien d'eux.

'J'ay veû des passeports en original, signez du Duc de Bavière, pour commercer dans les etats du Roy d'Espagne, à condition qu'on n'approchera pas de demie-lieue les places de guerre. C'est une marque qu'on veut ouvrir le commerce, et faire la guerre honnestement. On donne icy des passeports pour faire entrer des marchandises étrangères, mais c'est à condition qu'on s'oblige d'en faire sortir de France pour la mesme valeur de celles qu'on y veut faire entrer.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 16 June.*

E111. 1693, June [12/] 22. Paris. 'Il arriva icy avanthier un courrier, valet de chambre de Monsieur de Tourville, à Monsieur de Pontchartrain, qui apporta la nouvelle qu'il avoit laissé, le premier de ce mois, nostre flotte au cap de la Roque, à 4 ou 5 lieues de l'embouchure du Tage, rivière de Lisbonne, et qu'elle alloit à Cadis; ce qui confirme tout à fait nostre première pensée. On espère y trouver un tres grand nombre de vaisseaux marchands. Ceux qui y sont devroyent s'estre mis en seureté, depuis le temps qu'on en parle.

'Le mesme courrier a rapporté des lettres de Monsieur de Noailles, et de Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées auquel Monsieur de Tourville a marqué le lieu de la jonction des 2 flottes, et où il l'attendroit. Comme il rapporte que Monsieur de Tourville n'a que 65 vaisseaux il faut qu'il y en ait 8 qui soyent allez ailleurs.

'Il ne sera pas impossible d'avoir quelque correspondance aux lieux où vous marquez. Je vous informeray de ce qui se pourra faire, et tascheray d'éclaircir ce qui vous fait de la peine touchant les différences qui se trouvent dans les

listes ou etats des vaisseaux. On m'a assuré qu'on en bastissoit encore 10 pour l'année qui vient.

'Le Roy sera vendredy à Versailles. Il a couché ces 2 dernières nuits à Rheims. On est toujours aussy en peine, et dans les mesmes raisonnemens sur son retour. Il y a des gens mystérieux qui disent que dans 3 mois on ne sera pas fasché de ce retour, prétendant insinuer qu'il y a là dedans quelque négociation secrette et avantageuse.

'On a esté surpris de voir dans la Gazette de France de samedy dernier une déclaration imprimée du Roy Jaques, et il y a des fous qui prétendent qu'il sera bien tost rétably, et que dans 2 ou 3 mois on fera une descente en Angleterre. On ne se paye pas de ces illusions-là, non plus que des bruits fondez partie sur des raisonnemens et partie sur des lettres reçues, tant de Flandres que des officiers qui sont de l'armée de Monseigneur, qui marquent qu'on est toujours incertain si on ne va point à Liège au lieu de l'Alemagne, diverses lettres mesme ayant marqué la négociation avec des députez de cette ville là, comme une chose seure. Il est plus vraysemblable qu'il n'y a point d'autre motif de l'armée qui passe en Alemagne que le grand dessein d'affermir le Turc dans celui de continuer la guerre, et de satisfaire aux engagements où l'on est avec luy de faire effort en ce pays là. Car on craint toujours que les Alemands ne fassent la paix avec le Turc. On en parle mesme sourdement et ce sont des gens qui savent ce qui se passe, et de fort bon sens.

'On a eû icy la nouvelle que Jéna a esté pris, et que les Alemands marchent à Giula. Si l'affaire des Moscovites est véritable, et qu'elle empesche la jonction des Tartares, on regarde cela comme une production des grandes intelligences que le Roy Guillaume entretient par tout. Ses plus grands ennemis ne peuvent s'empescher d'admirer son vaste génie, et les grands ressorts qu'il fait agir. Il y a icy des lettres qui marquent que Monsieur Hemskerk mande qu'il traite de la paix, et qu'il croit la faire. C'est pourquoy on veut se précautionner de bonne heure contre un si grand et si fascheux événement.

'Monsieur de Chanlay, qui étoit avec le Roy, vend son equipage et vient faire un tour icy, pour s'en aller incontinant apres en poste en Alemagne, joindre Monseigneur.

'Le Mareschal de Lorge et le Mareschal de Choiseul ne s'accordent pas, leurs avis sont différens. Les troupes ont plus de créance au dernier qu'au premier, et l'on croit que cela est cause que les choses ne se poussent pas avec vigueur.

'Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge plus ancien, et par conséquent plus le maistre, ne veut pas suivre les sentiments de l'autre. Monsieur de Chanlay sera le médiateur entre les deux, et aura les ordres du Roy; outre que Monseigneur réglera toutes choses entre eux par le conseil de Chanlay.

‘On a esté indigné du peu de progrez qui a esté fait depuis la prise de Heidelberg. Par les dernières lettres nostre armée étoit à Forsheim. On trouve que le Prince de Bade se gouverne fort bien avec le peu de troupes qu’il a. On le tient aprésent fortifié de celles de Saxe. Mais quand Monseigneur aura joint, il sera deux fois plus fort. On commence à croire qu’il en veut à Coblens.

‘On nous menace toujours du costé de Savoye d’une invasion en Provence.

‘Pour ce qui est de la mer, on se rassure, et on ne void point d’apparence de descente. La flotte ennemie n’a fait que se montrer sans hazarder aucune tentative.

‘On croit que Monsieur reviendra bientôt fort satisfait des grands honneurs qu’on luy a faitz en Bretagne.’

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 20 June.*

E112. 1693, June [16/] 26. Paris. ‘Le Roy doit arriver aujourd’huy ou demain au plus tard à Versailles. Les incrédules ne la veulent pas croire jusqu’à ce qu’on le voye, tant on a esté étonné de ce prompt retour, sans rien faire des grandes choses ausquelles on s’attendoit.

‘Il y a quelques jours qu’une troupe de gens couroyent dans les rues le soir avec des tambours, les uns battant à la françoise et les autres à la suisse, et ils se demandoient, “D’où venez-vous?” Les autres répondoient, “De Flandre, il n’y a rien à faire”, et quelques coquins suivoient, disants, “Il a pris un rat.” Aprésent on se retranche sur ce qu’on dit, que le Roy a quelque traitté en poche, qui ne paroistra de quelque temps. Des gens qui croient savoir plus que les autres disent qu’effectivement le Roy est malade; qu’il a des glandes à la gorge procédantes d’une humeur froide, ce qui ne vaudroit rien; et mesme que Monsieur Daquin, son premier médecin, est venu à l’avance pour assembler les plus habiles du métier et faire des consultations. Mais les gens des plus haut huppez de la cour, qui sont arrivez, et à qui on a demandé des nouvelles en confidence, assurent que sa Majesté se porte tres bien, et qu’il paroist gay. Pour ce qui est des apparences, le Roy en est fort le maistre, et paroist ce qu’il veut paroistre.

‘On assure que le véritable dessein étoit sur Liége; que le Roy l’avoit concerté avec Monsieur de Chanlay; mais que lorsqu’il a falu en venir à l’exécution, les généraux n’ont point esté de cet avis. Aussy Monsieur de Chanlay a paru fort déconcerté pendant quelque temps.

‘Monseigneur étoit le 17 au camp d’Onfalite, pres de St. Hubert, marchant dans les Ardennes, son armée divisée en 4 corps, qui font 4 marches différentes quoy que toujours voisines, et à portée l’une de l’autre. L’artillerie, les gros bagages, et les caissons sous Monsieur de Lagnon. Monsieur de

Bertailat conduit la droite de la cavallerie, avec partie de l'infanterie, Monsieur de Maurevert la gauche avec partie de l'infanterie. Monseigneur marche dans le milieu avec 300 mousquetaires, les gardes du corps, la gendarmerie, un régiment de cavallerie, un de dragons, et 2 d'infanterie. On craint bien que cette armée ne se trouve déperie et diminuée d'une si longue et si pénible marche. Il a fait depuis quelque séjour dans ce camp.

'Les lettres de Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge, c'est à dire de toute son armée, disent hautement qu'on va assiéger Mayence, et qu'encore que Monsieur le Prince de Bade ait esté joint par les Saxons, il n'oseroit regarder nostre armée. Que sera ce, quand Monseigneur sera joint. On dit que ce Prince de Bade est toujours posté à Heilbron. On croit que Monseigneur laissera sa grosse artillerie pour aller plus viste. Mais l'on ne fait pas état qu'il puisse estre plustost que le 18 ou 20 au Rhein.

'Les lettres du courrier extraordinaire d'avanthier assurent la jonction de Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées à Monsieur de Tourville. Mais on n'en a point encore de Cadix pour savoir ce qu'on y a fait.

'La flotte ennemie se promène dans la Manche, et ne fait rien, quoy que l'éloignement de la nostre luy donne beau jeu. Mais on est persuadé qu'il n'y a point eû de véritable dessein de descente. On prétend mesme que Monsieur reviendra au premier jour, n'y ayant plus rien à craindre le long de la coste.

'On trouve le Roy Guillaume bien campé en grand capitaine, et l'on commence à croire qu'il ne se fera rien en Flandre, et que tout sera en Allemagne.

'Le Duc de Savoye ne veut point se mettre en campagne que la moisson ne soit faite, c'est à dire vers le 15e. juillet. Il fait mine d'en vouloir à Casal; mais on croit que le vray est à Suze.

'Les Anglois qui sont à la suite du Roy Jaques disent hautement qu'il remontera sur le trosne avant le mois d'octobre et que tous les seigneurs sont pour luy en Angleterre. Monsieur de Pontchartr[a]in a envoyé dans tous les portz de cette mer prendre un estat de tous les vaisseaux de charge, on ne sait à quel dessein.

'On nous menace toujours de nouveaux editz, et qu'à la fin de l'année on prendra toute la vaisselle d'argent des particuliers, à qui on donnera des rentes en payement. Le menu peuple gronde d'entendre tous les jours crier par les rues de nouveaux arretz et déclarations. On en a fait une depuis peu sur tous les brasseurs de bierre de Flandre qu'on taxe. Le traitté est de 4,500,000 livres. On parle aussy du toisé des maisons, qui sera une furieuse affaire. Nous ne sommes pas au bout de nos maux.

'Les galères s'en sont retournées à Marseille. On ne croit pas qu'on pousse plus loin en Catalogne, outre qu'on a diminué l'armée par le détachement

pour la Provence. On est icy en peine de ce qu'est devenue de Pile, en vos quartiers appellé Roberti. On a fait icy une peinture de 2 hommes déguisez en moines récolez, qu'on dit avoir esté ouys par une femme dans la forest de St. Germain parlans de quelque conspiration contre la vie du Roy Jaques et du Prince de Galles; qu'on les a cherchez sans savoir ce qu'ils sont devenus, et que le gardien de leur couvent a dit avoir passé chez eux, et qu'il a connu qu'ils étoient étrangers, soubçonnant mesme à leur maniere de vivre qu'ils étoient déguisez; mais que n'ayant fait que passer, il n'avoit pas jugé qu'ils eussent aucun dessein. Quoy qu'on débite cela comme vray, je n'y ajoûte point de foy.

'Madame la Princesse de Conti la jeune a eû quelque démeslé au jeu avec Madame de Courtanvaux. La princesse la traitée *da poco*. Monsieur le Prince de Conti a exigé d'elle qu'elle la souffrist. Ainsy l'autre est allée chez elle, qui luy dit fièrement qu'elle vouloit bien luy pardonner pour cette fois, mais qu'elle prist garde de n'y pas retourner, parce qu'elle l'en feroit repentir.'

3 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French. Endorsed as received 24 June.*

E113. 1693, June [19/] 29. Paris. 'La nouvelle de la jonction des flottes de Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées et de Monsieur de Tourville s'est trouvée fausse, quoy que débitée par la Mareschalle d'Etrées. Il arriva vendredy un courrier qui apporta des lettres de Monsieur de Tourville, par lesquelles on apprend que l'armée navale étoit à Laguos, sur les costes de Portugal, où elle avoit relasché, àcause d'un coup de vent qui avoit maltraitté quelques vaisseaux. Monsieur de Tourville envoya demander au gouverneur de cette place des rafraichissemens, feignant que c'étoit la flotte angloise et hollandoise, ayant mis à cet effect pavillon anglois pour voir les intentions des Portugais. Pour cet effet, il envoya le filz de Benêche principal ecrivain sur son bord, qui parle anglois. Le Gouverneur le reçut bien, et envoya une chaloupe pour rendre visitte au commandant. Monsieur de Tourville parla espagnol, et fit imposer silence à tous ceux qui étoient sur son bord. Les Portugais reconnurent les fleurs de luy sur les canons. On dit là dessus que c'étoient des canons pris sur les François au combat de l'année passée, et que d'ailleurs on mettoit des fleurs de lys sur les canons parce que le Roy d'Angleterre se disoit Roy de France. Ce fut une petite comédie. Monsieur de Tourville renvoya d'autres députez, pour avouer que c'étoit la flotte françoise. Le Gouverneur répondit que le Portugal étant neutre, tout le monde étoit bien venu, et luy offrit tous rafraichissemens. On achetta quelques beufs, dont on avoit besoin.

'Monsieur de Tourville a posté de 2 lieues en 2 lieues des vaisseaux qui tiennent 12 ou 15 lieues de mer, pour découvrir tout ce qui passe. Le Chevalier de Villars a poursuivy un vaisseau anglois, qui avoit pris une

barque de Marseille richement chargée. Il reprit la barque, et poursuivit le vaisseau, qui se jeta dans une baye de cette coste de Portugal, et ayant envoyé à Monsieur de Tourville pour savoir s'il le brusleroit, Monsieur de Tourville luy manda de se contenter de le garder à vue, pour ne pas choquer les Portugais. Mais au départ on croit qu'on le bruslera ou qu'on le prendra. Monsieur de Tourville a envoyé au Comte d'Etrées luy dire qu'il l'attendroit où il étoit jusqu'au 20, et que s'il n'arrivoit pas ce jour là, il s'avanceroit plus pres du Détroit, pour faciliter sa jonction. Le Comte d'Etrées n'est party que du 16 au 17. Le mesme jour on a mis sur les galères 5,000 hommes de pied et 1,000 dragons, pour les porter en Provence. Ainsy on ne croit pas qu'on fasse plus rien en Catalogne.

'Outre les 65 vaisseaux de Monsieur de Tourville, les 5 dont nous ne savions pas des nouvelles l'ont joint depuis; de sorte que il a 73 vaisseaux. Des qu'il est party de Brest, qui étoit le 26 du passé, je vous ay mandé qu'il alloit à Cadis. On ne parle pas encore qu'on ait dessein d'insulter ny de bombarder cette place. On croit assez faire d'empescher la flotte marchande de passer, et de favoriser la jonction de nos 2 flottes.

'On assure que toute la flotte ennemie en corps escorte les vaisseaux marchands, et qu'elle est partie le 11 ou le 12e. Si cela est, il y aura combat, et pourveu que la jonction soit faite, on ne doute pas que nous ne battions les ennemis. C'est là la plus grande affaire du jour. Car on dit que cela ruinera le commerce des Anglois et Hollandois, dont on dit que partie de la flotte va à Bilbao, qui courra moins de risque, partie à Cadis, où il faut qu'elle arrive à un certain temps, et le reste dans la Méditerranée pour Smirne. Ces 2 là seront fort exposées.

'Il y a des gens qui croient que le seul dessein est, apres la jonction, de revenir à Brest charger sur des bastiments des troupes pour faire une descente en Angleterre, que le party du Roy Jaques se fortifie fort, et que les seigneurs en sont. Mais les gens de bon sens s'en moquent, comme d'une nouvelle apocryphe.

'Si la flotte ennemie a profité du bon vent, elle doit estre bien avant. Monsieur de Tourville, party le 26, étoit le 29 au Cap de Finister, et le 2e. de juin au Cap de St. Vincent. On attend avec impatience des nouvelles de ce qui se passera, parce que ce seroit un coup de massue aux Anglois et Hollandois s'ils perdoyent leurs vaisseaux marchands. On se flatte que sur la flotte angloise il y a quelques vaisseaux qui tourneront de nostre costé en faveur du Roy Jaques.

'Nous avons seu de gens qui étoient aupres du Roy, le jour qu'il annonça la premiere fois le dessein du retour en France, que toute la cour, depuis Monseigneur jusqu'au moindre officier, estoit dans une consternation étrange et dans un morne silence. Le Roy affecta tout le jour d'estre plus gay qu'à

l'ordinaire. Depuis son arrivée on n'est pas revenu de l'étonnement. Il paroist se bien porter, et Versailles n'est plein que de gens de robbe et d'ecclesiastiques.

'On n'espère pas de faire grande chose en Flandre. On ne songe qu'à l'Alemagne, où l'on continue de parler du siège de Mayence. Monseigneur a deu passer hier la Mozelle, entre Trèves et Montroyal. On nous assure que la peine de mort du Gouverneur de Heidelberg a esté commuée au point coupépé et au bannissement perpetuel. On ne pardonneroit pas icy une telle faute.

'Je remetz encore à répondre sur ce qu'on demande touchant les portz, où je trouve beaucoup de difficulté, la matière étant fort délicate. On ne sait à qui se fier en ce temps-cy.'

3½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 June.*

E114. 1693, [June 26/] July 6. 'Seconde coppie.' Paris. 'On est icy dans une grande stérilité de nouvelles. Il y a 2 jours que le Roy, mettant sa cravatte devant le miroir, dit, je voy bien que messieurs les courtisans attendent que je leur dire des nouvelles; mais je n'en say point, et ils me feroient grand plaisir de m'en apprendre.

'La grosse affaire est toujours la flotte; car on prétend que les ennemis sont fort attrapez de la manoeuvre que nous avons faite en allant vers le Détroit. Vos marchands ont esté mal informez de s'estre mis en mer, sans avoir toute leur armée navale pour les escorter. On vous a pourtant donné avis des le commencement de juin que nostre armée navale alloit à Cadix. On est encore incertain si vostre flotte marchande, escortée seulement de 28 vaisseaux de guerre, a pris cette routte. Un vaisseau françois, qui avoit arboré pavillon Anglois, ayant esté pris au Cap St. Vincent, et reconnu pour françois, a donné la nouvelle que dans peu la flotte angloise et hollandoise passeroit. Si cela, elle sera toute prise, et on compte celà pour une perte à l'Angleterre et à la Hollande irréparable. On en attend à toute heure des nouvelles. Il arriva hier un courrier, qui apporta, à ce qu'on dit, la nouvelle de la jonction de Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées; sur quoy il y eut un fort grand conseil de marine.

'C'est sur l'avis de Monsieur de Vauvray, Intendant de Marine à Toulon, que le dessein d'aller à Cadix a esté formé. On le regarde comme fort avantageux en toutes manières, car quand on ne prendroit pas toute cette flotte marchande, au moins on empeschera son commerce cette année, ce qui sera d'un grand préjudice, non seulement acause de *lucrum cessans* mais aussy acause des dépenses excessives faites pour cette flotte, qui attend depuis long temps dans les ports. On fait monter cet intérêt à 60 milions, ce qui causeroit un grand desordre en Angleterre et en Hollande où l'on n'est pas accoutumé à de si grosses pertes.

‘Il n’est pas vray que les galères s’en soyent retournées chargées de troupes. On croit qu’elles sont à Palamos qu’on dit assiégé. Monsieur le Comte d’Etrées a laissé 5 ou 6 vaisseaux dans la Méditerranée.

‘Le Duc de Savoye se porte bien. Il est campé à Buriasque et a 30,000 hommes. La prise de la vallée de Barcelonnette, où il y a eû du monde tué de part et d’autre, met fort à couvert l’entrée dans la Provence ou le Dauphiné. C’est une expédition de Monsieur de Larrey, dans laquelle Julien, à qui l’on avoit donné le commandement d’une attaque en la place de Monsieur Dusson malade, a fort contribué à cette prise, par la connoissance particulière qu’il avoit du pays. On s’étonne comment on a mécontenté cet homme là, qui est homme de service; car sans cela il n’auroit jamais quitté celui du Roy Guillaume, auquel il n’auroit pas esté inutile, et tout cela faute de quelque avancement qu’il demandoit. Quoy qu’on ne ménage pas trop en ce pays-cy les officiers, acause de l’abondance qu’il y en a, on ne laisse pas de profiter des occasions, et de bien récompenser les gens utiles. Il s’est plaint que Monsieur de Schomberg l’avoit rebutté.

‘Tous les officiers qui marchent avec Monseigneur se plaignent fort de leur route, dans laquelle ils perdent tous leurs equipages, et mesme beaucoup de leurs troupes. Il y a des régiments entierement fondus; en sorte que, lorsque cette armée arrivera, elle sera extremement diminuée. Cela a excité une grande rumeur contre Monsieur de Chanlay, parce que le pays par où ils passent est le plus dangereux du monde, et le plus mauvais, ne trouvant rien de quoy subsister, ce qui est cause que les soldats pillent en ruinent tout, sans qu’on y puisse mettre ordre. On croit qu’ils arriveront sur le Rhein vers le 15 de ce mois. Ils parlent toujours du siège de Mayence.

‘On prétend faire déclarer plusieurs princes mécontents, et que le Roy de Danemarc fera une puissante diversion, qui occupera le Duc d’Hannover. On dit qu’il a 30,000 hommes. La question est de savoir si le Roy de Suede le laissera faire.

‘On a appris que le 30 du passé les ennemis ont fait une irruption sur nos lignes, et qu’ils ont forcé quelques redoutes.

‘Ceux qui examinent le Roy de pres disent que, quoy qu’il soit maistre de son air, et des apparences, ils le trouvent triste; cependant en public il donne des festes, et ne paroist rien moins que cela. Quelques esprits malins ont fait les 4 vers que voicy.

Si Louis étoit aussy Grand
 Qu’on le dit, et qu’il le croit estre,
 La Maintenon tiendrait Boucan.*
 Et son frère seroit le Doyen de Bissestre. †

*Autrement bordel.

†C’est un hospital.

Il n'est pas besoin de commentaire là dessus.

'On parle toujours de nouveaux editz. Les rues ne retentissent d'autre chose que de leurs publications. On ne craint plus la descente. On fait payer le quart du revenu de tous les biens nobles, pour suppléer au défaut de la vente des charges créés pour l'arriérebau, dont personne ne veut.

'Pour réponse touchant la correspondance qu'on souhaitteroit avoir dans les portz, le temps y est fort contraire, et le choix des gens pour la confiance et la fidelité fort difficile, outre que la dépense iroit plus loin qu'on ne croit peustestre. Car il faudroit ménager par des gratifications plusieurs gens, pour estre informé de plusieurs choses secretes, et cela est dangereux. On sait bien que dans le monde on ne fait rien pour rien. Je travailleray à cela, et verray ce qui se peut faire, dont je vous informeray. Mais il faut un peu de temps, et agir avec prudence.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 17 July.*

E115. 1693, [June 30/] July 10. Paris. 'On est toujours dans de grandes attentes de ce qui arrivera de vos flottes; depuis la premiere rélation du 12e. de juin on n'en a point de nouvelles assurées. On supprime les lettres qui viennent pour les particuliers, et on ne garde que le paquet du Roy. On ne comprend pas comment, ayant esté avertis, la flotte marchande a mis à la mer, du moins sans estre escortée de toute l'armée navale. Car il est quasi impossible de passer le Détroit sans tomber dans nôtre flotte au Cap St. Vincent. Vos gens qui ont rapporté que vostre flotte avoit 24 heures avant la nostre se trompent, parce qu'ils ont creû que nos vaisseaux étoient derrière, et, comme on vous l'a mandé, on étoit déjà bien avant, lorsque vos vaisseaux sont partis.

'Vous devez avoir la rélation de ce qui s'est passé le 3e. de ce mois à l'attaque de nostre convoy que Monsieur de Vertillac avoit conduit jusqu'à Beaumont, où Monsieur de Guiscar le devoit prendre pour le conduire plus loin; mais ayant appris que les ennemis nous attendoyent, il envoya chercher Monsieur de Vertillac, qui s'en retournoit, lequel, étant revenu avec sa cavallerie seule, il a eû le malheur d'estre tué des premiers coups. Le Roy a nommé Monsieur de Laubanie, commandant à Calais, pour ce gouvernement. À l'égard du combat, quoy qu'il ait esté assez rude, on a remarqué que la cavallerie ennemie étoit toute de gens choisis, et armez, grands, et bien faitz; mais ne tenant pas, l'épée à main, contre nos gens, et sur tout contre nos dragons, qui ont fait merveilles. Nous y avons perdu beaucoup d'officiers, mais on dit que les ennemis étoient plus fortz d'un tiers; cependant ils ont été repoussez. On leur a tué ou pris prisonniers plus de 4 à 500 hommes. Le convoy est demeuré à Philippeville. Il y avoit 700 chariotz, dont quelques uns étoient chargez d'argent, on dit 160,000 louis d'or. Monsieur de Luxembourg à ce

qu'on prétend a du fourage, et on écrit qu'il tiendra encore où il est 10 ou 12 jours; et que, si le Roy Guillaume veut décamper, comme on espère qu'il y sera obligé, on croit qu'il ne peut aller qu'à Hall, et qu'il ne le peut sans prester le flanc à nostre armée, qui ne manquera pas à donner dessus.

'Nos troupes ne sont pas si exactement payées que cy devant. On crie un peu apres l'argent. La ville de Paris propose de payer 1,200,000 livres d'extraordinaire par an d'extraordinaire [*sic*], tant que la guerre durera, moyennant qu'on l'exempte de la recherche sur les maisons, pour les cens et los et ventes, et autres nouveautez, et qu'on luy permette de lever par forme d'octroy quelque petit droit sur les danrées, encore ne veut on pas que cela se fasse par edit, de peur que l'imposition ne demeure.

'On est apres à travailler à une nouvelle reforme d'espèces, moyennant quoy on mettra les louis d'or à 13 livres et le reste à proportion. Les négocians y opposent, et font des remontrances. Mais on ne s'y arresera pas. On cherche toutes sortes de moyens pour avoir les fonds extraordinaires qui sont nécessaires pour la continuation de la guerre. On convient que la misère de la campagne nous oste toute espérance d'avoir du secours que des villes closes, encore y en a til peu qui ne soyent fort pauvres. C'est pourquoy on ne peut espérer d'argent que des personnes qui en ont, et qui souvent ont plus de reputation que d'effet.

'On parle fort d'un manifeste du Roy de Danemarc, traduit en françois qu'on dit s'imprimer, et que quelques gens disent avoir veû, lequel porte qu'il n'arme que pour appuyer ses justes prétentions sur la succession de Lavembourg, demandant que les places qui en dépendent soient sequestrées jusqu'à ce que l'affaire soit jugée dans les formes, par les voyes ordinaires de l'Empire, et l'on espère que ce sera une bonne diversion pour occuper les Princes de Lunebourg, dont pourtant le manifeste porte qu'ils ne veulent point attaquer l'Electorat.

'On a avis que Monseigneur doit arriver le 12 de ce mois sur le Rhein, et qu'il a esté joint par diverses troupes des garnisons, pour remplacer le dépérissement de son armée que cette longue marche a causé. Toutes les lettres parlent du siège de Mayence, quoy qu'elles disent en mesme temps qu'on y observe un secret mystérieux, qui fait qu'on ne peut s'assurer de rien.

'Il semble qu'à la cour on ne soit pas satisfait de Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge. Le départ de Monsieur de Rébenac dont on avoit parlé est remis. On ne sait pas encore s'il partira. On croit que c'étoit pour quelques négociations en Allemagne.

'On se mocque fort icy de tous les effortz qui se font en Espagne à Madrit. Les seigneurs se cotisent, mais tous leurs effortz vont à lever 3 à 4,000 hommes. On ne parle pas que nous fassions d'autres progrès depuis Roses. On ne dit plus le siège de Palamos.

‘Les galères sont de retour, et il y a eû un détachement de 6,000 hommes pour Provence, quoy qu’on eust dit qu’il n’étoit pas vray. La paix de Tripoly est faite. Ils nous envoient des vaisseaux chargez de bled, pour restitution de ce qu’ils nous ont pris.

‘Les gens de bon sens croient que nous gouvernons le Conseil d’Espagne, où nous avons de bons pensionnaires.

‘Le Duc de Savoye se porte bien. Casal est bloqué. Il n’entre rien dedans, mais il est trop tard pour en entreprendre le siège. La prise de la vallée de Barcelonnette est de conséquence. On débusquera aussy les ennemis du Col de Tende, qui est l’endroit par où ils pourroyent venir. L’intelligence dans Nice n’est rien. Un soldat a accusé simplement un bourgeois de luy avoir proposé d’enclouer le canon de la citadelle. Il y a eû quelque desordre à Naples entre les soldatz de l’armée navale et les habitans. La nostre n’a rien fait à Cadis. Elle s’est tenue au Cap St. Vincent.’

4pp. *French. Endorsed as received 7 July.*

E116. 1693, July [3/] 13. Paris. ‘On ne sait rien au vray de vostre flotte marchande. On est dans une attente continuelle de ce qui en arrivera. Le Roy mesme a chargé Monsieur de Pontchartrain de venir enfoncer sa porte, pour luy en donner des nouvelles aussy tost qu’il en saura, à quelque heure que ce soit. Vous pouvez juger par là de quelle importance on juge cette affaire. Les plus avisez croient que n’en ayant point eû encore de nouvelles, la flotte a esté avertie. Mais en tout cas, si elle ne tombe pas entre nos mains, on croit que c’est assez fait que de l’empescher de passer; parce que cela rompt le col à tout le commerce, et ruine les négotians de Londres et d’Amsterdam, ce qui les obligera à crier à la paix.

‘Quand je vous ay mandé que la flotte alloit à Cadix, vous y deviez faire plus d’attention, car j’en avois eû advis, mesme de gens qui étoient sur la flotte, et vos marchands en devoient profiter. On s’étonne icy qu’on n’ait point découvert cette route.

‘On se veut servir desormais de toutes sortes de moyens pour fatiguer le commerce, et faire crier les marchands, parce que c’est une voye plus assurée pour parvenir à faire demander la paix, que le Roy souhaite plus que toute chose du monde, et pour laquelle il se trouve àprésent disposé à faire des avances plus que jamais.

‘Les avis d’Alemagne portent que Monseigneur sera le 15e. de ce mois au rendez-vous, et que tout se dispose à un grand siège.

‘La prétendue conspiration de Nice a esté vérifiée fausse. Le soldat qui avoit accusé les bourgeois a esté mis en prison, et les 12 bourgeois arrestez ont esté mis dehors. Le procez se fait au soldat, qui s’est dédit et a tout avoué.

'On dit que nous nous sommes rendus maistres du Col de Tende, et qu'ainsy il ne reste plus de passage au Duc de Savoye pour entrer en France, à moins que de prendre la mesme routte de la vallée d'Aost que Monsieur de Cattinat garde.

'On convient que si vos gens qui attaquèrent le convoy eussent donné promptement dessus, et n'eussent pas donné le loisir à nostre escorte de se reconnoistre, ils nous auroyent fort incommodez. Vos gens ne tiennent point ferme, l'épée à la main; c'est une pratique qu'on observera aprésent toujours, que de les attaquer, l'épée à la main, apres avoir essuyé leur premier feu. L'argent manquoit à nostre armée. Ceux qui conduisoient le convoy disent qu'il n'y avoit que 200,000 livres mais une tres grande quantité de farines. Nous avons appris que Monsieur de Luxembourg avoit fait un mouvement et changé de camp, faisant passer sa droite à la gauche et ayant éloigné celle-cy.

'L'argent ne manque point encore icy. On a des projetz pour beaucoup de levées extraordinaires.

'Les lettres de Rome d'hier portent que l'accommodement n'est pas encore fait, quoy qu'on l'espère toujours, et que le Cardinal d'Etrées soit resté pour cela.

'On mande de Dauphiné que le Roy y a donné ordre d'arrester les François qui y reviendroyent de Genève, on ne comprend pas pourquoy, cela étant contraire aux assurances qu'on donne de seureté et liberté tacite.

'C'est une fable que ce manifeste du Roy de Danemarc qu'on disoit se devoir publier icy en françois: nous ne le voyons point. Il ny a point d'autres nouvelles considerables.'

2 $\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 July.*

E117. 1693, July [3/] 13. Paris. 'Madame se porte bien aprésent. Sa petite vérolle est fort bien sortie. Elle vit pourtant toujours à sa mode, et mange comme si de rien n'étoit. Elle ne sait ce que c'est que de prendre des bouillons. Au commencement de sa maladie elle ne vouloit point entendre parler de medecins; quoy qu'elle eust les siens, qui ne la quittoient point, elle ne suivoit pas leurs conseilz, et se gouvernoit à sa fantaisie. On a creû que ce mal luy avoit esté communiqué par l'imprudence d'une de ses femmes de chambre, qui avoit une fille malade de cette maladie, qu'elle cachoit, et sortant d'aupres d'elle venoit peigner Madame. Vous pouvez juger de l'indignation que tout le monde en a eue, et particulièrement ses officiers qui l'auroient lapidée si elle ne se fust retirée. Je ne say si vous avez appris que Madame de Vantadour et Mesdames de Chatillon, de Chateautiers et de Beuvron se sont enfermées avec elles [*sic*] pendant sa maladie, aussy bien que Madame la

Princesse d'Epinoÿ, les unes par le devoir de leurs charges, les autres, savoir Madame de Beuvron et Madame la Princesse d'Epinoÿ, par un attachement de tendresse; quoy que Madame ait fait tout ce qu'elle a pû pour les en détourner. Cette maladie a dispersé toute la cour. Le Roy est allé pour quelque temps à Marly; les princes, c'est à dire Messeigneurs de Bourgogne et d'Anjou, à Noisy, et Monseigneur de Berry dans une autre maison avec Madame la Mareschalle de la Motte. Madame avoit, dit on, toujours fort appréhendé cette maladie. Le public et les particuliers s'y sont tout à fait intéressez, parce qu'elle est fort aimée, bonne, et généreuse au delà de l'imagination. On dit qu'elle a remarqué que souvent les accidents de la vie ont esté comme préditz par des songes. Elle en avoit fait un peu de jours avant son mal, qui luy faisoit de la peine. Il luy sembloit qu'elle s'estoit trouvée dans un lieu desert, abandonnée de tous ses domestiques, et qu'elle voyoit un vieux chateau environné de cyprez, où elle vouloit entrer, mais qu'elle en estoit empeschée par un borbier qu'on ne pouvoit passer. Quelque superstition qu'il y ait dans les songes, il semble que les personnes d'une condition relevée ont plus que d'autres des présages de ce qui leur doit arriver, soit qu'on ait plus d'attention à ce qui les regarde qu'au commun des hommes, ou que le ciel leur accorde une protection plus particulière. On prétend qu'il y a des maisons considérables qui ne manquent jamais d'avertissemens. Les histoires sont pleines de ces remarques.

'On prépare à Madame la maison de Coulombe, où la feue Reine d'Angleterre mère du Roy Jaques a finy ses jours, pour prendre l'air, qui est tres bon là, lors qu'elle sera en estat d'estre transportée. Le Roy se plaist assez à Marly. Il y a des jours de la semaine marquez pour y aller, à l'égard de ceux qui ont des affaires à la cour. Les ministres y ont des logemens. On croit que la cour ira de meilleure heure qu'à l'ordinaire à Fontainebleau, acause qu'il faudra laisser purger l'air de Versailles.

'Monsieur ne revient pas encore de Bretagne. Toutes les dames bretonnes sont galeuses; cela ne luy plaist pas, car il est fort propre. Sa cour s'ennuye en ce pays-là. Hors de Paris il n'y a point de salut. En disant Paris j'entens Versailles et St. Clou, aussy bien que la ville.

'On attend avec impatience la nouvelle edition qui se fait en Hollande du Dictionnaire de Moreri. Quantité de gens ont icy celuy de Furetière, dont on fait état, quoy qu'en disent Messieurs les Academiciens. On a imprimé un second petit volume de lettres contre Monsieur l'Abbé de la Trappe, qu'on trouve encore mieux écrit que le premier, et pourtant du mesme auteur anonyme. Il y a un peu de fiel, et c'est ce qui plaist aujourdhuy. Une pointe de satire réjouyt le lecteur. La louange et la flaterie sont fades. C'est pourquoy je plains ceux qui travaillent aux panégryriques, et les historiens que des considérations supérieures obligent aux exagérations des vertus, comme aux palliatifs des défauts.

'Le trouble ou le divorce de l'Academie Françoisé continue. Au premier jour Monsieur de la Loubère haranguera. On travaille à une préface pour le grand Dictionnaire, dont Monsieur l'Abbé Régnier secrétaire de l'Academie est chargé. On croit aussy qu'on fera une autre epître dédicatoire que celle qui a déjà esté faite par luy, du moins y fera t on des changements.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 July.*

E118. 1693, July [10/] 20. Paris. 'On a grande raison d'estre en grandes inquiétudes pour cette flotte marchande. Quand j'avois écry à l'avance que la nostre alloit à Cadix, ce n'estoit pas par simple raisonnement, puisque j'eü avis de dessus la flotte mesme. C'est comme de Namur, car longtemps avant le siège j'avois eü connoissance du dessein, sur quoy on n'a pas fait, ce me semble, assez d'attention.

'On sait par des lettres de Lisbonne de la fin du mois passé que des aussy tost qu'on fut convaincu que nostre flotte étoit à Lagos, on avoit depesché de tous les portz de Portugal et d'Espagne des barques pour aller en porter l'avis aux Anglois et Hollandois, en sorte qu'on ne doute point, veü le temps qu'il y a qu'on n'en a point de nouvelles certaines, qu'elle n'ait pourveu à sa seureté, soit en allant aux Canaries ou ailleurs. Ainsy on ne compte plus sur l'espérance de mettre la main dessus. Il est vray que si on étoit party un peu plus tard, on auroit pû l'attraper. Mais il y a eü pres de 15 jours d'intervale, la nostre étant partie le 26 may et celle des Anglois et Hollandois le 9e. juin.

'Les dernières letters de notre flotte sont du 24, 26 et 27, toujours à Lagos fort à son aise. Mais il n'y a point encore de nouvelles assurées de la jonction de Monsieur le Comte d'Estrées. On a demandé les ordres de la cour, qui ont esté envoyez. On croit toujours faire beaucoup d'empescher le passage, et par conséquent le commerce. Nous ne savons pas encore si nostre flotte demeurera là long temps.

'Nous avons avis que 2 capres Dunkerquois ont attaqué le 12 ou 13 de ce mois un paquebot de 16 pièces de canon, qu'ils ont coulé à fond, n'ayant pû l'aborder. Les corsaires avoyent chacun 12 pièces de canon. L'un des capitaines a esté tué. On a sauvé une trentaine de personnes entre les quelles étoit le capitaine du paquebot. Les prisonniers ont rapporté qu'il y avoit plusieurs officiers qui vouloyent passer en Flandre, et plusieurs gens de qualité, mesme des femmes, et aussy de l'argent, les uns disent plus les autres moins. Mais enfin on dit que c'est une perte considérable.

'Dans le dernier choq d'Alemagne Monsieur le Prince d'Epinoy a esté blessé, et Monsieur de Vaubecour a eü le pied fracassé d'une grenade; beaucoup de grenadiers du regiment de Picardie, le major tué, et 10 ou 12 capitaines. Sans un curé averty par un deserteur de nostre armée Monsieur de Luxembourg

auroit enlevé les 3,000 chevaux que Tilly menoit vers Tongres. Mais ils se sont retirez fort apropos. On les a poussez jusques vers Mastroik; on a pris tous les bagages, plusieurs chevaux, et tué 2 ou 300 hommes. On ne regarde pas cette affaire comme fort importante. Monsieur le Duc de Montfort filz de Monsieur le Duc de Chevreuse y a esté blessé mortellement. Madame sa mère y est allée; Monsieur de Thiange idem blessé mais moins dangereusement. On ne se contente pas trop de tout cela, parce qu'on voudroit quelque affaire décisive. On parle aprésent d'un siege en Flandre; on croit que ce sera Huy ou Charleroy.

'On compte Monseigneur arrivé le 15; la reveue de son armée ayant esté faite, il ne s'y est pas trouvé 2,000 hommes de moins qu'en partant, ainsy la longue marche n'a pas produit tant de mal qu'on le croyoit. On mande du Fort Louis qu'il s'y fait un si grand amas de toutes sortes de munitions de guerre, qu'il est certain qu'on veut faire un grand siège. Le Rhein s'est trouvé si gros qu'on croit que l'on n'a pû passer que par Philisbourg. Darmstat et plusieurs autres places viennent trouver Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge par leurs députez pour s'exempter d'estre bruslées, offrant des contributions.

'On croit toujours le siège de Mayence ou de Francfort, et l'on compte que, si l'on peut avoir celle cy, l'autre tombera d'elle mesme. Et comme nous comptons avoir 30,000 hommes plus que les ennemis, on prétend qu'on aura une armée suffisante pour s'opposer au Prince de Bade, tandis que l'autre fera le siège.

'On dit icy que le Duc de Savoye n'est pas content que les projetz demeurent sans exécution, faute d'une armée navale qui devoit se trouver sur les costes de Provence. Mais que le Roy Guillaume luy a mandé qu'il étoit impossible d'y en faire passer une, acause de la nostre, qui en empesche le passage. Monsieur de Vendosme est dans les montagnes, où il assure tous les passages. Et quoy qu'il n'y ait pas grand nombre de troupes, on a pourtant disposé de telle manière toutes choses, qu'on ne croit pas qu'on puisse entrer dans nos provinces d'aucun endroit.

'Comme on a eû de la peine à faire réussir les affaires extraordinaires des cens et rentes, des chambres garnies, etc., la ville de Paris a cherché d'autres expédiens. C'est pourquoy on va taxer toutes les maisons. On en fera 3 classes, dont les unes payeront 300, les autres 150 et les autres 75, moyennant quoy on confirme les privilèges des bourgeois, et on supprime la taxe des cens et rentes sur celles qui relèvent du Roy, les taxes des chambres garnies et auberges, et le controlle des notaires, cela s'entend pour ce qui regarde Paris. On dit qu'il n'y a que 28,000 maisons et nous pensions qu'il y en avoit 40,000. L'impôt montera à 8 milions, ou environ.

'Monsieur s'ennuye fort en Bretagne. On ne veut pourtant pas qu'il en revienne, qu'on n'ait veû les flottes rentrées, et hors de tout péril de descente.'

4pp. *French.*

E119. 1693, July [10/] 20. 'Autres nouvelles secrettes de la cour.' 'Tout le monde veut que le Roy, dont les attachements ne sont pas éternels, ait de nouvelles amours. On parle de Madame de Florensac, qui est pourtant liée d'amitié avec Monsieur le Duc. Ce qu'il y a au moins de vray c'est que Madame de Maintenon parle fort de la retraite, et de songer à la mort et au détachement de la vie. On bastit à St. Cyr, et cela fait dire qu'elle a dessein de s'y retirer. (Cela ne s'accordera pas avec ce qu'on a creû d'elle et du Roy.)
'Monseigneur écrit tout les jours à Madame la Princesse de Conty. Le Roy en fait la guerre, et luy en demande des nouvelles, parce qu'il ne luy écrit pas si souvent qu'à elle.

'On accuse Madame du Roure, aussy bien que beaucoup d'autres dames de mesme trempe, de prendre de certains remèdes pour forcer la nature et faire mourir des gens avant que de naistre.

'Le Roy est *pensieroso*, la cour peu nombreuse, hors les robbes longues.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 17 July.*

E120. 1693, July [14/] 24. Paris. 'En arrivant à Marly, mardy matin, j'appris que lundy au soir un courrier de Monsieur le Duc de Grammont avoit apporté des extraitz de lettres de Cadix et d'autres endroits, qui marquent le malheur arrivé à la flotte marchande angloise et hollandoise allant à Cadix et au Détroit. Le Roy dit qu'il avoit eû déjà quelques avis sur cela, mais qu'il n'en avoit rien voulu dire jusqu'à ce que la confirmation en fut venue par Monsieur de Tourville. On ne comprend pas comment des gens sages et précautionnez ont pû partir sans estre assurez où étoit nostre flotte. Mais ayant fait la première faute, on s'étonne aussy comment on n'a pas eû des avis dans la routte, et encore comment on n'a pas aussy tost qu'on l'a seû, fait suivre toute la flotte entière des vaisseaux de guerre. Avec tout cela on est aussy fort surpris icy de n'avoir point encore reçu de lettres de Monsieur de Tourville.

'Il court un bruit que les Anglois n'ont pas tant perdu, et que les Hollandois se plaignent qu'ils n'ont pas fait leur devoir. On croit qu'il y a 2 vaisseaux de sauvez, qui avoyent des marchandises ou de l'argent pour plus de 15 milions. On est en d'extrêmes impatiences du courier de nostre flotte, qui nous laisse dans quelque incertitude, non pas de la vérité entière, mais du moins que le mal soit si grand.

'Pendant que j'étois à Marly, le Roy déclara que Monseigneur assiègeroit Heilbron, quand mesme le Prince de Bade y seroit avec toute son armée. On parla fort aussy du manifeste du Roy, qu'on dit s'imprimer icy, et estre déjà envoyé en Alemagne, par lequel on offre pour la paix avec l'Empire de rendre Fribourg et Philisbourg en l'estat qu'ils sont, démolir Huningue et Montroyal,

et enfin se borner au Rhein; rendre la Lorraine aux conditions offertes lors de la paix de Nimégue, c'est à dire en gardant Nancy (pour lequel on donnera un équivalent) et les grands chemins pour les troupes du Roy, lors qu'on y voudra passer. Que les couronnes du Nord seront mediatrices, etc. Le Roy donne un certain temps pour accepter ces conditions, faute de quoy il poussera ses armes tout aussy loin qu'il pourra en Allemagne.

'Vous savez le siège de Huy par Monsieur de Villeroy. On ne doute point qu'il ne soit bien tost suivy de la prise. Nous avons appris que nos lignes en Flandre ont esté forcées. Monsieur de la Valette, qui y commandoit, avoit demandé du secours à Monsieur de Luxembourg, qui luy manda qu'il ne pouvoit pas affoiblir son armée, sans doute acause de ce siège. Si bien que les ennemis nous ont forcez étant 16,000 hommes. Nous y avons perdu 2 régiments, l'un de milices d'Alsace, l'autre de Savoye, qui ont esté défaitz à platte couture. Les ennemis ont fort brulé le plat pays de Tournay et de Lille, demandant de grandes contributions, jusqu'à 3 milions, que le pays ne peut pas payer. Cela fait crier.

'On dit que nous avons intelligence à Mayence que les ennemis ont découverte, et qu'ils ont arrêté un officier, ce qu'on ne vouloit pas estre seû icy, mais on l'a appris.

'On dit aussy qu'on a aresté sur la flotte ennemie un secrétaire de nos amis. On ne void guère parmy nous de ces intelligences, et trahisons. C'est que nous répandons plus d'argent, et que nous savons récompenser et punir.

'L'affaire de l'imposition sur la ville n'est pas encore réglée. On parle toujours de taxer les maisons, sur le pied du quart des loyers. D'autres disent qu'on mettra un nouvel impost sur le vin et sur le sel, qui sont déjà cruellement chargez.

'Voicy une coppie d'une lettre de Cadix du 4e. juillet, et une du 10 de Constantinople.'

2½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 23 July.*

Enclosing:

E120(1). 1693, [June 24/] July 4. Cadix. 'La puissante armée de France, ayant combatu, le 27 et 28 du mois passé, les convois de la flotte d'Angleterre, de Hollande et de Hambourg, destinée pour Cadix et le Levant, riche de plus de 12 millions de marchandises, parut devant cette ville le jour de St. Pierre, où elle brula 2 navires fort puissants, dont l'un étoit anglois et l'autre hollandois; pendant lequel temps il entra dans cette baye 46 vaisseaux. Quelques uns croient, suivant le rapport des prisonniers, qu'il s'en est sauvé plusieurs en différents ports; l'armée de France s'étant attachée à poursuivre ceux cy, apres en avoir pris beaucoup, sans qu'on puisse savoir jusqu'aprésent le nombre de ceux qui ont esté perdus, ou brulez ou pris. Mais il est seur que c'est une perte tres considérable pour le commerce.

'Cette armée a causé une grande terreur dans cette ville, dans la crainte qu'on ne la vienne bombarder. Tous les hommes ont pris les armes. Les femmes et les religieuses abandonnant leurs convents, sont sorties de la ville, emportant chacune peu

d'argent pour leur subsistance.

'Il arriva hier un prisonnier de l'armée de France, qui rapporta qu'elle venoit bruler tous les navires qui sont au dedans de Puntales. Cette nouvelle nous allarme extremement. Mais on espère pourtant que les vaisseaux se trouvant à l'abry de bons ramparts, elle ne viendra pas facilement à bout de son dessein. Cette armée se trouve présentement de 70 à 80 vaisseaux, en ayant envoyé 4 en Barbarie faire de l'eau en attendant l'escadre de Monsieur d'Etrées, qui vient de Toulon. Si les galères en sont, nous appréhendons d'estre bombardez. Ce qui causeroit la ruine entière de cette ville.

'On murmure fort icy contre les Anglois, qui n'ont pas fait, dit-on, leur devoir en cette occasion, non plus que dans les autres où ils se sont trouvez; et l'on croit que c'est une trahison manifeste d'avoir fait partir cette flotte dans le temps qu'on savoit, ou qu'on devoit savoir que l'armée de France étoit en mer.

'*Nota.* Cadix est dans une petite isle, qui ne tient à la terre que par un pont. Cette isle a 2 avances à la pointe, qui font comme 2 cornes, où les vaisseaux se mettent à couvert, et c'est ce que les Espanolz appellent *Los Puntales*.

'Article d'une autre lettre de Cadix.

'Il y avoit le 4e. juillet 60 à 70 vaisseaux pris, brulez ou coulez à fond, et l'on étoit à la poursuite du reste. La flotte marchande étoit de 200 voiles.'

2pp. *French.*

E120(2). 1693, [June 30/] July 10. Constantinople. 'On menace encore de changer le nouveau Visir. La conduite des Turcs va de mal en pis. L'armée qu'ils auront en Hongrie ne sera guère nombreuse. Les mylords Hemskerk, Paget et Collier n'ont pû rien avancer avec toutes leurs batteries dorées contre le Chateaneuf. Ce seigneur fait tout ce qu'il veut dans cet Empire. Le Visir devoit marcher dans 15 jours.

'Dans ce moment le Sieur Vanclève, qui est à Andrinople, vient d'écrire par un messon, que le Caimacan d'Andrinople a envoyé dire à celui d'icy que le Comte de Chauder, beaufrère de Tekely, a défait une brigade d'Alemands, tué 400 hommes, pris le commandant avec 150 prisonniers, et 3 pièces de canon. Le combat est arrivé à six lieues de Belgrade. Le Comte de Chauder n'avoit que 300 maistres de cavallerie.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Extract. On the same sheet as no. E120(1).*

E121. 1693, July [17/] 27. Paris. 'Hier sur les 4 heures il arriva un courrier qui confirma la nouvelle de la flotte, assez conforme aux premiers avis, c'est à dire qu'on a coulé à fond 25 navires marchands, et pris 45, item 2 vaisseaux de guerre hollandois pris, et 2 coulez à fond. On poursuivoit les Anglois, et on attend un plus grand détail au premier jour. Quoy qu'il en soit, la perte est fort grande. Le Roy a dit que les ennemis y perdoient plus de six milions d'or. Jamais on n'a ouy parler d'une si furieuse perte. Et on en revient toujours à dire que pour des gens de bon sens on ne comprend pas comment ils ont fait partir leur flotte sans estre bien assurez du lieu où estoit la nostre.

'Je suis outré de douleur de cette affaire, qu'on croit qui aura de terribles suites. On nous a assurez qu'il y avoit desjà un des plus gros commerçans

d'Amsterdam qui avoit fait banqueroute. Nous en aurons bien icy quelques uns qui s'en trouveront mal, car il y en a qui ont intérêt sur ces flottes. On nous dit qu'à Amsterdam on a fait mal à propos de grandes réjouissances et des feux de joye sur la fausse nouvelle venue d'Angleterre que leurs flottes étoient en seureté. On ne sait pas encore ce que deviendront les vaisseaux retirez dans le port de Cadix.

'On nous a appris la perte du chateau de Huy que vous savez aussy bien que nous. On nous assure que Monsieur de Luxembourg s'approche de Liège, qui ne sera pas faschée d'avoir occasion de se tirer du party de la Ligue, et de demeurer neutre.

'On nous dit aussy qu'on avoit leû à la teste des armées d'Alemagne une lettre qui marque que le Roy de Danemarc entroit en Alemagne à la teste d'une armée de 25,000 hommes, pour se faire faire raison sur les places qu'on luy retient, et empescher que le Duc d'Hannover ne fasse fortifier Ratzbourg. Que le Roy a traité avec le Roy de Suede pour 5 ou 6,000 hommes, qu'il fournit à celuy de Dannemarc. Que Monseigneur va prendre Heilbron et passer fort avant en Alemagne.

'Le bruit se répand de nouveau du changement du Grand Seigneur à Constantinople.

'On crie fort en Espagne contre le Roy Guillaume. Les marchands de ce pays-là écrivent qu'ils n'espèrent plus de paix que de la générosité du Roy, qui ne se prévaudra pas des avantages, et du bon succez de ses armes.

'Monsieur le Duc de Montfort se porte mieux. Ny luy ny Monsieur de Thiangé n'en mourront pas. On voit quelques extraitz du manifeste du Roy, dont il y a longtemps qu'on parle. Mais on ne le void point encore en entier, quoy qu'on ait dit il y a 5 ou 6 semaines qu'il estoit chez l'imprimeur.

'On a trouvé tant de difficultez sur la taxe des maisons qu'on cherche d'autres expédiants. On parle de capitation, ou bien d'enfler les taxes des boues, lanternes et pauvres, jusques à la concurrence de ce qu'il faut pour remplir ce que l'on a jugé devoir tirer des cens et rentes. Tout cela fait assez de peine, et l'argent devient rare chez les particuliers. Cette année ne sera pas si bonne en bleds qu'on l'avoit espéré. Ils seront toujours chers.

'Madame de Chatillon paye le tribut à la petite vérole. Il étoit malaisé qu'elle en fust exempte s'étant enfermée avec Madame; les autres pourront bien courir la mesme risque. Madame, qui s'étoit fort bien trouvée de n'avoir point suivy l'avis de ses médecins, n'a pû se dispenser d'estre purgée à leur mode. Je ne say s'ils ont voulu se vanger de son peu de confiance en leur art. Car ils ont pensé l'envoyer en l'autre monde. Grace à Dieu! elle en est revenue. Mais cela retarde la résolution qu'elle a prise d'aller passer quelque temps à Coulombe, d'où elle ira à St. Cloud. La cour par consequent ne

retournera si tost à Versailles. Le Roy se plaist avec raison à Marly, où il vit avec plus de familiarité qu'ailleurs.'

3½ pp. *French. On the back is the note from Legoux to Nottingham acknowledging no. B87 which is entered separately above as no. B89. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 27 July.*

E122. 1693, July [21/] 31. Paris. 'Nous n'avons point encore de relation imprimée de l'affaire de la flotte. Voicy une copie de la première, qui a esté apportée de la part de Monsieur de Tourville par le Chevallier Desadrets, en attendant celle qui nous instruira plus particulièrement de tout le détail. Les gens qui raisonnent sur cet événement ne comprennent pas comment vostre flotte marchande s'est hazardée si témérairement sans estre informée avec certitude du lieu où estoit nostre flotte, assez grosse pour ne cacher pas aisément sa marche. Vous ne dépensez guère en espions; quant à nous, nous ne sommes pas gens à donner dans des panneaux si visibles. On trouve fort heureux les vaisseaux qui nous ont échappé. Il est certain que nous avons fait là un coup d'importance. On ne doute pas qu'il ne soulève les esprits de 2 nations. Il y a plus de 3 ans qu'on le méditoit. Monsieur de Vauvray y a déterminé. On parle mal de Gabaret, qu'on dit n'avoir pas fait son devoir, et que s'il l'eust fait, rien n'eust échapé. On ne croit pas qu'on touche aux vaisseaux que se sont réfugiés dans le port de Cadix, parce que la France est interessée à ne pas détruire cette ville là, du commerce de laquelle nous profitons plus que les ennemis; c'est à dire qu'on ne se résoudra pas à la bruler, si elle tient bon à ne rendre pas les vaisseaux qui se sont retirez dans son port.

'Depuis cette nouvelle nous sommes fiers, et l'on m'a assuré qu'il y avoit ordre d'arrester tous les vaisseaux amis comme ennemis que se trouveroyent chargez pour les lieux où il y a guerre. Parmi ceux qui ont esté pris il s'en est trouvé des Gênois, dont on prétend la confiscation, à la réserve des corps des vaisseaux qu'on rendra. Comme on enfle les premieres nouvelles, on dit d'abord que nous y gagnerions plus qu'il ne se trouve dans la suite.

'Je ne say si je vous ay mandé que Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées avoit escrit au Roy qu'il passeroit le lendemain le Détroit et bruleroit les vaisseaux qui seroyent retirez à Gibraltar, s'ils ne se vouloyent pas rendre. Depuis il court un bruit qu'ils se sont rendus, mais encore incertain. On murmure contre ledit Seigneur D'Etrées acause de son retardement et l'on dit que s'il eust esté joint, rien ne seroit échappé. On croit que l'Amiral Rooke s'en est retourné en Angleterre avec quelques vaisseaux marchands qui l'ont suivy. On a mandé que la flotte ennemie, revenue à Torbay, en repartiroit le 29e. de ce mois.

'Les Espagnols sont fort allarmez. Ils croyoyent que le Roy n'avoit plus de

flotte depuis la disgrâce de l'année passée. Ils écrivent qu'ils ont esté epouventez de voir un monde de vaisseaux. Comme ils sont superstitieux, ils croient que leur malheur vient de leur ligue avec ceux qu'ils appellent *los Luthéranos*.

'On dit icy que le Roy Guillaume avoit fait demander à messieurs d'Amsterdam un prest de 500,000 écus, qu'ils ont refusé sur ce que les bourses étoient resserrées acause des frayeurs qu'on avoit pour la flotte. On dit aussy que la Reine s'est retirée de Londres, et qu'elle est à la campagne, conjecturant que c'est pour ne se pas trouver dans la ville exposée aux plaintes et aux murmures que produira le malheur de la flotte marchande. Il y a des gens qui prétendent qu'il y a un tiers party en Angleterre qui est une dépendance de celle de Messieurs Aluyn de Hollande pour la paix.

'On avoit résolu de razer Huy; mais Monsieur de Mégrigny ayant mandé à la cour qu'il le fortifieroit de manière que les ennemis ne le reprendroient pas dans 15 jours de siège, on le laisse faire. Monsieur de Luxembourg, dans le dessein qu'on avoit d'aller à Liège, a mandé qu'il l'avoit fait reconnoistre, et que les troupes qui y sont étoient postées si avantageusement et si bien retranchées qu'on ne pourroit pas les forcer à moins de faire courir risque aux troupes du Roy, et d'y perdre beaucoup de monde; de sorte que toute sa veue aprésent est de tascher de trouver jour à engager le Roy Guillaume à un combat, ce qu'on juge assez difficile, parce qu'il est campé d'une manière trop avantageuse.

'Nous n'avons point veû le manifeste du Roy qu'on disoit s'imprimer. Il est au contraire supprimé. On dit que le Roy ajoute aux propositions de paix la reddition de Luxembourg démoly.

'C'est une vision que ce qu'on disoit de l'entrée du Roy de Dannemarc à la teste de 25,000 hommes.

'Il est certain qu'on en veut toujours à Liège, qu'on dit ne pouvoir subsister apres la prise de Huy. Pour garder cette grande ville il faudra que les ennemis y aient toujours une armée occupée à la défendre. Une partie des habitans n'est pas mal intentionnée pour nous.

'La Princesse de Wirtemberg a envoyé à Monseigneur pour convenir des contributions, et avoir une sauve garde.

'Les dernières nouvelles d'Alemagne portoyent que dans 4 ou 5 jours nos armées feroient parler d'elles, que nous y avions 70,000 hommes de bonnes troupes, et bien intentionnées, et que la Prince de Bade n'en avoit pas 40,000.

'Les troupes du Duc de Savoye ont pris 3 petits postes avancez, qui étoient occupez par nos gens. S'ils prennent celuy de la Pérouse, ils pourroient entreprendre le siège de Pignerol, et il seroit malaisé de le secourir, que par

les hauteurs d'un accez difficile. C'est pourquoy Monsieur Catinat a fait rejoindre ses troupes, qui étoient divisées et séparées en divers postes. On écrit pourtant que Pignerol est pourveü suffisamment de toutes sortes de munitions. On écrit aussy que les ennemis n'abandonnent pas le dessein d'entrer en Provence.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 1 Aug.*

E123. 1693, [July 23/] Aug. 2. Paris. 'Vendredi au soir 31e. du passé, la nouvelle arriva par Monsieur d'Artagnan, major du régiment des gardes, de l'action qui se passa mécredy. On enfla, à nostre ordinaire, le bruit de la victoire. Mais lorsqu'on a seu que nous n'avons gagné que 60 canons, et que nous y avons perdu une infinité de monde, il a falu déchanter. Le Roy dit que l'affaire estoit brave, mais qu'elle nous coutoit trop; et que Monsieur de Luxembourg avoit fait le personnage de feu Monsieur le Prince, et le Prince d'Orange celuy de Monsieur de Turenne. Le Roy, qui n'avoit reçeu que deux mots de Monsieur de Luxembourg, qui luy mandoit que suivant ses ordres, il avoit attaqué Monsieur le Prince d'Orange, n'ayant pas trouvé possible de forcer les lignes de Liège, le Roy obligea Monsieur d'Artagnan de luy en faire une rélation, apres quoy il alla à la chasse; et la cour, etonné de nos grandes pertes, demeura dans un silence triste. Chacun dit que si Monsieur de Luxembourg continue, nous n'aurons plus bientost ny officiers ny soldats, et on demeure d'accord qu'il vaudroit bien mieux que cette action ne se fust point passée.

'On a admiré la manoeuvre du Roy Guillaume et la bravoure du Duc de Bavière, qui a fait aussy des merveilles. Nous n'avons pas encore la liste des morts et blessez. Mais on croit qu'il y a plus de 900 officiers tuez on blessez. On a pensé prendre Monsieur le Duc de Chartres, mais ses gens l'ont délivré. Que seroit-ce, s'il étoit resté prisonnier? Il n'en auroit pas falu davantage pour faire la paix. Aussy Madame, quoy qu'elle ait appris qu'il se portoit bien, a fort pleuré, pestant contre la guerre.

'Tout le monde convient que nous avons beaucoup plus perdu que les ennemis; sur tout, il y a beaucoup de gens de condition. Sans sa cuirasse, Monsieur le Duc étoit mort. Monsieur le Prince de Conty, qu'on regarde comme nostre premier héros, y a esté blessé d'un coup d'estramacon, dont il seroit péry sans sa calotte de fer. C'est luy qui s'est mis à la teste du régiment des gardes, et qui a causé l'avantage. Luy et Monsieur de Villeroy eurent leurs 2 chevaux emportez d'un coup de canon. Celluy-cy en a eü 3 tuez sous luy. Les 2 filz de Monsieur de Luxembourg ont esté blessez, mais le Comte de Luxembourg, le cadet, plus dangereusement que Monsieur de Montmorency l'ainé. Le Mareschal de Joyeuse a esté blessez, et n'a pas laissé, apres sa blessure, de revenir au combat. Monsieur le Duc d'Usez tué, tout son

régiment défait, à la reserve de 5 capitaines restez. Monsieur de la Rocheguyon filz de Monsieur de la Rochefoucaud, blessé. Gassion, lieutenant des gardes du corps, et Lignery idem tuez. Montchevreuil tué. Tout le Régiment Royal défait, que commandoit Mylord Lucan, ou Sarsfield, tué. Le Prince Paul, cadet du Prince de Commercy, idem. Coad officier général idem. Le Comte de Maurevert et St. Marcs, qu'on croyoit tuez, ne sont que blessez. Chanvallon, neveu de l'Archevesque, tué. 32 officiers du régiment des gardes tuez ou blessez. Le régiment fort maltraitté. Tracy des gardes du corps, et Rébé, officiers généraux, blessez dangereusement.

'Le Roy a donné le gouvernement d'Arras qu'avoit Montchevreuil au Major Artagnan, qui a apporté la nouvelle. Le Roy dit que le coeur luy bat sur l'affaire que l'on croit devoir arriver en Alemagne, où il y a apparence d'une bataille. Nos troupes y sont à gogo. Les soldats y jouent les sequins, où ils en ont en abondance. Et le vin y est si commun, qu'ils en répandent plus qu'ils n'en boivent.

'On dit que le Prince de Bade a écrit à la Princesse de Wirtemberg sur les contributions qu'elle paye, et dont il dit qu'il l'auroit exemptée.

'Nous sommes étonnez d'apprendre qu'il n'est arrivé que 14 vaisseaux à Toulon au lieu de 27, savoir 25 marchands et 2 de guerre. Il est vray qu'on en a pris 2 de guerre, qui ont esté joints à nostre flotte, au lieu de 2 vieux vaisseaux qui ne peuvoyent guère tenir la mer, et qu'on renvoye à Toulon. Il n'y a point encore de nouvelles de la jonction de Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées. On n'est jamais content. On se plaint que Monsieur de Tourville n'a pas fait ce qu'il pouvoit faire, et que rien ne nous devoit échapper. On ne sait point ce que fait la flotte ennemie, ny où est l'Amiral Rooke.

'Depuis que Monsieur de Catinat a abandonné tous les postes des environs de Pignerol, on craint bien pour cette place, parce qu'on croit ne la pouvoir secourir. On a dit le siège assuré, cependant depuis peu on est incertain si on s'attachera à ce siège, ou à celui de Suse. Quoy qu'il en soit, les dernières lettres marquent qu'on a abandonné Pignerol à sa propre défense, c'est à dire à la garnison, qui est dedans. Il y a plus de 6,000 hommes et il faut emporter le fort Ste. Brigide, qui a esté bien fortifié. Nous n'espérons pas que le public soit informé de la véritable liste de nos mortz et de nos blessez.

'Il fait fort chaud. Ce temps-cy pourra nous donner de bon vin, mais nous en aurons peu. À l'égard du bled nous n'en aurons pas tant que nous pensions, la niéle l'ayant gasté en plusieurs endroitz. Le pain est cher et le sera encore toute cette année. Il est tombé une gresle à Bordeaux, qui ruine leurs vandanges. On écrit de Rouen que la mortalité continue en Normandie.'

34 pp. *French. Endorsed as received 2 August.*

E124. 1693, [July 28/] Aug. 7. Paris. 'Nostre victoire du 29e. juillet n'a pas laissé de nous faire regretter la perte de beaucoup d'honnestes gens. Mais la closture de l'action, dont la nouvelle arriva lundy à 6 heures du soir, en a fait oublier une partie. Le premier courrier, qui étoit Monsieur d'Artagnan, n'avoit apporté qu'un billet de Monsieur de Luxembourg en ces termes: "Monsieur d'Artagnan dira à vostre Majesté comme tout s'est passé. Les ennemis ont fait des merveilles, mais vos troupes ont encore mieux fait. Les princes de vostre sang s'y sont surpassez. Pour moy, je n'y ay point eû de part que d'avoir pris Huy, d'avoir donné le combat au Prince d'Orange, et l'avoir battu, ainsy que vostre Majesté me l'avoit expresément ordonné." Monsieur d'Artagnan n'avoit rien dit de l'action de Monsieur le Marquis d'Harcour, qui a finy la journée avantageusement. Il écrit au Roy qu'étant campé sous Huy, et ayant entendu un grand bruit de canon, il a monté à cheval avec 22 escadrons, qu'il est arrivé justement sur la gauche des ennemis, qu'il a trouvez au delà de la rivière épouventez sur la fin de l'action de Monsieur de Luxembourg, qu'ils les a chargez en flanc si à propos qu'il a défait entièrement la cavallerie, que presque tous leurs officiers généraux y ont péry, ont esté mis hors de combat, ou faitz prisonniers, qu'il a remporté 15 pièces de canon, 8 mortiers, 4 paires de timbales, 16 etendarts, et 4 pontons, et qu'il y a eû dans les 2 actions 22,000 hommes des ennemis tuez ou blessez.

'Je vous répette qu'on n'étoit point content à la cour, ny à la ville des premieres nouvelles du combat. Mais les dernières ont tout raccommodé. On sait que Monsieur de Luxembourg avoit envoyé ordre à Monsieur d'Harcour de venir avec les troupes; mais l'homme le manqua, et il venoit d'un autre costé de son propre mouvement. On a esté dans l'embarras de savoir pour quoy on n'avoit pas appris la dernière nouvelle en mesme temps que la premiere, ce qui faisoit croire que ces 2 affaires étoient de différent temps, et distinctes; mais à présent que nous sommes mieux instruitz, nous voyons que ce n'est qu'une mesme affaire, dont Monsieur d'Artagnan, lors qu'il partit, n'étoit pas encore informé. Quoy qu'on publie que les ennemis dans cette dernière attaque ont perdus 7 à 8,000 hommes, la verité est que Monsieur d'Harcour ne compte et ne mande que 2,000, et quoy qu'on die [*sic*] aprésent, qu'en général ils ont perdu dans les 2 actions 22,000 hommes, on n'en croit pourtant rien. Nous n'avons, et n'aurons peut-estre point de véritable liste de nos morts et blessez. Albergoti, qui a apporté des drapeaux, a dit que nous n'avions perdu que 4 à 5,000 hommes, et c'est sur la foy de son rapport que le Roy en a assuré le Nonce du Pape. Mais on sait le contraire, et l'on ne s'en tient pas là. Par nos calculs nous voyons déjà qu'il y en a plus du double.

'Le bruit commun d'icy est que le Roy Guillaume ne sauroit ramasser 10,000 hommes des débris de son armée, y ayant, outre la perte, une furieuse désertion.

‘On dit que l’armée navale des ennemis est en mer, et qu’elle va chercher nostre flotte; mais il est trop tard, Monsieur d’Etrées étant joint, nous sommes pour le moins aussy forts, et si nous la battions ce seroit le comble de leurs maux. Car on doute fort que le Roy Guillaume trouve de la facilité desormais à tirer de l’argent d’Angleterre, et mesme que les Hollandois en veuillent donner. On dit que la bourse de Londres et celle d’Amsterdam sont fermées. Les marchands écrivent des lettres de lamentations, et se croient, dit-on, tous perdus. On dit aussy tout haut que le Roy Guillaume a esté attrapé 2 fois: la premiere, pour ce qui regarde la mer, est extraordinaire. Car c’est, dit-on, une imprudence impardonnable d’avoir fait partir la flotte, sans estre assurez du lieu où estoit la nostre. Quant à la seconde, Monsieur de Luxembourg n’a fait mine d’aller attaquer les lignes de Liège que pour faire faire un mouvement au Roy Guillaume, qui luy donnoit lieu de le prendre à son avantage comme il a fait. On convient qu’en l’estat où les choses étoient, il a fait tout ce qu’un grand homme de guerre pouvoit faire pour se mettre à l’abry de l’insulte, et qu’il a payé de sa personne tres courageusement et avec tout le jugement possible. Mais on savoit que son armée étoit affoiblie par les 2 détachements qu’il avoit faitz pour la Flandre et pour Liège. Il y a longtemps qu’on guettoit cette occasion. On assure que le Roy Guillaume étoit d’avis de passer la rivière, pour la mettre entre luy et Monsieur de Luxembourg, mais qu’il s’est laissé aller à la persuasion du Duc de Bavière, qui a fait de son costé tout ce qu’un grand courage pouvoit exiger de sa personne. Le Roy a rendu témoignage à l’un et à l’autre tel qu’on le peut souhaitter.

‘Au surplus, des le commencement de la campagne, il avoit esté résolu de pousser tout à bout, par des effortz extraordinaires, dans l’intention de finir une guerre dont le poids nous accable, ayant esté remarqué que la prise des places ne finissoit rien. Aussy la dépense de cette année excède encore infiniment toutes les précédentes.

‘On compte icy comme si le Roy Guillaume n’avoit plus d’armée. On n’est pas encore déterminé du dessein des nostres. Les uns disent qu’on va droit à Bruxelles, les autres que Monsieur de Luxembourg entre dans le Brabant hollandois et qu’il alloit bien dédommager le Roy des contributions exigées par les ennemis en Flandres. D’autres veulent qu’on aille forcer les lignes de Liège, où l’on est averty qu’il y a un grand party pour nous, que cette ville n’est plus retenue que par force dans le party de la Ligue, et qu’on a emprisonné 5 des principaux chanoines du chapitre, qui avoit député à l’Evesque pour accepter les conditions avantageuses que le Roy leur offre pour la neutralité, avec la permission de garder eux mesmes leur citadelle, et d’estre toujours armez. Comme en l’estat présent on void tout ouvert on poussera les avantages aussy loin qu’on pourra.

'Il y a des gens qui assurent que Monsieur de Chanlay est allé à Vienne offrir les conditions de la paix à l'Empéreur, entre autres de rendre Luxembourg. Quoy qu'on me l'ait assuré d'assez bonne part, j'en doute.

'Du costé d'Italie, on est à couvert de la crainte qu'on avoit pour Pignerol. On dit que les ennemis ont bombardé Suse. Mais pour cela ils ne le prendront pas, sans un siège dans les formes; parce qu'on trouve moyen de se parer des bombes par les souterrains. Quoy que Monsieur de Catinat ne soit pas fort et que les ennemis se soyent emparez des vallées, il ne laisse pas de couvrir ses places, et il faut gagner les hauteurs pour avoir Suse. Les ennemis se servent de Mazel, qui est à nous, et qui entretient toujours icy ses intelligences. Il y a plus de 18 mois que j'en ay donné l'avis.

'Il arriva hier sur les six heures du soir un courrier à Monsieur de Pontchartrain de la mer, qui rapporte qu'on a brulé ou coulé à fond 7 vaisseaux marchands, armez en guerre, et que 5 autres, gennois ou autres qui ne sont pas ennemis, s'etoient retirez sous nostre pavillon. Ce sont les vaisseaux qui s'etoient retirez dans Gibraltar.

'On attend à toute heure des nouvelles d'une grande action en Alemagne, pourveu que le Prince de Bade veuille bien prester le colet et entrer en lice, Monseigneur étant dans la résolution de l'attaquer par tout où il sera. Mais on dit qu'il s'est retranché sous Heilbron, d'une manière si avantageuse qu'on aura de la peine à l'y forcer.

'Le Duc d'Ormont a un coup d'épée au travers des poumons. On en a grand soin à Namur, mais on ne croit pas qu'il en réchappe. Monsieur le Marquis d'Harcour a mandé que Monsieur de Ruigny avoit esté tué, en témoignant beaucoup de regret, parce qu'il étoit de ses amis. Mandez moy je vous prie si cela est vray. On chantera demain le *Te Deum* pour nostre victoire.'

5pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 Aug.*

E125. 1693, [July 31/] Aug. 10. 'Je voy bien par vostre lettre du 3e. de ce mois que vous n'avez l'esprit remply que du grand combat du 29 du passé. On convient à peu pres de part et d'autre de l'action; mais on diffère dans le nombre des morts et des blessez. Il y a apparence, dit-on, que nostre perte n'est pas si grande que celle des ennemis, puisqu'au fonds la victoire nous est demeurée. Il estoit malaisé qu'en attaquant une armée fortifiée dans son camp, on n'exposast quantité de gens à la boucherie. Mais quand une fois les ennemis ont esté forcez il est à croire que la tuerie a esté fort grande. Le temps nous éclaircira la vérité de ce fait. Jusqu'à présent nous ne saurions dire précisément la perte que nous avons faitte, parce qu'on ne nous en donne pas le détail. Mais nous la jugeons, à dire le vray, fort grande, en repassant tous les régiments, qui ont esté fort mal traittez. Peut-estre pourrons nous en avoir un estat certain,

quand nous aurons tout ramassé sur les lettres particulières et sur le rapport des officiers. Soit que le Roy ait esté touché de cette perte, ou qu'il soit fasché de ce que le courier de Monseigneur, qui arriva avanthier, luy rapporta, savoir, qu'après avoir bien examiné la situation, et les retranchements du Prince de Bade, il étoit impossible de l'y forcer: en sorte qu'on ne pourra pas faire en Alemagne ce que nous nous étions promis; quoy qu'il en soit, le Roy ces derniers jours a paru fort resveur, et fort triste, et mesme samedy dernier au soir, il luy prit un frisson, suivy d'un accez de fièvre, qui pouvoit venir d'avoir trop mangé, sur tout du fruit, ou peut-estre de chagrin. Il a aussy tost pris du quiquina. Nous ne savons pas si cela aura quelque suite.

'Le grand dessein de pousser les affaires en Alemagne paroist avorté. On dit tout haut qu'il ne s'y passera rien de considérable, et l'on est un peu mécontant de ce que Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge n'a pas poussé sa pointe, apres la prise de Heidelberg, tandis que le Prince de Bade étoit foible.

'On commence aussy à n'estre plus si content de Monsieur Catinat, de ce qu'il a trop abandonné les postes, qui ont facilité aux ennemis le siège de Pignerol, au moins de Ste. Brigide qu'il faut prendre pour y parvenir, et où la tranchée a esté ouverte du 28 au 29 du passé. Le Roy veut qu'on le secoure; cela est malaisé. Monsieur de Catinat assemble toutes ses troupes pour cela.

'Monsieur sera icy de retour demain, et les troupes qui étoient en Normandie reviennent. L'infanterie passera en Flandre, et la cavallerie en Piémont, où Monsieur de Catinat prétend entrer. On se fie fort sur la garnison de Pignerol où Messieurs de Tessé sont avec 12 bataillons, et toutes sortes de munitions.

'On nous assure que Monsieur de Luxembourg a fait un détachement de 40 escadrons, pour aller faire contribuer le Brabant hollandois, et se dedommager de celles des lignes de Flandre.

'La moindre chose qu'on espère de la suite du combat est la prise de Charleroy. On dit que Monsieur de Bavière a envoyé les chanoines de Liège arrestez à Mastrik, et qu'on a écrit de laditte ville de Liège avec plus d'animosité que jamais contre nous. Il y a à la cour de la division sur le fait de Monsieur le Marquis d'Harcour, que l'on dit nous avoir causé l'avantage du combat. Les partisans de Monsieur de Luxembourg n'en conviennent pas.

'On commence à dire à la cour et à la ville que tout cela ne sert de rien, et que c'est toujours à recommencer. Surtout on admire la grande manoeuvre du Roy Guillaume, qui a paru plus grand homme de guerre dans cette action que dans toutes les précédés. On luy rend l'honneur qui luy est dû en cette rencontre.

'Vous nous avez fait grand plaisir de nous mander le bon état de Mylord Galway. Monsieur le Prince de Conty l'avoit aussy mandé. On croit qu'il a

esté pris, et qu'on l'a relasché. Mais, comme son régiment, à ce qu'on dit, estoit tout composé de François, et qu'il a esté entièrement défait, on craint bien que nous n'ayions perdu là tous nos pauvres François, qui sont toujours les plus exposez.

'On chanta hier le *Tè Deum*. C'étoit en apparence une réjouyssance publique. Mais en effet un vray sujet de deuil pour bien des gens, qui pleuroient leurs pertes particulières.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 7 Aug.*

E126. 1693, Aug. [4/] 14. Paris. 'J'ay reçu avec vostre lettre du 6 vostre rélation de la bataille de Landen imprimée, dont je vous remercie. Je vous paye en mesme monnoye, vous envoyant la nostre que nous n'avons eue qu'avant hier. Nous convenons assez, ce me semble, de nos faitz par tout. Mais nous différons fort sur la perte, que vous faites beaucoup plus grande de nostre costé qu'on ne nous l'a dit. On rend justice, comme vous voyez, à nos ennemis, en ce qu'on demeure d'accord qu'ils ne pouvoient pas mieux faire qu'ils ont fait. Le Roy Guillaume surpris a donné des marques de son habileté, en profitant du peu de temps qu'il avoit pour se bien retrancher, et de sa bravoure, en menant luy mesme en personne ses troupes au combat, et se trouvant par tout où sa présence étoit nécessaire. On loue fort aussy la valeur et l'intrépidité de Monsieur l'Electeur de Bavière.

'Le Roy avoit eû 2 accez de fièvre qu'il avoit dissimulez et ne se découvrit qu'au 3e. Il a pris quantité de kinkina. Depuis il a eû quelques accez foibles, aprésent on le tient tout à fait hors d'affaire. Il y a peu d'argent dans ses coffres, et l'on se plaint un peu dans les armées de ce qu'on n'est pas bien payé. Il y a 107 officiers suisses tuez ou blessez dans le dernier combat. Nous ne saurions encore bien évaluer au juste nos pertes. Le Roy a dit 7,000 hommes, tant tuez que blessez; mais nous ne nous en tenons pas tout à fait là.

'Enfin la ville de Paris va faire des taxes sur les maisons jusqu'à 5 milions. On croit qu'on passera bien au delà. Monsieur Roses n'a pas apporté tant d'argent de sa course dans le Brabant hollandois qu'on en espéroit, mais il a fait assez de dégast. On parle publiquement icy du siège de Charleroy, que Monsieur de Luxembourg va entreprendre.

'On publia hier la levée du siège de Pignerol, c'est à dire de Ste. Brigide, où les ennemis ont esté repoussez par 2 fois, ayant voulu forcer, à la françoise, l'épée à la main. On dit qu'ils y ont perdu plus de 500 hommes. La levée du siège demande confirmation. La cavallerie qui étoit en Normandie marche de ce costé là, et l'infanterie va en Flandres.

'Nostre armée navale est toute entrée dans la Méditerranée. 4 vaisseaux ennemis marchands qui étoient dans Gibraltar se sont rendus, pour éviter le

brulement. Un vaisseau a pris les devants pour avertir Monsieur de Noailles que nostre flotte alloit à Barcelonne. Plusieurs pretendent que ce n'est pas tant à cette ville-là que nous en voulons qu'au Port Mahon de Minorque, dont on prétend que si nous en sommes les maistres, il ne pourra rien entrer dans la Méditerranée sans nostre consentement, ce qui ruinera le commerce qui s'y fait par les estrangers.

'Monsieur de Pontchartrain a envoyé querir les négocians, pour leur dire que le Roy leur remettoit tous les effectz pris sur les ennemis avec les vaisseaux, pour faire le commerce du Levant, le Roy leur prettant le tout, pour luy estre rendu à retour de voyage. Les gros négocians des principales villes doivent s'assembler, pour faire une grosse compagnie pour cet effet.

'La mauvaise récolte a obligé Monsieur de Pontchartrain de faire traiter de quantité de bleds avec le Bastion d'Afrique, et du costé de Dantzic, où l'on doit envoyer d'avance deux millions, pour en tirer tout autant qu'il sera possible, et tascher à diminuer le prix du bled, qui est toujours excessif, et dont on craint encore l'augmentation. Il y a plusieurs provinces où il ne s'en recueillera que fort peu.

'Les Génevois crient à la faim, aussy bien que la Suisse. Ils demandent permission d'en tirer de France. On doute qu'on la leur accorde. Cependant on prétend faire sortir tous les réfugiés, qui ne sont pas en état de faire des provisions.

'On assure qu'à Valence en Espagne il y a 10,000 hommes en armes, prests à se révolter, et qui ne veulent pas donner les impôts, et secours pour la cour d'Espagne, qu'on leur demande.

'Le bruit court que Monseigneur doit revenir d'Alemagne, où le Prince de Bade est trop retranché pour le pouvoir attaquer avec succez; on n'y fera rien, si ce n'est quelques courses pour ruiner le pays, et en retirer des contributions.

'*Nota.* La relation de la bataille imprimée, venue de Paris aujourd'hui, a esté envoyée au Roy. On n'a pas eû le temps d'en faire une copie.'

3¼ pp. *French. Endorsed as received 14 Aug.*

E127. 1693, Aug [7/] 17. Paris. 'Lors qu'on a creû que le duc de Savoye n'avoit pas un véritable dessein de faire le siège de Pignerol, on a poursuivy le dessein de pousser l'Espagne à demander la paix, en la harcelant de tous costez. C'est pour cela qu'on vous a mandé qu'on vouloit continuer les efforts du costé de la Catalogne, l'armée navale étant passée à cet effet dans la Méditerranée, où l'on parloit d'assiéger Palamos, pour aller en suite à Barcelonne, nos vaisseaux étant vis à vis de ces 2 places. Mais depuis qu'on a veû que c'estoit tout de bon qu'on en vouloit à Pignerol, toute l'attention du

Roy est à sauver cette place, qu'il nous fascheroit fort de perdre. C'est pourquoy on y envoie en diligence la cavallerie qui étoit pour la garde des costes. Elle a pourtant 50 jours de marche à faire. Mais Monsieur Catinat a mandé que la place tiendrait 2 mois sans secours. On mande de ce pays-là qu'elle se défendoit autant pour la mollesse des assiégeans que par la vigueur des assiégés, qui ont déjà tué beaucoup de monde dans une sortie. Outre cela on y envoie une partie des troupes qui étoient en Catalogne, où par conséquent on ne sera pas en état de faire de grand progresz.

'Nous tenons le siège de Charleroy pour assuré. Monsieur le Marquis d'Harcourt et Monsieur de Guiscard la doivent investir, et Monsieur le Mareschal de Villeroy en faire le siège dans les formes.

'Nous ne saurions parvenir à avoir une liste exacte des mortz et blessez à la dernière bataille, mais tous les jours on en augmente le nombre; et ceux qui disoient 4 à 5,000 hommes, qui étoient les plus modérez, disent àprésent 9,000. Il est certain que le Roy n'est pas content de cette action, et qu'à l'avenir on n'ira pas si viste en besougne. Le Roy parle toujours avantageusement du Roy Guillaume, et de Monsieur le Duc de Bavière. Il prend toujours de kinkina.

'On craint que les Impériaux fassent des progresz en Hongrie, et qu'ils n'assiègent Belgrade. Le Roy a changé d'avis, à la sollicitation de Monseigneur. Il ira dans le 15^e. octobre [*sic*] à Fontainebleau, pour l'y attendre. Et au paravant on ira passer 3 jours à Choisy, chez Monsieur, qui en a prié le Roy.

'Il y a des maladies à Rouen, qui emportent en peu de temps le monde. Ce sont des fièvres pourpreuses, qui se communiquent comme la peste. Cette province est malheureuse, n'ayant pas de récolte, non plus que beaucoup d'autres provinces. En sorte que s'il ne nous vient du bled des pays étrangers, le pain sera encore d'une cherté excessive. Mais [on] en espère du Bastion, y en ayant beaucoup en Afrique, aussy bien que de Dantzik. Je ne say dequoy s'est avisé depuis peu l'Intendant d'Orleans de chicaner les gens de la religion. Il a fait publier une ordonnance pour faire aller les domestiques à la messe, et les enfans aux catéchismes, sous peine de payer des amandes. Il est vray qu'on ne les ordonne d'abord que de 5 solz, mais il est à craindre que cela n'augmente. On ne croit pas qu'il ait des ordres de la cour. C'est un zèle particulier, et qui n'est pas approuvé. Cependant cela inquiète les gens, qui ne sont pas accoutumés à ces procedures.

'Le Roy se porte bien. Le kinkina l'a tiré de quelques petiz accez de fièvre. Scaramouche le fit fort rire hier à son disner, où il parut, le visage fort maltraité par sa femme qui l'avoit battu. Il a plus de 80 ans et s'est avisé d'epouser sa servante. Il fit l'histoire de ses amours avec un commis d'un gros financier. Ce fut une comedie qui divertit tout ce qu'il y avoit de gens au

disner de sa Majesté. Le bon homme demandoit par son placet qu'il plust au Roy de faire mettre sa femme dans un convent. Ce qui luy fut accordé, l'ordre en fut donné à Monsieur le Lieutenant Civil, qui par hazard se trouva là.'

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 14 Aug.*

E128. 1693, Aug. [11/] 21. 'Nous ne voyons point de véritable liste des morts et blessez à la dernière grande affaire. En voici pourtant une desja, dont on convient après la revue générale, sçavoir, 97 capitaines tuez, 90 blessez, 71 lieutenans tuez, 234 blessez, 23 sous-lieutenans tuez, 75 blessez, 7 enseignes tuez, 19 blessez, 113 sergens tuez, 213 blessez, 4,201 soldats tuez, 5,187 blessez. Total 4,518 [*sic*] tuez et 5,818 blessez. Ce qui fait de morts ou blessez 10,336, desquels il y a 948 officiers. On fronde fort à la cour contre Monsieur de Luxembourg, qu'on accuse de chercher de la gloire aux despens de tant de sang répandu. Je croy que cette liste approche de la vérité.

'On écrit de Flandre qu'on va seulement faire un siège, mais qu'on est incertain si ce sera Charleroy, Ath, ou Oudenarde. L'armée n'est qu'à 3 lieues de Charleroy, et s'il faut assiéger l'une des 2 autres places il faudra que l'armée fasse 8 jours de marche. Monsieur de Luxembourg est d'avis du siège d'Ath, mais Monsieur de Vauban est d'avis de Charleroy. Chacun a ses raisons.

'Les dernières nouvelles de Pignerol estoient que les ennemis s'estoient rendus maîtres de la contrescarpe de Ste. Brigide; mais un courrier extraordinaire arriva incontinent après, qui rapporta qu'on les en avoit chassés, avec perte de plus de 800 hommes tuez des ennemis qu'on avoit repoussés jusques dans leurs premiers retranchemens, et qu'on avoit comblé leurs tranchées, surquoy la chamade avoit esté battue pour retirer les morts de part et d'autre; ce qui avoit fait courir le bruit que le fort s'estoit rendu. Il ne laissoit pas de courir hier encore qu'il [*sic*] l'estoit effectivement, mais il n'y a pas d'apparence, par ce que les ennemis n'ont pu couper la communication avec Pignerol, par le moyen de laquelle on fournit toujours des troupes fraîches de la ville pour le secours du fort. Cependant le secours pour Monsieur de Cattinat marche, et l'on fait état qu'il aura dans le 15 ou 20^e. du mois prochain 14,000 chevaux, avec lesquels il pourra entrer dans le Piedmont.

'Monsieur de Tourville a envoyé plusieurs des vaisseaux de sa flotte à Toulon pour se radouber et prendre des vivres pour toute la flotte.

'Il est arrivé du 9 ou 10^e. de ce mois un grand ouragan à l'armée de Monseigneur qui a pensé le déconcerter, par ce qu'ayant abattu la plus grande partie des tentes, le feu s'y mit, ce qui y causa un grand desordre. Il s'en fallut fort peu qu'il ne gagnast le parc de l'artillerie où estoient les poudres; le mal fut arrêté par le grand soin qu'on eust d'y pourvoir, ce qui n'empescha pas

la perte de beaucoup de chevaux et d'équippages. Les maraudeurs au nombre de 3 à 4,000, s'estant fait un chef, ont attaqué la ville d'Armstat qu'ils ont prise et pillée; mais à leur retour Monseigneur en a fait pendre une vingtaine. Ces gens-là ont fait de tres grands dégats. L'armée de Monseigneur a repassé le Nekre. On croit qu'on enverra un corps de troupes pour faire le tour, et se saisir de certaines hauteurs qui sont derrière le camp de Monsieur le Prince de Bade pour le canonner et l'obliger à faire un mouvement en quittant ses retranchemens.

'On ne croit pas qu'il se passe rien de plus en Catalogne, parce qu'on a fait marcher une partie de la cavallerie en Piedmont, et que les Espagnols s'y sont fortifiez, y ayant à present 20,000 hommes; mais on pourroit bien se saisir, comme je vous l'ay mandé, du Pont [*sic*] Mahon en l'isle de Minorque.

'Les gens qui sont assidus à la cour treuvent que le Roy vieillit fort. L'accablement des affaires y contribue beaucoup.

'Les maladies augmentent en diverses provinces, et l'on craint une espece de famine, le bled enchérissant fort, a moins qu'il n'y soit pourveü par les bleds étrangers qu'on prétend de faire venir à nostre secours.

'Il y a en Languedoc des maladies comme à Rouen, qui troussent les gens en peu de temps.

'Je ne sçay comment vous comprenez la perte de vos vaisseaux. Nous en comptons icy 84, de pris, bruslez ou coulez à fonds. Apparemment vous ne comptez que sur le premier choc; cependant il y a eu diverses rencontres depuis. Vous sçavez que vous avez perdu 4 vaisseaux à Gibraltar, sans compter 4 armateurs de Flessingue, et 2 vaisseaux marchands pris à Malaga.

'Monsieur de Tourville en attaquant les vaisseaux qui estoient dans le port de Malaga fit dire au gouverneur de cette [*sic*], que s'il tiroit un coup de canon, il feroit bombarder la ville. Cependant on tira quelques volées de canon de la ville comme Monsieur de Tourville alloit luy mesme reconnoistre le port. Un boulet de canon passa entre luy et son fils naturel, surquoy il se mit en estat de bombarder la ville; mais le gouverneur luy envoya faire excuse, disant que c'estoit quelque canon tiré des vaisseaux sans son adveu; de sorte qu'il en fut quitte pour cela, et quelques rafraischissemens qu'il envoya pour la flotte, et quelques presens pour Monsieur de Tourville.'

3½ pp. *Copy, not in the hand of Legoux. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 24 Aug.*

E129. 1693, Aug. [14/] 24. Paris. 'Nous commençons d'ordinaire les campagnes avec des espérances les plus grandes du monde; mais les fins n'y répondent pas. Celle cy nous croyions envahir toute la Flandre. On ne comptoit pas moins que sur Bruxelles, Mastrich, et en Allemagne sur

Mayence et Francfort; à présent on tient un langage fort différent. On croyoit en Flandre le siège de Charleroy, ce n'est plus cela. On a contremandé les pionniers, et l'on ne sçait plus ce qu'on fera. Nous apprenons que les armées ne sont qu'à 2 lieues l'une de l'autre; le Roy Guillaume estant à Hall, et Monsieur de Luxembourg à Nivelles; et on croit que les ennemis sont aussi forts que nous.

'On ne parle plus en Allemagne que de la retraite. On a traité avec le Wirtemberg des contributions à 1,200 mil livres. On escrit que nostre armée repassera le Rhin, et que Monseigneur reviendra bientôt. On sçait que les Impériaux assiègent Belgrade. Le Duc de Croy a fait un tour de son mestier; il a fait tomber entre les mains du Bascha de Thémisvar une lettre qu'il escrivoit au commandant de Ségédin, par laquelle il luy donnoit un faux avis qu'il en vouloit à Thémisvar, ce qui a obligé le Bacha de demander du secours à celui de Belgrade qui luy en ayant envoyé, et s'estant par là affoibli, dez le lendemain il s'est veu investi. Les Turcs sont foibles, et les Allemands forts.

'Dans le temps qu'on nous assuroit que le siège de Ste. Brigide estoit levé, nous avons appris qu'il a esté pris, ayant esté abandonné du 13 au 14 de ce mois. Il est vray que le Duc de Savoye n'a rien treuvé dedans. Il est à présent occupé à assiéger la citadelle de Pignerol, ayant insisté à faire ce siège plustost que celui de la ville auquel les Espagnols et Allemands avoient plus de pente. On n'a point de plus grand empressement que celui de secourir cette place dont la prise nous embarasseroit fort; c'est pourquoy de tous côtez on y marche, et l'on prétend que Monsieur de Cattinat aura dans 15 jours 14 mil chevaux, en sorte qu'il aura pres de 40,000 hommes. Cependant on dit qu'on a contremandé la cavallerie de Catalogue qui y devoit marcher, et qu'on a quelque dessein en ce pays là où nos galères au nombre de 30 doivent se rendre incessamment aupres de Monsieur de Tourville. Mais le pis que j'y vois est qu'il n'y a point de l'argent; il est tres rare, on le serre.

'La récolte est si mauvaise que le bled est hors de prix, on craint famine, ce sera bien pis dans trois mois. Le peuple crie et murmure.

'Le Roy ne se porte pas trop bien et est triste. Il y a beaucoup de maladies à Versailles. La maladie se met parmi le peuple, et à Versailles en 2 jours de temps presque toute la garde du Roy a esté deserte.

'On se plaint que nous avons fort parlé de nos avantages et de nos triomphes. Il n'y a rien de décisif, et on ne sçait plus d'ou pouvoir espérer la paix. Enfin on commence d'envisager tous les maux que nous fait la guerre beaucoup plus distinctement que cy devant, par ce que nous voyons la maladie de plus pres.

'On ne compte plus de pouvoir tirer de l'argent que des riches, par ce que la grande cherté met toute la campagne dans la dernière impuissance d'en fournir.

'Le Duc de la Ferté mandoit l'autre jour plaisamment d'Allemagne sur la nouvelle de l'ataque de Monsieur de Luxembourg, que le Prince de Bade estoit bien mieux fortifié que le Roy Guillaume, et que si on s'estoit mis en devoir de le forcer, il y auroit eu de quoy donner le paroli* à Monsieur de Luxembourg. Monsieur de Bonrepos a escrit qu'il alloit avec le Roy de Dannemark assister au siège de Ratsbourg qu'on espère devoir faire une diversion en Allemagne.

'On ne nous parle que de malheurs. Vendredy dernier on nous vint dire qu'une femme avoit tué 5 enfans qu'elle avoit, poussée de desespoir de ne leur pouvoir donner du pain. Elle s'alloit noyer lors qu'on l'arresta et qu'on la mena en prison. Selon elle ce seroit luy faire grace que de la faire mourir. Nous croyons qu'elle est plus digne de pitié que de supplice; les réflexions qu'elle fera sur sa fureur la puniront de reste. Hier on disoit que Madame de Porsmout estoit morte, cependant cela n'est pas encore vray, mais il ne s'en faut guéres. Elle a eu si grande peur de la petite vérolle qui a tuée sa bonne amie Madame de Nesle que le mesme mal l'a prise. Cette maladie n'est pas aisée a guérir aux personnes qui ont quelque aage [*sic*].'

2³/₄ pp. *Copy, in the same hand as no. E128. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 24 Aug.*

E130. 1693, Aug. [18/] 28. Paris. 'On n'a plus aprésent de veues que pour Pignerol. On n'a point encore de nouvelles que les ennemis ayent ouvert la tranchée. Le Duc de Savoye, qui ne veut pas dégarnir Turin, a voulu qu'on ait envoyé chercher le grand canon à Milan. Cela leur fait perdre un temps qui leur doit estre fort cher, car de tous costez on marche au secours. La gendarmerie qui étoit en Alemagne est en marche, et l'on doute que les ennemis puissent avec tous leur efforts venir à bout de cette place, avant que le secours soit arrivé. Monsieur le Chevallier de Tessé, qui étoit dans Ste. Brigide, a eû la prévoyance de faire sauter les fortifications qui couvroient cette place du costé de Pignerol, en sorte qu'elle est toute à découvert de ce costé-là, et l'on prétend que les grandes batteries de Pignerol empescheront que les ennemis ne puissent non seulement attaquer mais mesme subsister.

'On abandonne tous les projets sur l'Allemagne. Monseigneur en revient incessamment et l'on croit qu'il est party le 24 de ce mois, et qu'il sera à Versailles le 5 ou 6 du prochain.

'J'ay veû les lettres de nostre flotte du 27 du passé, du 10 et du 18 de ce mois. Par les premiéres il paroissoit qu'on avoit dessein sur Barcelonne, parce qu'on n'avoit pas encore reçu les ordres du Roy. Mais par les derniéres, sur

*A gaming term for a doubled stake. Luxembourg would have needed two victories like Landen to match so hazardous an enterprise as dislodging Baden.

le point que Monsieur de Tourville vouloit mouiller devant cette place, un vaisseau venant de Roses les apporta. On apprit que l'on avoit fait un grand détachement de l'armée de Monsieur de Noailles, pour passer en Piémont. Ainsy Monsieur de Tourville prit le party de venir à Toulon, où il est arrivé le 17 de ce mois, avec la meilleure partie de sa flotte, pour se rafraischir, mettre ses malades, qui estoient en grand nombre, à terre, et faire des radoubz. On croit que tout cela retiendra les vaisseaux plus d'un mois à Toulon, où l'on en desarmera quelques uns. Comme on a trouvé parmy les prises quantité de marchandises plus propres pour le Ponant que pour le Levant, on en a fait partir à 2 fois divers vaisseaux de charge escortez de quelques vaisseaux de guerre. Ce qui donne lieu de craindre qu'ils ne tombent entre les mains des ennemis, s'il est vray, comme on le dit, que leur flotte soit sur les costes de Biscaye. On ne doute pas que toute la flotte ne revienne à Brest. Les equipages se plaignent fort des chaleurs, et des calmes, qui les ont fort fatiguez.

'On est toujours icy fort en peine d'argent, et de la disette des bleds, tendante à famine. Le menu peuple crie sur ce que le bled, et par conséquent le pain, augmente tous les jours de prix. On ne se croit pas là dessus trop en seureté dans les grandes villes. Les bourgeois à Lyon, au nombre de 200, ont fait un fonds de 200,000 écus pour faire des achats de bleds, qu'on distribuera à la populace au prix coutant. Cela est une maladie presque universelle par tout le royaume. Dans ces commencements on pousse le temps avec l'épaulé. Mais on craint fort pour cet hyver.

'On ne croit plus de siège en Flandre. Mais on craint encore pour quelque action. Les grandes marches des troupes les ont fort fatiguées. Le Roy est fort ennuyé de la guerre, et fort porté à faire une paix *quoquo modo*. Le travail luy fait trop de peine.

'Au reste j'ay trouvé un homme seur pour la correspondance qu'on souhaite avoir dans les portz. On peut s'assurer sur luy pour ce qui regarde les affaires de toute la coste de la Rochelle, qui sont assez difficiles. Il faudroit pourvoir à luy donner 5 ou 600,000 livres d'avance, et luy payer tant qu'il y sera, afin que nous en ayions des avis justes, sur lesquels on puisse prendre des mesures assurées. Réponse sur cela au plustost, pour ne pas laisser refroidir sa bonne volonté. J'en cherche avec prudence pour les autres ports.'

3pp. *French. On reverse an undated, signed holograph note from Jurieu to Nottingham: 'Milord aura la bonté de nous envoyer de l'argent au plutost pour ce correspondant et ceux que nous cherchons et pourrons trouver.'*
Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 Aug.

E131. 1693, Aug. [21/] 31. Paris. 'Hier il arriva un courrier de Monsieur le Comte de Tessé qui commande dans Pignerol, qui apprit que les ennemis n'avoient pas encore ouvert la tranchée devant cette place, contre le bruit qui

s'étoit répandu que le 21 elle avoit esté ouverte. Il dit que Monsieur le Duc de Savoye s'attachoit à faire rétablir le port de Ste. Brigide, et qu'il avoit renvoyé son gros canon, ainsy on ne croit plus que ce siège se fasse. Il n'est pas levé puisqu'il n'a point esté entrepris. Le Duc n'a pas voulu dégarnir Turin de son grand canon, il vouloit qu'on amenast celui de Milan, dont les Espagnolz n'ont pas voulu aussy se dégarnir. On est étonné de cela, car, à compter depuis l'abandonnement de Ste. Brigide, les ennemis avoyent un mois de temps tout entier avant l'arrivée du secours, qui s'y achemine de toutes parts. Il est vray aussy que si ce mois là ne suffisoit pas pour la prendre, ils n'ont pas mal fait de ne l'entreprendre pas, car le secours leur seroit tombé sur le corps. Cela n'empeschera pas qu'on ne tasche de prendre Cony, et de faire peur à Turin, quand toutes les lettres seront assemblées; car pour lors on compte que Monsieur Catinat aura 60,000 hommes. Les princes italiens n'auroyent pas été bien aises de cette prise. Ils sont desjà allarmés des quartiers d'hyver, dont on les menace encore; et on prétend que les terres du Pape n'en seront pas exemptes.

'Quoy qu'on ne soit pas persuadé qu'il se fasse de siège en Flandres, on ne laisse pas de soubçonner quelque dessein depuis qu'on a seu que Monsieur de Vauban y étoit. On a toujours grande envie sur Charleroy. Pour ce qui est de combat Monsieur de Luxembourg n'a point d'ordre d'en hazarder. On est trop mécontent du dernier.

'Les vaisseaux qui sont à Toulon n'y font qu'un demy radoub. On a mis à terre plus de 6,000 malades. Les galères ont mis à terre des troupes vers Nice.

'Le prevost des marchands et echevins de cette ville de Paris sont allez à Versailles remercier le Roy de ce qu'il se contentoit de 6 millions, à quoy on a fixé l'extraordinaire. Mais on n'a pas encore fixé les voyes de la levée qui avoit esté proposée sur les maisons. On propose de mettre un nouveau droit sur les entrées, afin que la contribution soit générale. Outre cette somme on compte de retirer encore 12 millions du clergé, qui crie fort. Plusieurs d'entre eux, dans l'impossibilité de payer la taxe des bois, offrent de remettre leurs bénéfices. À cela on ajoute ce que le Roy tirera de la nouvelle conversion des espèces, qui donnera une tres grande somme. Cette conversion produira un autre avantage, sur lequel on compte: c'est que chacun, craignant le rabais qui arrivera infailliblement lors de la paix, mettra son argent dans le commerce, que la crainte de perdre empeschera de tenir caché, ce qui seroit aussy tres difficile à faire par les précautions qu'on prendra pour l'empescher, par ce qu'on ordonnera la confiscation de tout ce qui se trouvera caché, et que l'on sera exposé aux dénonciations. On craint les valetz et autres gens, à qui on promet une grosse récompense pour les droits d'avis, et sur cela chacun tremblera.

'Le Roy fait faire des fours au Louvre, comme il a esté pratiqué en cas pareil, pour donner le pain aux pauvres gens à 2 solz la livre; car on craint fort le menu peuple, que la faim pourroit exciter aux desordres. Les intéressez au Bastion sont chargez de faire venir tout le bled qu'ils pourront des costes d'Affrique, pour la subsistance des armées.

'On ne parle que tout bas à Versailles du retour de Monseigneur. On a des lettres de Belgrade du 7 qui font espérer que les Turcs défendront bien cette place. Et l'on assure qu'il y a encore dedans 9,000 hommes. On tient le Comte de Louvignies mort, le Prince de Bade malade de la dissenterie, dont son armée est aussy attaquée.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 31 Aug.*

E132. 1693, [Aug. 25/] Sept. 4. Paris. 'Le Roy, qui avoit trouvé mauvais que le public se meslast de dire que Monseigneur seroit icy au premier jour, declara luy mesme avanthier qu'il y seroit le 12; que les mousquetaires l'escorteroient jusqu'à Verdun, où il prendroit la poste. On croit mesme qu'il pourra estre à Versailles le 9 ou le 10. Les chansonniers ont fait là dessus ce couplet de chanson sur l'air de la vieille, "Veux tu savoir la différence" etc.

Ce grand Dauphin, sur qui la France
Fonde toute son espérance,
Revient, dressons-luy des autels.
Il mérite qu'on le révère,
Ce filz du plus grand des mortels
Suit bien les traces de son père.

Vous voyez bien que c'est sur le retour d'Alemagne, comme sur celui du Roy de Flandre à Versailles.

'On fait courir le bruit que toute l'armée du Prince de Bade est pleine de maladies, et qu'elle ne peut subsister dans son camp. Ce qui oblige la nostre à repasser le Néker.

'Les dernières nouvelles du Piémont marquent que les ennemis veulent fortifier le mont de Ste. Brigide, et qu'ils ont fait des détachements pour se saisir des avenues, et sur tout du Col de la Fenestre, dans l'intention que lors que les neiges viendront, et que nous ne pourrons passer, ils entreprennent sur Pignerol. On prétend que le Duc de Savoye avoit donné parole au Pape qu'il n'entreprendroit rien cette campagne, moyennant quoy le Roy de son costé le laisseroit en repos, ce qui est cause que le Roy n'a pas envoyé d'abord beaucoup de troupes en ces quartiers-là, et qu'il est fort outré contre le Duc. On espère pourtant qu'il pourra bien faire une paix, avant la campagne prochaine.

‘Nostre armée navale sera en estat de partir de Toulon du 15 au 20 de ce mois, pour repasser le Détroit, et retourner à Brest. La plus part des maladies sur la flotte viennent du chaud extraordinaire qu’il a fait, qui a fort incommodé nos gens, sur tout dans les calmes. Gabaret détaché avec 9 vaisseaux a esté un peu écarté par de gros temps. 3 de ces vaisseaux en ont rencontré 5 Espagnols marchands, qu’ils ont pris. D’un autre costé 5 ou 6 de nos armateurs ont pris 18 vaisseaux chargez au retour de la pesche des baleines, outre lesquels plusieurs autres ont péry dans les glaces.

‘On assure que si on n’eust pas tant espargné les Espagnols ils étoient fort ébranlez pour la paix, et mesme que l’admirante Castille, sous prétexte de venir aux eaux, vouloit la venir traiter par ordre du Conseil d’Espagne. Mais ils se sont un peu calmez, voyant qu’on ne les pousoit pas.

‘Il y a des lettres de Londres qui marquent l’étonnement où les marchands ont esté de voir tout le fracas que nous avons fait dans la Méditerranée; que déjà 15 grands marchands avoyent fait banqueroutte à Londres, où le party des jacobites se fortifioit; mais plus que tout le party des modéréz, qu’on regarde comme républicains; qu’on attend avec grande impatience le prochain Parlement où les affaires se rendront fort difficiles; que l’on ne portoit plus d’argent à l’Echiquier; et qu’il s’en faloit beaucoup que celui que le Parlement dernier avoit accordé au Roy Guillaume fust levé, en étant beaucoup deû, qui ne venoit pas; et que si les moderez prenoient le party d’en fournir encore, ce seroit sans esperance de continuer à l’avenir, si on voyoit toujours la France remporter des avantages.

‘Il est certain qu’à l’égard de la terre, on jugé [*sic*] que le Roy Guillaume s’en est bien tiré, par rapport aux grandes espérances de la France. Mais pour la mer, on ne peut pas comprendre comment un si grand armement a si mal réussy, sans aucune entreprise de leur part, et une si grande perte pour leurs marchands.

‘On est fort en peine icy sur la disette des bleds, le peu qu’il y en a presque partout ne rendant rien. On a donné les ordres trop tard pour en avoir des etrangers. Cependant il y a des gens assez hardis pour proposer de faire fournir le pain à Paris pendant 10 ans à 2 solz la livre; mais on doute qu’on accepte leurs propositions, y ayant des inconveniens considérables.

‘Nostre ambassadeur à Maroc n’a pas réussy. Le Roy luy a demandé 10 Maures pour la liberté de chaque François, ainsy on croit que St. Olon reviendra, sans rien faire.

‘On n’a pas encore déterminé sur quoy on lèvera les 5 millions que la ville de Paris donne. Chanlay en s’en revenant est tombé malade à Strasbourg. On attend avec impatience ce qui arrivera du siège de Belgrade. On ne croit plus de siège en Flandre, quoy que les troupes des costes doivent estre arrivées. Les officiers subalternes crient à la faim. L’argent est court, on ne paye pas les troupes comme cy devant.

‘Les vaisseaux marchands de renvoy de la Meditterranée, pour les quels, aussy bien que pour leur escorte, on craignoit la rencontre de la flotte ennemie, sont arrivez à bon port.’

3½ pp. *French. Endorsed as received 9 Sept.*

E133. 1693, [Aug. 28/] Sept. 7. Paris. ‘L’application du Roy aux affaires intéresse trop sa santé. C’est ce qui a fait dire qu’il choisiroit un premier ministre pour se décharger de beaucoup de détail qui l’incommode. Que cela arrive ou non, il est encore incertain. Mais toujours ce qu’il y a de vray c’est que Madame de Maintenon, qui a le plus de pouvoir sur son esprit, fait tout ce qu’elle peut pour le détourner du travail, jusques là, qu’elle luy oste les papiers de devant luy.

‘On croit la campagne finie tout à fait en Flandre, aussy bien qu’en Allemagne. À l’égard du Piémont, les troupes continuent leurs marches. Les dernières du 30 du passé de Fénestrelles, camp de Monsieur Catinat, portent que le soir précédent Monsieur le Duc de Savoye, avec les officiers généraux de son armée, avoit couché à la Pérouse, et que ce jour-là 30e. il est venu à la vue de Vilaret, où nous avions 300 hommes detachez commandez par un colonel, qui avoit une garde avancée, qui se retira en bon ordre; qu’un deserteur avoit rapporté à Monsieur Catinat qu’il y avoit un grand corps d’infanterie et environ 2,000 chevaux à la Pérouse, et que Monsieur de Savoye se vantoit de l’attaquer dans son poste; mais que tout étoit si bien gardé qu’on ne croyoit pas qu’il l’entreprist. On fait état que, lorsque toutes les troupes auront joint, il y aura plus de 50,000 hommes.

‘On desarme 12 grands vaisseaux à Toulon, où toute nostre flotte est généralement. Tout [*sic*] ceux qui doivent revenir à Brest partiront dans 8 ou 10 jours. Il restera toujours une escadre dans la Méditerranée.

‘On attend Monseigneur à Versailles apres demain. Il s’est tenu depuis peu des assemblées de ville, où le prevost des marchands a harangué, pour faire connoistre aux bourgeois que le Roy avoit eû la bonté d’agréer l’offre de 5 millions pour estre déchargez de beaucoup de nouveutez quon demandoit. On propose, pour y satisfaire, de lever 25 fois autant ce qu’on paye pour les boues et lanternes. Cela fait peur à bien des locataires, qui ont assez de peine à payer leurs loyers, parce que cela ne monte pas si peu que cela n’aille à la moitié ou au tiers des loyers.

‘On fait monter du bled par le Rhosne à Lyon. On croit qu’on se retranchera sur la quantité des troupes à l’avenir, pour se tenir plustost sur la défensive qu’autrement. On a écrit des lettres circulaires aux evesques, pour faire une assemblée icy, afin de terminer l’affaire des bois, pour laquelle on demande 4 millions au clergé, sur quoy on ne trouve encore que 1,800,00 livres de fonds

certain à recouvrer; mais c'est à condition expresse que l'assemblée ne tiendra que 15 jours, pendant lesquels défenses sont faites bien expresses de parler d'aucune autre matière.

'On commence à espérer que les affaires s'accommoderont avec Rome. Le retour de Monsieur le Cardinal d'Etrées fait croire qu'on veut que le Cardinal de Fourbin en ait tout l'honneur.

'On continue en diverses provinces d'inquiéter les gens pour envoyer les enfans aux catéchismes, et les domestiques à la messe. À l'égard des maîtres, on ne leur dit rien. On trouve étrange que dans ce temps-cy on remue encore cette corde. Il est aisé de voir qu'on ne compte pas sur les gens d'âge, mais seulement sur la jeunesse qu'on veut accoutumer à la religion catholique. L'esprit de cagoterie règne toujours. Monsieur le Duc de St. Aignan, qui est gouverneur des petits princes, ne souffre pas qu'on mette auprès d'eux aucun domestique qui ne soit devot. C'est à dire que pourvû qu'on voye les gens à l'église sourciller, cela fait tout le mérite, et la plus part se contrefont. Enfin l'hypocrisie domine et le gouvernement en est la dupe. Car dans le fonds, Dieu sait quels devots sont ces gens-là. La cabale contraire s'en moque; mais elle n'est pas la plus forte quoy qu'elle soit la plus nombreuse. Le menu peuple, qui souffre, parle hardiment, et dit fort bien: "Nous ne nous soucions pas à qui nous soyons, pourvû que nous soyons plus à nostre aise que nous ne sommes."

3pp. *French. Endorsed as received 9 Sept.*

E134. 1693, [Sept. 1/] 11. Paris. 'On ne doute plus d'un siège en Flandre. On a esté indéterminé sur Ath, Oudenarde, ou Charleroy. Mais on croit à présent que c'est à cette dernière qu'on s'est fixé. On a fait pour cela tous les préparatifs nécessaires et je le croy présentement investie. Monsieur de Boufflers vient sur la Mozelle, avec 14 bataillons et quelque cavallerie. La marche de la gendarmerie en Piémont, qui a retardé, par un *qui pro quo* des ordres donnez, aura de la peine d'arriver saine et sauve, par des marches extraordinaires qu'elle fait, ayant déjà perdu beaucoup de chevaux.

'On dit icy que le Roy Guillaume, ne voulant pas estre témoin de la prise d'une place qu'il ne pourra pas empêcher, s'en retourne en Hollande et repassera bientôt en Angleterre. On tient que Monsieur de Villeroy le siège, tandis que Monsieur de Luxembourg se tiendra à l'ordinaire en estat d'empêcher le secours.

'On nous assure que Monsieur le Duc de Savoye a fait miner Ste. Brigide, pour en détruire toutes les fortifications, lorsqu'on le jugera à propos.

'On ne s'entretient icy dans toutes les compagnies que sur la cherté des bleds, à laquelle on tasche d'apporter quelque remède. Cela donne occasion au

peuple de tenir des discours hardis, qu'on ne fait pas semblant d'entendre acause des temps fascheux. Dans un autre on puniroit bien viste ceux qui les tiennent. On est fort embarrassé sur les moyens de lever les 5 millions que la ville a offerts au Roy. On a parlé depuis peu d'une capitation dont la conséquence seroit fascheuse parce que ce seroit une espèce de taille qui, si elle avoit commencé icy, suivroit par toute la France, dans les villes franches. On avoit proposé d'augmenter l'imposition des boues et lanternes de 25 fois autant; mais on trouve que cela est trop peçant, et qu'il vaut mieux que chacun porte le fardeau. Ainsy cela pourroit bien finir par des impositions sur les danrées. La peur que l'on a est que si l'on en fait une fois l'établissement, il ne dure toujours, mesme *cessante causâ*.

'Vous verrez dans la Gazette la nouvelle distribution des bénéfices que le Roy a faite. Il y a une certaine cabale de devotion, appuyée de Madame de Maintenon, dont l'Evesque de Chartres est le général et l'Abbé Tiberge lieutenant. Comme ils sont chargez des missions étrangères, on prétend que, sous prétexte de charitez, on donne de l'argent, et que cela facilite l'obtention des bénéfices. L'Abbé de Vertamont, qui a eû l'evesché de Pamiers, a, dit on, donné dix mil écus. Par là on ouvre le chemin à une simonie manifeste.

'On assure que le siège de Belgrade va fort mal pour les Impériaux, et qu'ils ne prendront point cette place.

'On écrit de Londres que si la campagne finit mal pour les alliez, le Roy Guillaume aura de la peine à tirer de l'argent du prochain Parlement en Angleterre. C'est pourquoy la prise de Charleroy luy sera fascheuse, et à nous de conséquence acause des traverses, que la garnison de cette place nous cause.

'On ne dit plus rien de la mer, si ce n'est que nos vaisseaux doivent repasser en Ponant ce mois cy, à la réserve d'une douzaine de vaisseaux desarmez, qui resteront à Toulon.

'Monseigneur arriva avanthier. Le Roy, qui étoit venu au devant de luy, le rencontra à l'entrée du Bois de Boulougne. Jeudy prochain toute la cour ira à Choisy, où Monseigneur réglera le Roy, et de là elle ira à Fontainebleau passer un mois aux divertissements de la chasse. Monseigneur vient icy aujourd'hui à un nouvel opera, qui se doit représenter pour la premiere fois.

'On a arresté depuis 3 ou 4 jours Monsieur et Madame de La Fontaine, sans qu'on sache le sujet, et on les a menez à la Bastille. Le bon homme a plus de 80 ans, et sa femme est accoutumée à estre enfermée, ayant déjà esté pres de 2 ans au mesme lieu, avec une tranquillité d'esprit qu'elle a toujours conservée. Elle y est allée cette fois-cy avec le mesme esprit. On soubçonne que la cause est que l'on ne sait ce qu'est devenue un jeune enfant qu'on présuppose qu'elle a fait échapper.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed as received 9 Sept.*

E135. 1693, Sept. [4/] 14. Paris. 'L'evangile du jour est le siège de Charleroy investy le 9e. de ce mois. Monsieur de Luxembourg a mandé au Roy que le Roy Guillaume étoit party le 8 pour Hollande, et qu'il avoit promis de revenir en cas que nous entreprissions le siège, et qu'il croit bien qu'il tiendra parole pour le retour, mais qu'il ne croit pas qu'il le fasse lever. Monsieur de Vauban y est toujours fixe. À l'égard des troupes qui assiègeront, il viendra tous les jours un lieutenant général, avec les troupes nécessaires, qui se relèveront toutes les 24 heures, et partiront pour cet effet de l'armée de Monsieur de Luxembourg, en sorte que tous les jours il y aura des troupes fraîches. Il y a 11 lieutenants généraux, qui les conduiront l'un apres l'autre. On n'a point encore avis que la tranchée soit ouverte. Mais on compte que c'est une affaire de 15 jours. On n'a pas grande peur de Pimantel qui est gouverneur; mais on dit qu'il y a un petit Espagnol, nommé Castillo, qui se défendra bien, en sorte qu'on s'attend que la place sera bien meurtrière. À l'égard du secours, on est persuadé qu'on ne le tentera pas. On dit que toute la garnison est espagnole, et qu'il y a 5 ou 6,000 hommes.

'On écrit de Toulon que Monsieur de Tourville en doit partir dans le 15e. de ce mois au plus tard, pour venir à Brest; que Monsieur le Comte d'Estrées reste en Levant, avec Monsieur de Némond et un autre lieutenant général; qu'on desarme 25 vaisseaux et que les galères sont retirées à Marseille. Ainsy voilà la guerre par mer en repos pour cette année.

'Le bruit commun est que l'accommodement est fait avec Rome. Cependant, comme il y a quelques jours que le courrier est arrivé, et qu'on ne publie pas la chose, il pourroit bien y avoir encore quelque petit accroq. Le Cardinal d'Etrées, dans son audience de congé, le 28 du passé, eut une audience de 2 heures du Pape. En ce temps-là arriva la nouvelle de l'avantage remporté au dernier combat de Flandres. On avoit envoyé le modèle de la satisfaction que les evesques de l'assemblée de 82 faisoient au Pape, assez étendue, et dont il paroisoit qu'on devoit estre content. Cependant le Conseil du Pape y ajouta encore quelque chose: et c'est là dessus qu'on doit prendre icy la dernière résolution, et ce qui cause peut estre le retardement. Comme le Pape et le Roy en ont envie, on croit qu'on passera par dessus de petites formalitez, qui ne consistent qu'en quelques termes plus ou moins forts. Au surplus on dit que ce Pape est un bon homme, mais se défiant de ses lumières, et craignant d'estre surpris. Ces grands gouverneurs sont le Cardinal Spada, le Cardinal Albane, et Panccatici, le plus habile de tous.

'Un de mes amis, qui a servy cette campagne en Catalogne, m'a assuré qu'il y avoit de pris 24 vaisseaux marchands et les 2 de guerre, et qu'il y en avoit eû 4 marchands brulez ou coulez à fond; plusieurs à la verité volontairement et qui ont par conséquent sauvé la plus part de leurs marchandises. En sorte que le profit que nous en tirerons ne sera pas si grand que nous l'espérons.

‘Le clergé doit s’assembler par députation dans la fin de cette année, pour trouver les moyens de fournir les 4 millions de taxes pour leurs bois.

‘On tastonne toujours sur les expédients pour la levée des 5 millions que la ville de Paris a offertz pour la conservation de ses privilèges, et l’exemption des nouvelles affaires. Monsieur de Pontchartrain a rebuté la levée sur le bois, vin, chandelle, etc. parce qu’il dit qu’il n’a que faire de la ville pour cela. Quoy que la capitation paroisse odieuse, elle sera plus agréable au ministre, parce qu’elle peut avoir de grandes suites, et servir de plan pour toutes les villes du royaume, sur lesquelles elle pourra avoir de la suite, par le moyen de quoy on n’auroit plus besoin de chercher des extraordinaires parce qu’il n’y aura qu’à allonger l’etrivière; et par là on sera assuré pendant la guerre des fonds extraordinaires pour la soutenir.

‘Le peuple s’emancippe toujours à parler avec trop de liberté. Quand la faim presse, on n’écoute rien.

‘On cherche tous les moyens, et l’on donne tous les ordres nécessaires, pour que nous ne manquions pas de pain, et pour le réduire à un prix raisonnable. On a remarqué que les communautéz religieuses, aussy affamées de gain que tout le reste du monde, ne se contentoyent pas de leurs provisions, et qu’elles en faisoient des amas extraordinaires pour y profiter. C’est pour quoy on va fouiller dans leurs maisons, pour les obliger à garder les marchez. Les Chartreux sont de ce nombre, les Pères de St. Lazare et autres, etc. Ces messieurs que la charité devoit obliger à se retrancher, pour ne pas incommoder le public, sont fort attachez à leur intérêt, et pratiquent bien la maxime, *Primò mihi*.

‘Les dernières nouvelles de Vienne parlent désavantageusement du siège de Belgrade. On dit que les Turcs ont fait une sortie, où ils ont tué beaucoup d’Alemans. Que les Turcs sont les maistres du Danube, et que les assiégeans manquent de tout. Cela fait espérer qu’ils ne prendront point cette place. On compte fort aussy sur la diversion du Roy de Danemarc, et sur les mesures qu’on a prises avec le Roy de Suède.’

4pp. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 16 Sept.

E136. 1693, Sept. [8/] 18. Paris. ‘Enfin nous voilà tout à fait d’accord avec le Saint Père. Nous n’aurons plus de démeslez avec Rome, à moins que de recommencer sur nouveaux frais. Nous aurons de beaux parchemins, et sa Sainteté aura de bon argent. Il restoit 16 évesques à sacrer, et quantité d’autres subalternes aspirans apres des bulles. Il y avoit si longtemps qu’on en étoit sur les formalitez, pour les termes de la satisfaction que messieurs de l’assemblée de 1682 devoient faire, qu’enfin, fatiguez de part et d’autre, on en est convenue. Les voicy.

Ad pedes Sanctitatis vestrae provoluti, declaramus nos, supra id quod dici potest, ex corde dolere, supra rebus gestis in praefatis comitiis, quae Sanctitatis vestrae, ejusque decessoribus valde displicuerunt, ac perinde quod ibidem contra ecclesiasticam et ponteficiam auctoritatem, sive in praejudicium ecclesiarum (quod a mente nostra prorsus alienum esse testamur) deliberatum, decretumque fuit videri potest, pro non decreto, et non deliberato habemus, et habendum esse declaremus.

Nous voulions mettre *circa*, il a falu mettre *contra*, idem *videri potest*, et les ultramontains ont voulu *fuit*.

‘Vous voyez bien que par les termes dont nous nous pretendions servir, c’etoit pour ne pas avouer tout à fait qu’il se fust rien fait contre l’autorité ecclésiastique et du Pape. Mais il a falu passer carriere, et convenir que nous l’avions fait. Il reste encore un levain contre la régale, sous ces termes, *in praejudicium ecclesiarum*, qui pourra produire en temps et lieu quelque noise. Toujours voilà une paix. Plust à Dieu qu’elle pust estre suivie des autres, plus à souhaiter! Car dans la guerre de Rome, il n’y avoit point de sang répandu; on ne se battoit qu’à coups de plume; et vous savez qu’en ce pays-cy on traite de *bruta fulmina* toutes les bulles qui ne s’accordent pas avec nos franchises et nos intérestz. Ces foudres là sont bien moins à craindre que nos bombes.

‘Le Nonce a eû une favorable audience de sa Majesté. Nous voilà bons amis avec messieurs les Romains. Que dittes-vous de cette expression, *Supra id quod dici potest dolere* pour dire une douleur inexprimable? Ce langage n’est pas tout à fait Ciceronien, cela sent le Latin de breviare. Mais c’est dequoy on se soucie le moins, pourveu qu’on s’entende. Il n’est pas question de mots, mais de choses.

‘On publie un arrest pour nous préparer à la perte de 5 solz par louis d’or, et d’un sol par ecu, à la fin de ce mois. Il faut avouer avec tout cela que la France est inépuisable. On offre au Roy 30 milions pour l’alienation des postes. On ne trouve pas que ce soit assez, on en demande 40. C’est un morceau friand, l’argent vient tous les jours, et se paye fort volontairement. Le Roy sera toujours en état de les reprendre en remboursant. Pourveu que le ciel ne nous soit pas contraire, et que nos terres produisent du bled et du vin, on ne se met pas en peine du reste.

‘Madame de Tiange est morte et ne laisse pas à ses héritiers un grand heritage, car elle ne vivoit quasi que des pensions du Roy.

‘Toute la cour partit hier pour Choisy, où le Roy a couché cette nuit, et va aujourd’huy à Fontainebleau, où l’on sera 5 semaines.

‘L’opera nouveau réussit fort bien, quoy qu’on n’aye fait aucune dépense en décorations et en habitz. C’est une Madame Saintonge qui en a fait les vers. Elle est femme d’un avocat. Corneille en fait un autre, dont le sujet est Médée,

pour lequel on fait beaucoup de dépense. On la jouera au commencement de l'année prochaine. Celuy qui se joue à présent est l'histoire de Didon tirée de Virgile et accomodée au théâtre.'

2½ pp. *French and Latin. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 16 Sept.*

With (on the same sheet):

E136(1). 1693, Sept. [8/] 18. Paris. Fragments of another letter 'contenant les nouvelles secrettes, dont on n'a pû tirer que le tiers par morceaux, l'écriture n'ayant pas marqué'.

'J'estois mardy matin à Versailles, au lever du Roy. L'ambassadeur de Venise eut une longue audience de sa Majesté pour la remercier de la part de la Republique de ce qu'elle l'avoit nommée pour un des arbitres de la paix ... (Il manque icy une ligne) ... avoit accepté la médiation des roys du Nord, et de cette république. Mais nous savons que l'Empereur ne l'a acceptée, qu'à condition que ses aliez en feroient demesme. Le Roy offre de rendre tout ce qui est sur le Rhein, à la réserve de Strasbourg, c'est à dire Fribourg et Philisbourg en l'estat qu'ils sont, et de faire examiner toutes les réunions faites par la Chambre de Metz ... (Il manque icy 2 lignes) ... Les envoyez de Suede et de Danemarc ont fait les mesmes compliments au Roy ... (Il manque icy une ligne et demie).

'Suivant les dernieres lettres de Pignerol, on se préparoit à y estre bombardé; mais comme il y a des souterrains, on pretend que la garnison n'en souffrira pas beaucoup. La gendarmerie est arrivée à ... (il manque icy demie ligne) ... partie pour s'y rendre, c'est à dire à Suse. On écrit de ... (manque icy demie ligne) ... qu'on espère que Charleroy sera pris plustost qu'on ne croyoit ... (5 lignes manquent icy) ... Monsieur de Luxembourg luy offrit de l'employ, qu'il refusa, disant qu'il vouloit se retirer chez luy. Il a passé icy, où il a dit que le Roy Guillaume se fatiguoit beaucoup et vieillissoit, ne croyant pas qu'il puisse résister longtemps aux fatigues qu'il se donnoit ... (manque icy une ligne) ... régiment de Galoway avoit fait ... (manque icy 2 lignes et demie) ... Il dit aussy que Monsieur de Bavière avoit paru apres cette action fort triste, et fort mortifié. Mais que pour le Roy Guillaume il étoit toujours dans son froid ordinaire ... (manque icy six lignes) ... (*Nota*, il parle en cet endroit de bled) (et au bout des six lignes est écrit:) d'où il viendrait, et qu'on donnast toute seureté aux vaisseaux à condition aussy qu'ils pourroyent commercer de marchandises non défendues ... (manque icy une ligne) ... Cela fait soubçonner que ce sont des particuliers ... (manque une ligne) ... Je ne doute pas qu'on ne leur accorde tout ce qu'ils demanderont ... (manque icy 2 lignes) ... On a beau faire, l'argent est toujours rare. Les ministres mesmes ne sont pas payez de leurs appointements. À plus forte raison une infinité d'autres ... (manque icy 4 lignes) ... (voicy des vers, dont on en n'a pû lire que 3 de 8 ou 10).

De tes fiers ennemis tu triomphes en vain;

Il est vray qu'on te voit rassasié de gloire,

Mais tes tristes sujets manquent par tout de pain.

'On dit icy que Mylord Sydney a esté député au Roy Guillaume de la part de Presbyteriens, pour luy offrir 8 millions de livres sterlins au Parlement prochain ... (manque icy 4 lignes) ... Monsieur de Luxembourg écrit que le mieux que pourroit faire le Roy Guillaume, ce seroit de se jeter, pour faire diversion, du costé de Tournay, Furnes et Dixmude ... (Il manque encore 6 ou 7 lignes, qui font le reste de la lettre.'

2pp. *French.*

E137. 1693, Sept. [11/] 21. Paris. 'On m'a assuré de bonne part qu'on débarquoit 25 vaisseaux à Toulon, c'est à dire qu'on desarmoit, et que le reste passeroit au Ponant.

'Nous n'avons des nouvelles de Charleroy que du premier jour de la tranchée, où le filz de Monsieur le premier médecin Monsieur Daquin, capitaine aux Gardes, a esté blessé, avec 2 ou 3 officiers.

'Lors que Monsieur revint de son voyage de Bretagne, il dit au Roy, devant Monsieur de Pontchartrain, qu'il avoit trouvé la campagne fort misérable, les paysans fort haves, maigres, et en pauvre etat, n'y ayant quasi que des femmes qui coupoyent les bledz. Le Roy se retourna vers Monsieur de Pontchartrain, luy disant: "Vous ne m'avez pas dit cela." Monsieur de Pontchartrain répondit que la misère n'étoit pas tout à fait si grande. Sur quoy Monsieur, avec son gand, luy releva quasi la moustache, et luy dit, je vous trouve bien ridicule de dire cela devant moy.

'Le peuple est toujours fort allarmé sur le pain. 3 jours durant, Monsieur de Pontchartrain a esté assiégé chez luy par des femmes, qui crient et s'emporent à de grandes extrémitez. Sa femme fut obligée l'autrejour de se retirer, étant à la foire St. Laurent, où quantité de pauvres luy chantoient pouille. Le Roy étant à Choisy y trouva aussy beaucoup de peuple à son passage, qui crioit et demandoit du pain, montrant celui qu'il mangeoit, fort noir et fort cher.

'Monsieur le Duc de Beauvillier est le seul qui parle au Roy avec le plus de liberté. Il luy a dit la vérité des choses que Madame de Maintenon luy cache, pour ne le pas fascher. Voilà ce qui fait le plus de peine; car les emotions sont à craindre, et entraîneroyent un grand desordre dans le royaume.

'Monsieur de Pontchartrain, en partant pour Fontainebleau, étoit escorté de 8 gardes du Roy. On a arrêté sur la route des batteaux de bled qui venoyent à Paris, malgré les passeports du Roy, le peuple n'en voulant point laisser passer. On a défendu les attroupements, et de porter des epées.

'On n'a point de nouvelles du bombardement de Pignerol. Les ennemis font mine de vouloir l'assiéger. Il passe tous les jours à Grenoble deux mille muletz chargez, moitié de farines, moitié d'avoines.

'Il est arrivé un courrier de Monsieur le Duc de Gramont qui apporte la nouvelle de l'arrivée de vaisseaux chargez de prises faites à la pesche de la baleine. Je suis fâché que ma lettre ne soit pas plus ample, mais j'ay esté fort distrait aujourd'hui. Je récompenseray une autrefois cette briesveté.'

2pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Oct.*

Probably enclosing:

E137(1). 1693, Sept. [11/] 21. Paris. 'Réponse sur la correspondance demandée pour Toulon.' 'Je feray toute la diligence possible pour le commerce qu'on souhaite établir à Toulon. J'ay desjà pris quelques mesures pour cela, et j'attends incessamment un homme qui en vient. On m'a desjà assuré qu'on débarquoit ou desarmoit 25 vaisseaux audit port de Toulon.

'Je vous recommande de plus en plus le secret et la précaution. Vous en savez la conséquence. Souvenez vous de ce que je vous ay desjà dit qu'il y a des espions par tout.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.*

E138. 1693, Sept. [15/] 25. Paris. 'Nostre armée navale est aux Isles d'Hières, composée de 61 vaisseaux. Le reste demeurera à Toulon, la plus part en assez mauvais etat pour le service. Il en viendra pourtant encore quelques uns, apres estre radoubez, dans le Ponant. On fait estat, suivant les dernieres lettres, de partir dans le 20 des Isles d'Hières; et ceux qui écrivent mandent qu'on n'est pas sans crainte de souffrir quelques disgraces, acause des gros temps qui ont accoutumé de régner dans les equinoxes. Sur tout, on craint pour les gros bastiments plus que pour les petits, parce que, prenans plus de vent, il est mal aisé d'approcher de la terre sans péril, comme il le faut de nécessité en passant le Détroit. Il restera une escadre de 8 ou 10 vaisseaux, qui croisera pendant l'hyver dans la Méditerranée.

'Il y a icy des lettres de Hollande et d'Angleterre qui confirment toujours les factions des Wigts et des Thoris, dont les premiers s'assemblent chez Mylord Sunderland. On espère icy que ces divisions et les mécontentemens du commerce fatigueront le Roy Guillaume.

'On attend la reddition de Charleroy dans la fin de ce mois. On doute si on le gardera, ou si on le rasera.

'L'argent devient icy de plus en plus rare, et l'embarras grand pour la cherté du bled. On cherche toutes les voyes possibles pour estre secourus des bleds étrangers, car la cherté avec la pauvreté desole tout le monde. Je vous ay mandé que Monsieur de Pontchartrain avoit esté assiégé chez luy par une legion de femmes, qui parloyent haut et fort insolemment, et que le Roy luy avoit donné 8 de ses gardes pour l'escorter sur le chemin de Fontainebleau. Il faut absolument qu'on fasse la paix, pour éviter les maux dont nous sommes menacez. On se moque apresent de l'intérêt du Roy Jaques. C'est ce qui tient le moins au coeur. Il est allé passer quelques jours à Fontainebleau, où le Roy sera jusqu'au 20e. du mois prochain quoy qu'il y ait des maladies. Voicy l'ordre qui a esté mis icy en l'absence de sa Majesté pour contenter le peuple sur la cherté du pain. C'est qu'on se met en état d'en distribuer tous les jours cent mille d'une livre pezant chacun partie à 18 deniers la livre, partie à un sol. Monsieur du Pile munitionnaire fait pour cela bastir des fours, et le Roy portera la perte qu'il y aura, c'est à dire que ce sera pour les pauvres, dont les curez des parroisses donneront de certificats, de peur que les autres n'en abusent. Cela soulagera le peuple et luy otera le sujet de crierie. Car il est malaisé qu'on puisse empescher les desordres dans les marchez, sans ce soulagement. Quoy que les commissaires y assistent, on les

accuse souvent d'estre d'intelligence avec les boulangers et d'en recevoir de l'argent. On a beau faire, la fraude se glisse par tout. On dit qu'une pauvre femme trouva, il a quelques jours, 10 écus dans un pain, qu'on luy vendit par mégarde, étant dessiné pour le commissaire. On voulut l'aller retirer. Mais point de nouvelles! Elle garda le pain et l'argent. L'affaire en demeura là, car ce n'étoit pas matière à procez.

'Les troupes et la gendarmerie, qui a passé à Lyon, sont en mauvais état, et fort fatiguées des longues marches. On n'a point encore de nouvelles que Pignerol soit bombardé. Les troupes du Duc de Savoye sont campées depuis la vallée de la Pérouse jusqu'à cette place; et le Duc tasche par tous moyens de rendre les passages impracticables.

'On nous assure que Belgrade se défend toujours rigoureusement en attendant le secours, et l'on ne doute pas que l'armée Imperiale ne soit bien fort obligée de lever le siege.'

2½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Oct.*

E139. 1693, Sept. [18/] 28. Paris. 'Je ne vous écris aujourd'hui que pour entretenir nostre commerce ordinaire, et de crainte que vous ne fussiez en peine de moy, si vous ne receviez point de mes lettres par ce courrier; car je n'ay presque rien à vous dire. J'ay esté indisposé ces derniers jours, et n'ay pô sortir; joint que la cour estant à Fontainebleau il y a icy moins de nouvelles, et les amis par qui j'en apprens l'ayant suivie, je n'en puis avoir que par sarbatane [speaking-tube].

'On attend des nouvelles de la reddition de Charleroy. On est allé doucement à ce siège, suivant les ordres du Roy, pour, conformément aux intentions de Monsieur de Vauban, épargner les troupes. Un ingénieur sorty de la place luy a donné des avis, qui ont esté suivis, et qui ont fait changer les attaques.

'On écrit de Piémont que dans la fin de ce mois on verra éclore quelque grand dessein de ce costé-là. Le bruit de Paris est qu'on a investi Coni, et assiégé Final, mais on n'y ajoute pas foy.

'L'armée navale ne songe qu'à revenir. Il y a 9 gros vaisseaux qu'on laisse à Toulon, parce qu'ils sont hors de service. Il en revient 61 comme je vous l'ay marqué, qui ont retardé leur départ acause de la difficulté des vivres; ce qui a obligé d'employer tous les boulangers de Toulon et Marseille. Les galères ont apporté de l'armée de Catalogne 1,500 hommes seulement au lieu de 3,000 qu'on avoit dit.

'Le peuple n'est point encore soulagé sur la cherté du pain. On attend avec impatience la distribution que Monsieur de Pile doit faire faire dans tous les quartiers. Cela n'empesche pas les plaintes, les cris, et les desespoirs, qui font dire beaucoup de choses fascheuses. On fait des perquisitions de bleds dans

toutes les provinces, chacun cherche à se nanter. Jusqu'à présent le pain en chérit plustost que de diminuer. Tout le reste suit la mesme proportion. Les marchands et ouvriers veulent gagner davantage pour vivre.

'On attend toujours de jour à autre la nouvelle de la levée du siège de Belgrade, dont on ne doute point. Voilà tout ce que vous aurez de moy pour aujourd'hui.'

1 $\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Oct.*

E140. 1693, [Sept. 22/] Oct. 2. Paris. 'On m'a assuré qu'en conséquence de l'accommodement fait avec le Pape, le Roy, pour le repos de sa conscience, et une parfaite réconciliation avec le St. Siège, avoit exigé une absolution, qui luy fut apportée par le Nonce du Pape introduit pourtant en secret, et que sa Majesté la reçeut à genoux sur son priédieu, avec toutes les marques de sa devotion ordinaire. On trouve un peu étrange qu'on l'entretienne dans cette situation craintive, mais on attribue cela à Madame de Maintenon et au Père la Chaise, qui ont intérêt à le ménager de la sorte. Quoy qu'il en soit, on ne doute pas que cette bonne intelligence avec Rome n'ait produit des engagements secretz pour la politique contre le Duc de Savoye, fondez sur le repos de l'Italie. Mais de dire qu'il y ait un traité avec ce duc, c'est ce qu'on ne se persuade pas. On croit qu'il y va de bon pied avec les Alliez. C'est pour cela que dans le dessein de se tirer cette epine du pied, on a fait des efforts extraordinaires pour tascher de finir cette guerre. Le projet en est fait depuis qu'on a veû qu'il en vouloit tout de bon à Pignerol. Car dans le projet du commencement de la campagne, on avoit résolu de se tenir simplement sur la défensive en ce pays-là. Madame de Maintenon, qui favorise Monsieur de Noailles, avoit porté le Roy à entreprendre sur la Catalogne; et Monsieur de Catinat, par complaisance pour elle, avoit assuré le Roy qu'il conserveroit Pignerol et Suse avec un petit corps de troupes. Mais depuis qu'on a veû qu'on donnoit trop beau jeu au Duc de Savoye, on a eû toute l'attention de ce costé-là, dont le projet, qui avoit esté tenu secret, commence à éclatter. Nous avons veû une grande lettre qui explique la chose.

'On entre dans la plaine de Piémont par 3 endroitz; et l'on prétend forcer les troupes qui gardent le poste de Veillane. Et comme Monsieur de Catinat aura 50,000 hommes, on croit que le Duc de Savoye abandonnera ce qui est de deçà le Po, aussy bien que Ste. Brigide, qu'apparemment il fera sauter, et qu'il se retirera derrière ce fleuve. Autrement il courroit grande risque. On doit estre entré du 28 au 29. Il y a une infinité de provisions de bouche et de guerre, qu'on porte pour faire subsister les troupes, car c'est toute la peine qu'on a. On ne doute pas qu'on ne prenne Coni.

'Au reste ce qu'on a crû un bombardement de Pignerol n'est fondé que sur le bruit du propre canon de la place qu'on tiroit pour empescher les batteries que

le duc faisoit dresser, et les mortiers qu'on dispoit pour le bombardement qui n'a point esté fait, et qui n'auroit produit autre chose que la ruine de quelques méchantes maisons. Ainsy on est en repos là dessus. On ne laisse pas de craindre que nous ne perdions beaucoup de troupes dans ces passages si difficiles, et dans un temps qui commence à estre fort incommode.

'L'armée navale a mis à la voile le 19 du mois passé pour revenir en Ponant, c'est à dire la moitié, et Monsieur de Tourville le landemain avec le reste, en tout au nombre de 61 vaisseaux. Elle a esté obligée de relascher à cause du mauvais temps, et ce n'est pas sans quelque crainte pour les grands vaisseaux. Les equipages avoyent affamé Toulon et les environs. Ils ont chargé 4 millions de rations, tant pour le passage que pour leur servir en Ponant, où les matelots trouvent bien mieux leurs commoditez qu'en Provence, dont la sécheresse du pays ne leur plaist pas.

'On a nouvelles de Genes que 14 galères d'Espagne et 2 gros vaisseaux s'etoient perdus sur les costes de Sardagne, dans le mesme endroit où périrent autrefois les 4 galères du Chevalier de la Ferrière. On attend la confirmation de cette nouvelle, qui mettroit en grand desordre les affaires de mer des Espagnols, et dont on ne croit pas qu'ils se pussent relever.

'Il y a aussy nouvelle qu'un vaisseau vénitien chargé pour le compte des Anglois et Hollandois de plus de 200,000 écus de marchandises à échoué à Roses, et par conséquent confisqué. On ne doute pas que ces horribles pertes par mer ne dégoûtent les ennemis de la guerre, et que cet hyver il ne se fasse des négociations pour la paix. Il y aura pendant tout l'hyver une escadre sur la Méditerranée, pour traverser le commerce. Les lettres de Montpellier du 20 nous ont appris qu'on y a arresté un nommé Guion ministre, qui se tenoit caché à Nimes. Monsieur de Baviile Intendant de Languedoc a instruit son procez et l'a condamné à estre pendu, quoy qu'il ait nié avoir tenu aucune assemblée. Il a esté exécuté dans la citadelle. Deux Jesuites voulurent l'accompagner à la mort. Il les a refusez, disant qu'il savoit mieux qu'eux la manière de bien mourir. Il est mort avec beaucoup de constance et de fermeté. Monsieur de Baviile est devoué aux Jesuites et fort hay en Languedoc.

'Le Roy dit mardy à son lever la nouvelle de la levée du siège de Belgrade. On en chantera le Te Deum *in petto*, quand on chantera tout haut celuy pour la reduction de Charleroy, dont on attend de jour à autre la nouvelle. Les courtisans disent en parlant de Belgrade que tant que la Lune sera regardée favorablement du Soleil, elle se soutiendra toujours.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Oct.*

E141. 1693, [Sept. 25/] Oct. 5. Paris. 'Le Roy receut vendredy dernier un courrier de Monsieur Catinat, qui luy marquoit que le Duc de Savoye

bombardoit à outrance Pignerol, et tiroit quantité de bouletz rouges; que cependant il étoit entré dans la plaine, et avoit esté bien surpris de trouver le poste de Veillane, où l'on croyoit que le Duc de Savoye avoit disposé des troupes, pour en garder le passage, abandonné dans le temps qu'on se preparoit à y donner un combat pour le forcer; que les choses étoient en cet état, et qu'il falloit de nécessité que le Duc donnast bataille, ou qu'il se retirast promptement derrière le Po, et abandonnast son canon, ses mortises, et tous les equipages; mesme que son arrièregarde courroit grand risque, nos troupes toutes fatiguées qu'elles sont ne demandant qu'à se battre; que le Duc avoit si fort ruiné les environs de Pignerol qu'il n'y avoit pas de l'herbe à 4 ou 5 lieues tout autour. On attendoit avec impatience les nouvelles d'un grand combat, mais aprésent on est persuadé qu'il n'y aura rien, que les ennemis se retireront et ne nous attendront pas. Les muletz de l'armée portent pour 40 jours de vivres et de fourrages. Nous sommes aprésent plus forts que les ennemis, et l'on sait que les Alemands et Espagnols ne veulent rien hazarder. Voilà l'affaire sur laquelle on a le plus d'attention.

À l'égard de Charleroy, suivant les dernières nouvelles, il doit estre pris aprésent. Il n'y a que les Espagnols qui s'y defendent bien, mais s'ils s'obstinent plus longtemps on ne les recevra point à composition, et on les voudra faire tous prisonniers de guerre. Monsieur de Vauban meine le siège sagement pour conserver les troupes, aussy n'y a t il guère de gens tuez. On croit qu'on ne s'en tiendra pas là, et qu'on pourra encore assiéger Ath ou Oudenarde. D'autres croyent qu'on pourra bien attâquer Liége, et qu'ainsy on achevera la campagne par où on la vouloit commencer. Il est sorty de Luxembourg 300 chariotz de munitions, et beaucoup de canons.

La nouvelle de la perte des 14 galères d'Espagne ne se confirme pas.

Le public veut que le Roy Guillaume ait eû des démeslez avec Monsieur le Duc de Bavière, et qu'ils se soyent séparés mal ensemble. Les lettres d'Angleterre marquent toujours qu'on ne prétend plus que le Roy Guillaume quitte le royaume, et qu'il se passera beaucoup d'affaires chatouilleuses dans le prochain Parlement. On s'y attend fort icy.

On commencera cette semaine à distribuer dans les marchez les mardys et vendredis, jours d'extraordinaire, le pain à 2 solz la livre. Ceux qui ont examiné de pres l'état des bledz disent que nous n'en avons que jusqu'au mois de mars, et que, s'il n'en vient des pays étrangers, on sera fort en peine pour passer l'esté. Voilà ce qui fait apresent le plus de peine et d'embarras en ce pays-cy, où le peuple de la campagne soufre beaucoup.

On croit qu'à la fin on se résoudra à la capitation pour les 5 milions de la ville de Paris. La décision de l'affaire est remise à la St. Martin. La ville par ce moyen sera déchargée de l'amortissement des cens et des los et ventes, mais il y a un nouvel edit qui y oblige tout le reste du royaume, ce qui est

une grosse affaire; car non seulement c'est à l'égard de ce qui relève du Roy, mais mesme de tous les seigneurs, qui par là perdent leurs droitz. Aussi l'edit porte que le Roy se réserve de les dédommager, ce qui, comme vous pouvez penser, viendra quand il plaira à Dieu, et peut estre jamais.

'Monseigneur entre aprésent dans tous les conseilz, sans en excepter les plus secrets, et le Roy luy dit à l'avance les matières dont on y doit traiter, afin qu'il ait le temps de s'y préparer, et de donner ses avis.

'Le Roy n'a pas voulu qu'on diminuast les monnoyes dans un temps où personne n'est aussi en état ny en humeur de perdre; au lieu de cela on les hausse, c'est à dire qu'on donne un bénéfice d'un sol par ecu et de 4 solz par louis d'or à ceux qui les porteront à la monnoye pour estre convertis, et on les payera en ceux de nouvelle fabrique. Pour le commerce ordinaire les espèces demeurent comme elles sont, les louis d'or à 11 livres 10 solz et les écus à 3 livres 2 solz, et y demeureront jusqu'à ce que le convertissement soit achevé. Les nouveaux louis vaudront 13 livres, l'ecu 3 livres 8 solz et tout le reste à proportion.

'Jusqu'icy la Primatie des Gaules a esté unie à l'archevesché de Lyon. On croit qu'à la cour on a dessein de transférer cette dignité à celui de Paris. L'occasion de pourvoir à Lyon d'un nouvel archevêque et la consideration qu'on doit avoir pour la capitale du royaume peuvent porter le Roy à ce changement. La question est si Lyon voudra perdre sans murmure un si beau privilège, et si cela ne donnera point d'ombrage à la cour de Rome.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 5 Oct.*

E142. 1693, [Sept. 29/] Oct. 9. Paris. 'L'absence de la cour et la stérilité des nouvelles est cause de vostre plainte, il n'y a pas tant de ma faute.

'On a seu par des lettres de Milan que l'Empereur avoit envoyé des courriers au Duc de Savoye, pour l'empescher de hazarder un combat. Depuis on a appris par un courrier de Monsieur de Tessé que ce duc s'estoit retiré, et qu'il avoit eû le loisir de faire passer toutes ses troupes à Carignan derrière le Po; en sorte qu'il est à couvert et que nous n'aurons ny son canon ny ses bagages comme nous l'espérions. Tout ce qu'il y aura de mal, c'est qu'on n'épargnera pas le pays, qui sera fort maltraitté. Monsieur Catinat a fait fourrager toute sa venerie, qui est sa maison de plaisance; mais il n'a pas voulu qu'on brulast la maison, sans ordre de la cour. On pourra bien ruiner les meuriers et les vignes, ce qui causera une grande perte au pays. On mande que tout le bombardement n'a pas fait grand mal à Pignerol, n'y ayant eû que 25 maisons brulées et 50 personnes tuées. Les ennemis ont ruiné le mieux qu'ils ont pû Ste. Brigide; mais non pas d'une manière qu'on ne puisse le rétablir, et mesme on ne s'en soucie plus tant. On espère conserver Pignerol sans cela.

Quelques gens ont creû qu'on pourroit assiéger Coni; mais il n'y a pas d'apparence ny que nos troupes puissent subsister assez longtemps pour cela.

'On parle de démolir Charleroy, quand il sera pris. Monsieur de Vauban, qui préside au siège, y marche à pas comptez. Comme il ne craint point de secours il épargne nos troupes, qui luy en savent bon gré. On admire son savoir faire au dessus de tous les autres hommes, aussy bien en l'art de prendre des places qu'en celuy de les fortifier.

'La difficulté des vivres pour cette année a fait prendre la résolution de réformer les compagnies de cavallerie et d'en oster 10 hommes par compagnie. On ne laissera pas d'avoir bien de la peine à trouver 20,000 chevaux pour la remonter. Une des grandes peines c'est de fournir aux vivres nécessaires, qui seront difficiles à trouver. Car jusqu'aprésent on ne voit pas grande ressource dans la plus part des provinces. On aura beaucoup de peine à semer les terres, et il faudra de nécessité fournir des aliments à bien des pauvres pour les empescher de mourir de faim, au jugement mesme des gens préposez pour remédier à la disette. On ne sait ce que le public deviendra dans 4 ou 5 mois, ne paraissant pas qu'il y ait assez de grains pour aller au delà. L'argent mesme devient rare et la conversion des espèces resserre les bourses et fait que l'on ne paye plus personne, pas mesme les gens privilégiéz. Le vin sera fort cher. Tout seroit perdu, si à cette méchante année il en succédoit une qui ne fust pas meilleure.

'Le bruit se répand et se confirme toujours que le Roy Guillaume et le Duc de Bavière se sont séparés mal ensemble, que le dernier a reproché au Roy Guillaume qu'il voyoit bien qu'il n'avoit d'attention que pour ses intérêts particuliers, et que, cela étant, il songeroit aux siens. Quoy que je tienne cela pour fable, je seray pourtant bien aise de savoir au vray ce qui en est.

'Le bruit est aussy que toute la Transilvanie est revoltée; que Tekély y étoit le maistre; et on juge que c'est une suite de la levée du siège de Belgrade. Cela mérite confirmation.

'Nous n'avons point de nouvelles lettres de nostre flotte. Les uns disent qu'elle est retournée aux isles d'Hières; les autres, qu'elle a passé à la veue des costes de Catalougne. On a toujours dessein de faire quelque entreprise sur Liège, mais comme Charleroy nous occupe un peu plus que nous ne pensions, on doute qu'on puisse entreprendre encore quelque chose de nouveau dans la saison trop avancée.

'Monsieur le Cardinal de Janson a profité d'une partie des dépouilles du Prince Philippe. Il n'a pas esté plustost mort que le Roy a donné à cette Eminence l'abaye de St. Pierre de Corbie, qui a valu 50,000 livres de rente, et qui aprésent n'en vaut guère moins de 40,000 malgré la duresse du temps. On appelle cela, que le bien vient en dormant. Car il en saura plustost la

nouvelle qu'il n'aura eû le loisir de desirer. Les Gazettes vous confirmeront cette nouvelle.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 6/16 Oct.*

E143. 1693, Oct. [2/]12. Paris. 'Le Marquis de Clérambaut arriva vendredy dernier au soir à Fontainebleau, dans le moment que le Roy se mettoit à table pour souper, et apporta la nouvelle d'une victorie complete que Monsieur de Catinat a remportée, il y eut dimanche 8 jours, sur Monsieur le Duc de Savoye. C'est dans la plaine de Marsaille que le combat s'est donné, et les 2 armées, qui s'attendoient des la veille à combattre, se mirent en bataille et furent en présence dès la pointe du jour. Monsieur le Duc de Savoye, qui avoit veû la veille bruler sa maison de La Vénerie, avoit envoyé dire à Monsieur de Catinat que puisqu'il mettoit en usage de telles violences, il devoit s'attendre que le lendemain il ne feroit quartier à personne; ce qui obligea Monsieur de Catinat à donner ordre avant le combat de ne faire aucun quartier aux Alemans, ny aux régiments des religionnaires, qui servoyent dans l'armée ennemie. On n'a fait quartier qu'aux Espagnols.

'Le combat commança entre 9 et 10 du matin, et dura jusqu'à environ 4 heures apres midy. Le plus fort s'est passé à nostre gauche, où Monsieur Catinat, contre les régles ordinaires, avoit mis pendant la nuit la gendarmerie, pour opposer aux cuirassiers de l'Empereur qu'il avoit appris estre à la droite des ennemis. Les cuirassiers commencèrent fièrement le combat, et vinrent faire leur décharge à la demie-portée du pistolet de la gendarmerie, qui ayant essuyé leur feu, sans tirer un coup, les chargea l'épée à la main, avec tant de vigueur qu'elle les fit plier, et étant entrée dans leurs escadrons en a fait le plus sanglant carnage qu'on ait veû depuis long temps, par l'ordre qu'ils avoyent de ne faire quartier à aucun. Par malheur pour ces cuirassiers, en pliant devant la gendarmerie, ils prestèrent le flanc à la brigade de Clérambaut, qui les passa par les armes. Nostre droite ne trouva pas tant de résistance; et apres 7 heures d'un tres sanglant combat, toute l'armée de Monsieur le Duc de Savoye prit la fuitte, et laissa sur le champ de bataille 6 à 7,000 morts, 1,500 prisonniers, 34 pieces de canon, 50 étendards, et plus de drapeaux à proportion, avec beaucoup de tymbales. Le Comte de Schomberg dangereusement blessé est du nombre des prisonniers. 3 regiments de religionnaires ont esté défaits et on a tué jusqu'au dernier. On avoit le Prince de Commercy tué ou blessé. Pimantel, homme de qualité espagnol, un fils du Marquis de St. Thomas, et le Marquis de Carville capitaine des gardes de Son Altesse Royale faitz prisonniers. Monsieur de Catinat mande au Roy des merveilles de la gendarmerie, et de Messieurs de Vendosme, et dit que les troupes ont esté plus cruelles qu'à l'ordinaire, ne faisant quartier à personne, acause qu'on leur avoit dit que les ennemis

s'étoient vantez de n'en point faire. On a poussé les ennemis jusqu'aux portes de Turin. On attend plus de particularitez au premier jour.

'Nous avons esté fort surpris de cette action parce qu'on avoit eû nouvelles que le Duc de Savoye s'étoit retiré avec tout l'équipage et le canon derrière le Po. Mais cet avis étant venu de Monsieur le Comte de Tessé, qui est dans Pignerol, ne s'est pas trouvé veritable. Au contraire il paroist que le Duc de Savoye est allé son grand chemin de Pignerol à Turin, dans le dessein formée [sic] de combattre Monsieur de Catinat; ainsy cest une bataille rangée dans toutes les formes.'

2pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 Oct.*

E144. 1693, Oct. [2/] 12. 'Nouvelles secrettes.' 'Jusques icy on ne fait nostre perte dans ce combat que de 2,000 hommes. Il y a 25 officiers de la gendarmerie tuez ou blessez. Nos dragons ont plié d'abord. Sans la gendarmerie nous n'étions pas bien; mais ces troupes là sont invincibles. Monsieur de la Hoguette lieutenant général est blessé à mort, on le croit mort. Le Marquis de Varennes mareschal de camp est aussy creû mort. Monsieur le Grand Prieur blessé à la cuisse. L'Anclars ayde major de la gendarmerie tué. Le Comte de Roussy blessé au bras. Médavy mareschal de camp a l'épaule cassée d'un coup de mousquet. De Sourcon et Ségur capitaines de la gendarmerie blessez. De Ruy major de la gendarmerie blessé. Virieu capitaine d'une des compagnies blessé. On ne sait pas encore le reste. On ne comprend pas comment Monsieur le Duc de Savoye a voulu pretter le colet à nôtre armée plus forte que la sienne. La gendarmerie n'étoit arrivée que la veille du combat, et la plus part des gendarmes furent obligez de prendre des chevaux de valets, pour se monter, les leur étant hors d'état de service. On croit que nous avons perdu 500 officiers dans cette bataille. On remarque qu'on épargne les Espagnols en toutes rencontres.

'Le Roy envoie Monsieur de Chanlay en Piémont. On juge que c'est pour négocier un accommodement avec le Duc de Savoye; pour peu quil veuille écouter, on ne laissera par [sic] de traiter avec luy, et de luy rendre tout ce qu'on a pris sur luy. On void d'autant plus de facilité à s'accommoder avec luy, qu'on craint l'impossibilité d'entretenir une armée en ce pays-là, acause de la disette de bleds. On y fait encore marcher le reste de la cavallerie, qui estoit sur les costes de Bretagne et de Normandie.

'On est fort étonné de la longue résistance de Charleroy, depuis que nous sommes maistres de la contrescarpe. On attend la nouvelle de sa reddition d'heure en heure. La nouvelle de Transilvanie ne se confirme pas.

'On ne peut apprendre de nouvelles assurées de nostre flotte que par son retour. On est encore incertain si elle a passé le Détroit. Il y a eû de fascheux temps.

'Le Roy dit samedy matin à son lever que le Roy Guillaume avoit des affaires avec messieurs les Etats de Hollande, sans expliquer dequoy il étoit question. On fait icy des histoires sur le mécontentement du Prince de Nassau, qui caballe et paroist d'intelligence avec l'Evesque de Munster. On dit qu'on a fait tenir 500,000 écus au Roy de Danemarc pour l'entretenir dans le dessein de la diversion.

'On confirme tous les jours que plusieurs de nos provinces n'auront pas de pain dans 3 ou 4 mois. On travaille icy aux fours; mais on ne fournit pas encore de pain au prix promis. On ne paye personne. Dieu veuille nous faire voir bientost la fin de nos maux. La longueur du siège de Charleroy fait croire qu'on n'entreprendra plus rien en Flandre cette campagne. Mais on fera ce qu'on pourra pour établir des quartiers d'hyver sur les terres des ennemis et surtout en Piémont. On pourroit bien prendre Coni, si nos troupes y peuvent subsister. À moins que de mettre des troupes dans les bonnes villes, on aura de la peine à les faire subsister dans le plat pays de France.'

2pp. *French. On the same sheet as no. E143.*

E145. 1693, Oct. [6/]16. Paris. 'Je vous ay mandé par ma précédente la bataille donnée en Piémont le 4 de ce mois, et la victoire remportée par nos troupes. Au lieu que les nouvelles postérieures diminuent toujours quelque chose des avantages des premières, au contraire tous les jours les nostres augmentent. On ne comptoit d'abord que 6,000 hommes sur la place, aprésent on y en trouve 8 à 9,000. L'affaire s'est passée de part et d'autre dans toutes les formes. Monsieur le Duc de Savoye, outré de ce qu'on luy avoit brulé la vénerie, publia mal à propos qu'il ne feroit point de quartier. Il eut tort de s'en vanter, car le mal est retombé sur luy. On écrit que Monsieur Catinat a depuis passé le Po à Villefranche, et que toute l'armée est en pays d'abondance; on luy apporte des vivres de tous costez. Comme c'est un tres habile général, on ne doute pas qu'il ne profite de sa victoire, et qu'il n'en pousse les suites jusques où elles pourront aller. Monsieur de Schombert [*sic*] est mort de ses blessures en entrant dans Turin, où on le renvoyoit. Tous les réfugiés se sont fait tuer dans leurs rangs. On dit que parmy les prisonniers il y a 14 de leurs capitaines. On prétent [*sic*] qu'après une si grande victoire les ennemis seront obligés de demander la paix.

'Le Roy a donné le gouvernement de Charleroy à Monsieur Boisselot capitaine aux Gardes, qui s'étoit signalé en Irlande au siège de Limerik. Au reste, c'est moins, dit-on, à la valeur de ceux qui ont défendu cette place qu'à la force des fortifications qu'en est deue la longue résistance.'

1p. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 14 Oct.*

E146. 1693, Oct. [6/] 16. 'Nouvelles secrettes.' 'Le Roy, qui a accoutumé d'observer de la modération en toutes rencontres, n'a pû tenir contre la dernière nouvelle de Piémont. Il se leva brusquement de table, et n'acheva pas de souper, ne pouvant cacher l'excez de sa joye. C'est que l'affaire de Piémont luy tenoit fort au coeur. Toute la cour a esté demesme. On a esté longtemps à ne parler d'autre chose; et l'on regarde cela comme une décision. Monsieur de Chanlay dit qu'il espéroit qu'on établiroit un bon quartier d'hyver en ce pays-là. Les princes d'Italie etapiers [victuallers] des Alemans ont fait proposer au Roy que s'il vouloit laisser 12,000 hommes en quartier dhyver en ce pays-là, ils y en mettroient 15,000 de leur costé, et donneroyent de bons quartiers d'hyver, la ration à un sol la livre. C'est pour cela que Monsieur de Chanlay est party, pour voir les moyens d'y faire subsister les troupes, et les y établir. En chemin faisant, si le Duc de Savoye veut la paix, il la pourra négocier. Mais on se défie de l'humeur opiniastre de ce duc, qui ne démord jamais. La Duchesse a écrit une grande lettre à Monsieur, et à Madame, pleine de désolation, qui les a fait pleurer. Elle a veû de Turin bruler sa vénerie, où l'on n'a pas épargné son lict; et où les soldats, malgré Monsieur de Bache-Viliers, qui commandoit, ont non seulement tout brulé, mais mesmes tué les pages de La Venerie, violé toutes les femmes et filles, et commis tous les actes que la rage peut inspirer. On ne doute pas que le Roy, piqué des brulements du Dauphiné, et en dernier lieu des eglizes qu'on avoit fait bastir dans les vallées, n'ait lasché la main, bien-aise qu'on leur fist sentir sa colere. On dit pourtant que le Duc de Savoye ramasse des troupes à Montcalier; mais toutes les bonnes, qui étoient les Alemans et les François, ont esté exterminées. On croit qu'on se rendra maistre de Coni.

'On n'a aucunes nouvelles de nostre flotte. On en est en peine à la cour. On croit qu'elle a rangé les costes de Barbarie. Il y a eû de gros temps. C'est ce qui fait craindre.

'Au reste, si les bons succez du dehors nous enflent le coeur, le dedans n'est pas trop bon, et se gangrenne toujours de tous costez. On n'écrit que misère des provinces. Le peuple murmure de ce qu'on ne donne point encore le pain à 2 solz la livre quoy qu'il y ait longtemps qu'on travaille aux fours. Mais il faut de l'argent et du blé qu'on a peine d'amasser, la plus part des gens n'ayant pas de quoy semer. Ce qui a obligé de publier un arrest, qui permet de cultiver et semer les terres, qui ne le seront pas, sans rien payer aux propriétaires, ny aux seigneurs pour une année seulement.

'Je reviens à l'affaire de Piémont. Il y a grand nombre d'officiers de la gendarmerie tuez ou blessez. Il seroit trop long de les nommer. La moitié des mareschaux des logis, brigadiers, soubbrigadiers, et une infinité de gendarmes. La gendarmerie aura besoin d'une grande recrue. On fait grand bruit icy de

la prise des vaisseaux des Barbades par les corsaires de St. Malo, dont l'action a paru fort brave. La prise, dit-on, est fort riche.'

2pp. *French. On the same sheet as no. E145.*

Enclosing:

E146(1). 1693, Oct. [6/] 16. Paris. 'Quand je vous ay proposé l'homme pour La Rochelle et Rochefort, pour vostre commerce et correspondance, c'est qu'il y avoit occasion de l'y tenir. J'ay bien eû la pensée, comme je vous l'ay marqué, qu'il pourroit aussy aller à Brest de temps à autre. Mais sur ce que vous me mandez qu'il vaudroit mieux le faire servir à Toulon, je verray si je le pourray tourner de ce costé-la. Il n'y auroit pas de mal d'avoir 2 hommes. Et de plus, Brest est important, et il seroit bon qu'il fust particulièrement de ce costé-la. Il partira dans le mois prochain. Il n'y a encore rien qui presse pour le commerce dont est question. Je comprends bien qu'il est nécessaire aussy d'avoir un homme en Provence. Je songe à tout; mais il faut dequoy subsister honnestement, et entretenir intelligence avec les gens du métier. Faites donc vostre compte là dessus et me croyez tout à vous.'

1p. *Extract. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 14 Oct.* (Another copy later sent by Jurieu to Trenchard is in SP 101/22).

E147. 1693, Oct. [9/] 19. Paris. 'Je n'ay point esté hier faire une petite promenade à la campagne, pour 3 ou 4 jours, comme je le prétendois. Si je n'y vay pas apres demain, je n'iray point du tout.

'On commencera aujourd'huy ou demain à distribuer le pain à 2 solz la livre. Il y aura grande presse, car on en porte dans des caissons à la cour, pour donner aux soldatz du régiment des gardes, tant françois que suisses, à 1 sol 6 deniers la livre. Il y aura dans tous les quartiers de la ville des magasins pour servir à cette distribution. Comme il ne s'en fait que 100,000 livres par jour, on n'en donnera qu'aux nécessiteux. Nous avons veû dans la cour des Tuilleries les drapeaux et les etendarts remportez dans la bataille du Piémont. Nous n'avons point veû encore de relations bien exactes imprimées de ce sanglant combat. Il s'en faut tenir à la lettre de Monsieur le Mareschal de Catinat, qu'on imprimera à mon avis. Le Roy a donné à Monsieur le Prince de Rohan, filz de Monsieur de Soubise, la survivance du gouvernement de Champagne, en faveur de mariage avec Madame la Princesse de Turenne, dont il y a déjà longtemps qu'on parle.

'Sa Majesté revient jeudy prochain de Fontainebleau, et couchera ce jour là et le lendemain à Choisy, où Monseigneur le traite, pour retourner samedy à Versailles.'

1p. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 23 Oct.*

E148. 1693, Oct. [9/] 19. 'Nouvelles secrettes.' 'Le Roy, dans le dessein de retrancher les dépenses superflues, a supprimé tous les inspecteurs, les commandants des provinces, et des places; en sorte que les gouverneurs et les lieutenants de Roy, qui étoient presque sans fonctions, les reprendront. Ce

sont de gros appointements retranchez, que Monsieur de Louvois avoit établis, ne se fiant qu'à ses emissaires. Aussi dans les provinces, et dans les places, il n'y avoit que les commandants qui avoyent tout le credit. Il seroit bon de retrancher aussy les intendants; mais on n'en viendra pas là parce que ce sont les gens de confiance de la cour, sur les avis desquels on se gouverne.

'On fait toujours courir le bruit du siège de Coni, sans grande certitude. Le Roy en renvoyant le courier de Monsieur Cattinat, luy envoya l'ordre de ses projetz, pour ce qui étoit à faire en Piémont. Trois jours apres le Roy reçeut un courier de luy, qui envoyoit à sa Majesté ses avis et projets, tout conformes mot à mot à ce qu'il luy avoit écrit; ce qui plut fort à sa Majesté. Ce général acquiert tous les jours par là et par sa conduite un fort grand crédit.

'Vendredy au soir, Monsieur de Larrey arriva en cour, et depuis ce temps-là il a esté en des conférences secrettes avec le Roy, ce qui fait croire qu'il s'y traite d'un accommodement avec le Duc de Savoye. Il doit partir aujourd'hui ou demain pour s'en retourner en Piémont. Au reste nous avons appris par luy avec joye que la nouvelle de la mort de Monsieur le Comte de Schomberg étoit fausse; qu'il est bien vray qu'il étoit blessé, mais seulement dans les chairs, et non dangereusement. On m'a dit qu'il avoit esté trouvé pres d'un fossé sous son cheval. On dit encore que Monsieur le Prince de Commercy a esté blessé dangereusement, et l'on doute s'il en pourra réchapper.

'Nous diminuons toujours nos pertes, car par le détail nous en trouvons plus qu'on ne nous avoit dit. Il y a plus de 4 à 500 gendarmes tuez ou blessez; du régiment de Bretagne beaucoup; de celuy de Senneterre, idem; d'un de nostre connoissance de dragons, dont le colonel mande que de 600 il ne luy en restoit que 200. *Sic de caeteris.*

'Les gens de commerce se plaignent de plus en plus de la rareté de l'argent, qui devroit estre commun dans un temps où les affaires du Roy prospèrent. Ils croient qu'il y a des gens mal intentionnez, et que s'il nous arrivoit la moindre disgrâce tout seroit perdu. En sorte qu'on regarde la prosperité des armes comme l'unique moyen qui nous soutient. Mais ce qui fait toujours une extrême peine, c'est la disette de bleds, à quoy il sera tres mal aisé de pourvoir dans 4 ou 5 mois. L'avoine qui ne valoit dans le bon temps que 6 livres le sextier se vend aprésent 30 livres et tout encherit à proportion. On laisse, sans façon, protester les lettres de change chez Turménies, trésorier de l'extraordinaire des guerres, et chez les autres tresoriers. On ne paye personne, et on recule jusqu'à des parties de mil livres. La conversion des espèces y peut contribuer, chacun serrant son argent. Le Roy espère tirer plus de 30 millions de cette conversion. Il y faut bien venir.'

2pp. *French. On the same sheet as no. E147.*

E149. 1693, Oct. [20/] 30. Paris. 'Me voilà de retour de ma petite campagne, d'où j'arivay avant hier. Le mauvais temps qu'il a fait m'a empesché d'y prendre le plaisir accoutumé, outre qu'en vérité la face des choses y est généralement assez triste. Ce canton là, où vous savez qu'on se divertissoit si bien autrefois, ne ressemble plus au temps passé. Chacun s'y tient renfermé chez soy, et la disette de toutes sortes de fruits jette par tout une consternation fort mélancolique. Je vous demande excuse de ma petite distraction. Je me renferme àprésent dans ma coquille, pour n'en sortir de longtemps. J'ay trouvé à mon retour un nouveau changement dans les monnoyes, qui ont esté diminuées, le louis d'or de 4 solz et l'ecu d'un sol. L'augmentation n'a duré que tres peu de jours. Cette pauvre monnoye est fort sujette à l'instabilité des corps sublunaires. Cela trouble fort le commerce et déconcerte les thésauriseurs, ouvrant tantost leurs bourses et tantost les resserrant, selon l'espérance de l'augmentation ou la crainte de la diminution.

'Le pain continue à se distribuer à 2 solz la livre. La nécessité y attire tant de gens qu'il est très malaisé d'y apporter quelque ordre. Il y a eû en divers endroits quantité des femmes étouffées et beaucoup blessées. Le menu peuple, qui n'a point de raison, crie contre Monsieur du Pile; et au lieu de luy savoir bon gré de la peine qu'il se donne, il luy impute le desordre de la distribution, dont il ne se mesle point, la ville s'en étant chargée. On a esté obligé de luy envoyer des gardes, pour empescher les attroupements qui se faisoient devant sa maison et devant celle de Monsieur de la Reinie notre lieutenant de police. Enfin on n'a point trouvé de meilleur expédiant que d'en commettre le soin aux curez des parroisses, afin que la distribution se fasse dans chacune, suivant les certificatz qu'ils donneront. Les soldats, qu'on tenoit dans les endroits où l'on distribuoit, au lieu d'y empescher la confusion, l'y mettoient, et pilloyent les pauvres gens qui emportoient du pain. Le jour que je partis pour aller à la campagne, nostre cocher, qui ne savoit pas qu'on eust mis des barricades pour empescher les passages des voitures, qui auroient troublé la distribution qui se faisoit à la porte de derrière du Palais d'Orleans, eut l'imprudence de vouloir passer au travers de la foule, ce qui pensa exciter une sédition contre nostre carrossée. Le pis fut, que ne pouvant sortir àcause des barricades, il falut qu'il revient sur ses pas, pour chercher une autre voye, et qu'il passast encore au travers de tout ce monde. Ce fut un bonheur qu'il n'y eut personne décrasé, et qu'il ne fut pas assommé. Comme j'ay veû des exemples de la fureur d'un peuple irrité, je sortis du carrosse, et obligay ma compagnie d'en faire de mesme, pour aller l'attendre à pied par des chemins détournés à un autre passage, où nous le rejoignismes. Quand j'auray pris haleine, et que je seray informé de ce qui s'est passé pendant mon absence, je vous écriray plus amplement.'

2pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 28 Oct.*

E150. 1693, Oct. [20/] 30. 'Nouvelles secrettes.' 'Le Roy fait un régiment de carabiniers à cheval, composé de cent compagnies de 30 maîtres chacune. Monsieur le Duc du Maine en est colonel général, et il y aura 5 colonels sous luy, 5 lieutenants colonels, et 5 majors. On tirera les cavalliers des autres régiments de cavallerie, dont il y en a en tout 107, savoir 100 François et 7 étrangers. Ce sera des François seuls qu'on les prendra à choisir. On ne comprend point cette nouvelle institution, dont on ne trouve point d'autre raison, sinon la complaisance que le Roy a pour Monsieur le Duc du Maine, qui est bien-aise d'avoir toujours un corps de cavallerie à luy, qu'il commandera partout. Il y a longtemps qu'il souhaite le commandement général de la cavallerie mais, quelque chose qu'on ait pû dire et faire, Monsieur le Comte d'Auvergne, colonel général, n'a point voulu se défaire de sa charge, quelque dégoust qu'on luy ait donné pour l'y obliger. Toutes les compagnies de cavallerie sont diminuées de 10 maîtres. Je ne say si je vous ay mandé qu'on avoit supprimé les cadets. C'étoit pourtant un séminaire d'officiers; mais il coustoit de l'argent au Roy, et on retranche tout. On incorporera tous les cadets présents et avenir dans les troupes réglées et garnisons, d'où on les tirera quand l'expérience les aura rendus capables d'estre officiers.

'On fortifie Courtray et Dixmude, et l'on fait une nouvelle ligne de Courtray au Pont d'Espierres, pour abreger la longueur des autres, et en rendre la défense plus facile.

'Monsieur de Tourville est arrivé à Brest avec 63 vaisseaux, il y a déjà quelques jours. Monsieur de Chateaurenaud doit aussy arriver avec une escadre.

'Tous les quartiers d'hyver sont distribuez. On ne sait pas encore, à l'égard du Piémont, s'il y restera des troupes en quartier, ny si on y entreprendra quelque chose de nouveau. On y attend l'arrivée de Monsieur de Chanlay. Cependant on dit que la gendarmerie ira prendre les quartiers en Franche-Comté. On assure que Monsieur de Catinat a fait venir du canon de Pignerol, comme s'il avoit dessein d'assiéger Coni. À l'égard de Casal, il y est entré autant de munitions qu'on a voulu, en sorte que la garnison ne manque de rien. L'armée de Monsieur Catinat ne manque aussy d'aucune chose, tout le plat pays luy portant ses nécessitez pour éviter les brulements.

'Le Pape se remue fort pour la paix qu'il veut procurer, sur tout en Italie; mais on ne témoigne pas rien attendre du Duc de Savoye. C'est un prince d'une opiniastreté invincible. Tous ses sujets crient et demandent la paix. À tous ces bruits il fait la sourde oreille, en sorte qu'on ne s'y attend plus. On fait marcher encore quelques troupes de Catalogne en ce pays là.

'Au reste, toute l'espérance du secours des bleds étrangers et les précautions d'en distribuer n'en font point diminuer le prix. Cela rend les peuples

misérables au dernier point. On dit qu'il y a une trentaine de vaisseaux chargez de bled parmy ceux que Monsieur de Tourville a amenez. Supposé que cela soit, c'est encore trop peu de chose pour soulager la crainte où l'on est de pouvoir fournir la nourriture de tout le monde dans 3 ou 4 mois.'

2pp. *French. On the same sheet as no. E149.*

E151. 1693. [Oct. 23/] Nov. 2. Paris. 'Monsieur de Tourville est à Brest, comme je vous l'ay mandé. On envoie une partie des vaisseaux à Rochefort et au Port-Louis. Le reste desarme, à la reserve de 4 qui sont destinez à demeurer armez tout l'hyver, soit pour servir à escorter les bleds, ou à d'autres usages. Ceux qui restent sont 1. *Le Superbe* de 70 pièces de canon, commandé par Monsieur Derlingue, qui commandera cette escadre; 2. *Le Content*, de 66 pièces de canon, commandé par Monsieur de Chalard; le 3e. de 60 pièces de canon, commandé par Monsieur de Champigny: j'ay oublié le nom du vaisseau; 4. *Le Trident* de 54 pièces de canon, commandé par Monsieur de Chammelin.

'Les dernières lettres de Piémont marquent que nostre armée est à souhait, remplie de toutes choses nécessaires à sa subsistance; que tout contribue, et qu'il est entré dans Cazal et dans Pignerol des munitions pour plusieurs années; que l'on n'y void n'y entend parler d'aucuns ennemis; que pourtant leur cavallerie est plus nombreuse qu'elle n'étoit avant la bataille, mais que pour l'infanterie on ne savoit où elle étoit, et qu'on la croyoit fort dispersée; que si Monsieur de Schomberg n'étoit pas mort il n'en pouvoit réchapper; et qu'on étoit fort incertain si on pourroit entreprendre le siège de Coni, non plus que si on pourroit établir les quartiers d'hyver en ce pays-là.

'On continue à ne s'entretenir que de la cherté du pain et des vivres, dans la crainte de l'avenir. Cela donne de l'audace aux petites gens, qui tiennent des discours fort séditeux, et fait craindre quelque soulèvement, dont Dieu nous préserve! Car le peuple n'a ny rime ny raison. Monsieur de Pontchartrain ne vient point à Paris, comme il avoit accoutumé. On se dispose à mettre des corps de gardes cet hyver, et pour cet effet le régiment des gardes sera distribué par la ville, et marchera la nuit, par escouade. On entend dire des choses fascheuses, qui en d'autres temps auroient mené les gens à la grève. Cela est d'autant plus fascheux que le mépris et le dégoût du gouvernement passe jusqu'à la bourgeoisie, et fait trembler les honnestes gens.

'On prétend que le Roy aura, par le moyen de la monnoye, un secours de 60 à 80 millions. On croit qu'on portera les ecus à 4 livres et l'or à proportion. Cela n'intéresse que ceux qui en font des réserves. On remet là dessus à payer une infinité de gens qui demandent. Chacun se retranche. Les fonds pour l'année qui vient sont bien faitz en papiers, mais la question est de convertir les papiers en argent.

‘Une bonne partie des troupes demeurera en quartier d’hiver sur les frontières, et la gendarmerie, pour se refaire, en Franche-Comté. On croit qu’on mettra toutes les troupes dans les villes, le plat pays n’étant plus en état de les nourrir.

‘On cherche par tout des avis pour avoir de l’argent, mais on ne veut plus de créations d’offices, dont l’état est trop chargé. Le Roy s’est déclaré là dessus. Jusqu’icy c’a été le moyen dont Monsieur de Pontchartrain s’est servy pour tirer de l’argent. Aprésent on n’est plus si friand de charges; ce qui étoit meilleur et plus doux, parce qu’il n’y avoit rien de forcé, et achettoit qui vouloit. Ce sera bien pris quand on viendra à la contrainte.

‘Un évesque de ma connoissance m’a dicté la soumission faite au Pape, différente de celle que je vous ay envoyée. Comme il est un de ceux qui l’a signée, il l’en faut croire, surtout àprésent que, tout étant réglé à Rome, on ne fait plus de difficulté de la donner. Voicy les termes que vous pouvez confronter avec ce que je vous en ay envoyé.

Ad pedes Sanctitatis vestrae provoluti, dolemus vehementer, et supra id quod dici potest, de rebus gestis in comitiis cleri Gallicani anno 1682 quae summopere Sanctitati vestrae, et decessoribus vestris displicuerunt. Ac proinde quicquid in iisdem comitiis circa potestatem ecclesiasticam, et auctoritatem pontificiam decretum censi potuit, pro non decreto habemus, et habendum esse declaramus. Praeterea quod in praepjudicium ecclesiarum deliberatum censi potuit, pro non deliberato habemus et habendum esse declaramus. Nostra nempe mens nunquam fuit quidquam decernendi nec deliberandi in praepjudicium praedictarum ecclesiarum.

‘On prétend qu’il y a dans ce formulaire un adoucissement en ce que l’on ne demeure pas d’accord nettement d’avoir rien fait contre le respect deû au Pape, et contre les droitz de l’Eglise. Quelque jour peut estre la dispute reviendra de l’hypothèse à la thèse. Le Roy a écrit en confirmant qu’il tiendra la main à l’exécution des choses, en sorte que le St. Siège n’en soit point offensé. Vous pouvez avoir veû la lettre qui est publique; quoy qu’il en soit, tout est d’accord. Sa Majesté sera bien tost en état de faire de grandes distributions de bénéfices, car l’Abaye de St. Amand en Flandre vaque, qui vaut plus de 80,000 livres de rente. Monsieur le Cardinal de Bonzi est tombé en apoplexie; et quoy qu’il en soit revenu, il n’y a pas d’apparence qu’il aille loin. Il jouyt de pres de 200,000 livres de rente. Monsieur l’Archevêque de Cambray se meurt. C’est encore un bon morceau, outre les 2 abbayes du Prince Philippe qui restent à pouvoir, et où le Roy doit avoir nommé hier, mais je ne say pas encore en faveur de qui.

‘L’Abbé Gourgas est mort d’une dissenterie. Les nouveaux Catholiques trouvoient du goust à ses sermons. Il savoit l’Ecriture Sainte par coeur, et s’en servoit fort bien. Mais il n’étoit pas dans les bonnes graces de Monsieur

l'Archevêque de Paris, et n'avoit pû parvenir au moindre bénéfice. On luy avoit mesme interdit les chaires pour la prédication. Monsieur l'Archevêque de Reims, qui ne trouvoit rien que d'orthodoxe dans ses sentimens, le voyant sans rien faire sur le pavé de Paris, l'employoit dans son diocèse, et luy avoit donné un caresme à prescher dans la Cathédrale de Reims, où il estoit fort suivy. Il auroit continué à luy donner de l'employ, car il étoit destiné à prescher à Sedan. On le croyoit fort pauvre. Cependant on luy a trouvé apres sa mort 300 louis d'or. Il étoit frondeur *intus*, et ne pouvoit s'empescher, avec ses amis, de parler contre les puissances qui nous gouvernent.'

4pp. *French and Latin. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Nov.*

E152. 1693, [Oct. 23/] Nov. 2. 'Autre partie de la lettre.' Paris. 'Enfin Monsieur Des Préaux [Boileau] a donné à imprimer sa satyre contre les femmes; mais on l'a jointe à une nouvelle edition de toutes ses oeuvres. Si l'on peut l'avoir séparément je vous l'envoyeray. Puisque nous en sommes sur les vers, voicy une epigramme qu'on a donnée depuis peu au Roy.

Louis, que vous imitez bien
 Cet Estre Souverain, dont vous estes l'image!
 Comme luy, des rois qu'on outrage
 Vous estes le vengeur, et l'unique soutien.
 Comme luy, vostre main foudroye
 Ces coupables mortels, dont les noires fureurs
 Ont mis toute l'Europe en proye
 À ce que la guerre a d'horreurs.
 Comme luy, remply de clemence,
 Quelque douceur qu'ait la vangeance,
 Vous estes prest à pardonner.
 Et sur les bords du Po, du Rhein, et de la Meuse,
 Vous ne les accablez que pour les amener,
 Par un prompt repentir, à cette paix heureuse
 Que vous seul pouvez leur donner.

'Vous trouverez là dedans sans doute quelque trait qui vous choquera. Mais nous ne nous faschons point de vos médailles, ny de vos devises. Rendez nous la pareille, et nous permettez les discours et les chansons. Vous savez que nous ne nous épargnons pas nous mesmes, et ne nous pardonnons rien.

'La réputation de Monsieur le Maréchal de Cattinat, comme les fleuves, *Vires acquirit eundo*. Qui eust dit qu'il fust sorty de la robbe un second Turenne? Il suit, de l'aveu public, ses traces en courage et en sagesse. Il ne sort point des termes d'une modestie qui sied fort bien aux armes du premier ordre. Sur cela voicy quelques vers qu'on a faits.

Filz, et frère de magistrat,
 Catinat, Mareschal de France,
 Fait revivre Turenne, et redonne à l'Estat
 Et le repos, et l'espérance.
 Un échange en tel cas seroit bien à propos.
 Ta prudence, grand Roy, n'y seroit point trompée.
 Prends dans la robbe des héros,
 Et des ministres dans l'épée.

'Monsieur de Catinat, comme vous savez, est filz et frère de conseillers au Parlement. Monsieur de la Feuillade, qui ne l'aimoit pas trop, ne fut pas fasché que le Roy le tirast du regiment des gardes, où il étoit capitaine, et dit un jour à sa Majesté qu'il étoit capable de tout; qu'on en pouvoit faire un surintendant, ou un chancelier, aussy bien qu'un général d'armée. Il y a dans ces vers, si vous le remarquez, quelque chose de satyrique; car il semble qu'on ne soit pas content des ministres. Mais les François se donnent des libertez. Monsieur le Cardinal Mazarin, qui savoit fort bien toutes les chansons qui avoyent esté faittes contre luy, dans les temps orageux de l'estat, et qui souvent les chantoit luy mesme, avoit accoutumé de dire qu'il faloit laisser chanter les François, pourveu qu'ils laissassent faire.

'On parle d'un mariage de Madame de Louvoy avec le Prince de Monaco. Je doute fort que de l'etat heureux où elle se trouve elle veuille passer dans celui de la dépendance. Il y a plus d'apparence de celui de Mademoiselle sa fille, dont on parle aussy, avec Monsieur d'Alincourt, filz aîné de Monsieur le Duc de Villeroy. C'est le meilleur party de France. Vous n'aurez pas de peine à le croire.

'On m'a dit qu'on avoit imprimé en vos quartiers la confession de Sancy avec des commentaires et des additions. Cela doit estre curieux, mais difficile [*sic*] à tirer de chez vous.'

2½ pp. *French.*

E153. 1693, [Oct. 27/] Nov. 6. Paris. 'Vous avez bien ouy parler autrefois de ministres disgraciez; mais l'histoire des siècles passez, ny du présent ne nous fournit point d'exemples de premiers médecins chassez. Aussy la disgrace de Monsieur Daquin a plus causé de surprise que tout ce que nous avons veü depuis longtemps. Il n'y a pas 8 jours que tout le monde envioit sa faveur. À l'heure qu'il est tout le monde luy a tourné le dos. Voicy le fait public.

'La veille de Toussaints, Monsieur Daquin toujours attentif aux occasions de demander quelque chose à mesure qu'elles se présentoyent, importuna le Roy, à diverses reprises, pour l'archevesché de Tours, en faveur de son filz, agent du clergé, dont il fut refusé. Au disner, le Roy luy demanda s'il faisoit beau à Jouy, et parla de l'incertitude des honneurs de ce monde. On n'y fit

aucune réflexion qu'après coup. Le soir, sa Majesté chargea Monsieur de Pontchartrain en secret de porter ses ordres à Monsieur le premier médecin. Cela fut exécuté lundy matin qu'il alla le trouver des les six heures, pour luy ordonner de quitter la cour sur le champ, avec défenses d'y revenir, ny mesme d'écrire au Roy, qui luy accordoit pourtant 2,000 écus de pension. Ce matin-là, personne ne sachant encore rien de la chose, Monsieur Fagon, se trouvant à son ordinaire au lever, le Roy luy dit, "Monsieur Fagon, ne savez vous rien de nouveau? et ne dit-on rien à Versailles?" Il répondit que non. "Hé! bien", dit le Roy, "je vous apprens que je vous fais mon premier médecin, et que Daquin se retire." Vous pouvez penser quelle fut l'agréable surprise de Monsieur Fagon. Le Roy ajouta, devant tous les courtisans, que le royaume de France n'avoit pas dequoy remplir l'avidité de Monsieur Daquin. À 10 heures du matin tout fut debagagé de chez luy, et il ne s'en parla plus à la cour que pour chercher les causes d'un changement si subit, et avec des circonstances qui faisoient connoistre la colère du Roy. Là dessus chacun raisonne à sa fantaisie, mais presque le sentiment universal est que sa Majesté étoit si fatiguée de ses demandes importunes que depuis longtemps il avoit résolu de s'en défaire. Le Roy a dit depuis qu'on ne dira pas de luy, comme de Louis XI, que son premier médecin le gouvernoit. Les gens de cour àpresent rappellent diverses circonstances qui ont pû contribuer à cette disgrâce; mais qui seroyent trop longues à détailler. Ce premier médecin, qui a toujours été estimé plus courtisan qu'expert en son art, avoit une maxime qu'il pratiquoit exactement. C'est qu'il faut toujours demander. Et comme on l'avertissoit il y a quelque temps que le Roy témoignoit du dégoust contre ces sortes de gens: "À d'autres!" dit-il, "je ne suis pas la dupe des courtisans, et je ne me déferay pas de ma maxime." Un de ses enfans, qu'il avoit fait médecin malgré luy, et qui étoit ordinaire chez le Roy, quoy que fort ignorant en médecine, étoit destiné, selon ses projets, pour remplir sa place; mais il a ordre de se retirer, aussy bien que le père. Un autre avoit l'agrément pour une charge de président à mortier: sur quoy on fait dire à Monsieur le Premier Président, en le proposant à sa compagnie, que la charité du Roy alloit jusques à luy donner un médecin pour la traitter, quand elle se trouveroit mal. Le troisieme étoit déjà à 23 ans agent du clergé, et par conséquent allant droit à l'évesché. C'est pour cela que le père se vouloit dépescher de le faire archevesque. Il y en a un quatrieme capitaine aux gardes, qu'il avoit marié avec une fille de Titon, créature de Monsieur de Louvois, et qu'il avoit tiré, comme vous savez, de la boutique de Doublet marchand d'armes, et luy avoit donné la direction du magasin de la Bastille, dont en peu de temps il étoit devenu le maistre, et avoit gagné des sommes immenses dans la fourniture des armes à toutes les troupes du Roy. Ce mariage se fit plaisamment. Il y employa l'autorité du Roy, par l'ordre duquel Monsieur de Barbezieux envoya querir Titon, auquel ayant proposé l'affaire, elle fut bientost conclue,

mais avec cette particularité que Monsieur Daquin voulut qu'il baillast 80,000 écus à sa fille, au lieu qu'il n'en donnoit que 50,000 aux autres: ce qui fit grand mal au coeur à Titon. Au reste, ce capitaine est peu estimé dans son corps, d'où il sera obligé de sortir par les déboires qu'il recevra. Il faut savoir que le nom véritable du père n'est point Daquin. Son grand père étoit Juif portugais, marchand droguiste. On dit qu'il s'appelloit Mardochée. Il passa en Avignon, où l'on dit qu'il se fit baptiser dans une chapelle de St. Thomas Daquin, d'où il prit le nom de Daquin, et vint à Rouen, où il faisoit le mesme trafic. Son filz, père de celuy-cy se fit médecin et vint à Paris, où il eut l'honneur d'entrer au service de la Reine d'Angleterre, et de l'envoyer en l'autre monde. On assure qu'il étoit circoncis. La souplesse de l'esprit de celuy-cy servit de beaucoup à sa fortune; l'adresse et l'insinuation s'en meslèrent, et Molière le comédien n'y nuisit pas, car c'étoit dans le temps qu'il avoit pris à tâche de décrier les médecins dans ses pièces de théâtre. Elles eurent un tel succez à la cour, aussy bien qu'à la ville, que lors qu'il fut question de choisir un successeur à Monsieur Valot, on dit qu'ignorant pour ignorant, autant valoit-il prendre celuy-cy qu'un autre.

'Il y a quelque temps que le Roy, raillant Monsieur, qui avoit pris Denizot pour son premier medecin, luy dit qu'il avoit choisy le plus méchant médecin du royaume. Pardonnez moy, Monsieur, repliqua Monsieur, c'est vous.

'Voilà un récit démesurément long; mais au moins vous saurez à peu pres tout ce qui se dit en ce pays-cy sur cette affaire, qui est l'évangile du jour.

'Nostre Gazette vous apprendra tous les benéfices donnez dimanche dernier, tous les gouvernement[s] et toutes les charges de la gendarmerie, ainsy je me dispense de vous aller remplir le papier d'une si grande liste.'

4pp. *French.*

E154. 1693, [Oct. 27/] Nov. 6. 'Nouvelles secrettes contenues dans la mesme lettre.' 'Ceux qui raffinent sur les causes secrettes de la disgrace de Monsieur Daquin prétendent qu'il n'étoit pas bien avec Madame de Maintenon; et qu'il avoit dit au Roy qu'il étoit dangereux d'avoir commerce avec des vieilles. Il est bien seur au moins que c'est elle qui a pris Fagon en sa place, s'en étant servie, et l'ayant donné aux petitz princes, qu'il servoit. Ledit Fagon est cassé, asmatique, et déjà assez vieux.

'Monsieur de Luxembourg est arrivé, et Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge arrive demain. La réputation de l'un et de l'autre est étouffée par celle de Monsieur Catinat, qui est àpresent fort à la mode.

'Monsieur de Chanley, qui étoit allé en Piémont, en est de retour, sans aucune négociation pour la paix, n'ayant travaillé avec Monsieur Catinat que pour l'établissement des quartiers d'hyver en ce pays-là, ce qu'on prétend qui

soulagera la France de plus de 60,000 hommes. Pour y mieux réussir, on assiégera assurément Coni, et la Gazette de demain en parlera nettement. On envoie 2 lieutenans généraux, 2 mareschaux de camp, et 2 brigadiers de renfort en ce pays-là. On y fait marcher un détachement de l'armée de Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge de 15 bataillons et de 30 escadrons, avec la meilleure partie des troupes de Catalogne. Il y a apparence qu'on veut mettre les affaires en état de pouvoir assiéger Turin dans le commencement de la campagne prochaine. Monsieur de Catinat assure le Roy que rien ne manquera pour la subsistance des troupes. On a employé, outre les contributions, 1,300,000 livres en achats de bleds. On dit que l'opiniâtreté du Duc de Savoye est invincible, et qu'il est engagé encore pour 4 ans avec la Ligue.

'Le jour de la Toussainte, le curé de St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, paroisse du Louvre, dans son prosne, assura les parroissiens que le Roy luy avoit donné charge de leur dire qu'il continueroit ses charitez aux pauvres, à l'égard de la distribution du pain, et que dans peu tout le monde apprendroit des nouvelles qui réjouyroient beaucoup. On a creû que cela vouloit dire la paix de Savoye, et l'arrivée de beaucoup de bleds, qui seroit incomparablement mieux receue que toutes les autres nouvelles. Les curez qui se meslent àprésent de la distribution, ou du moins de donner des billetz, s'en trouvent fort fatiguez. Ils se déchargent sur leurs prestres, qui ont bien de la peine à contenter tous ceux qui crient, parmy lesquels il y a des insolens, qui souvent les maltraittent. Le pain enchérit toujours, au lieu de diminuer comme on l'espéroit.

'On croit qu'il y aura quelque changement dans les charges de la guerre. Quoy que nous ne manquions pas d'officiers, il y en a plusieurs qui quittent, ou qu'on a cassez. Cette réforme de 10 hommes par compagnie de cavallerie oste 20,000 chevaux au Roy, et on en a pourtant encore grand besoin. C'est pour quoy on croit qu'il y aura quelque remplacement d'ailleurs.

'Vous aurez veû dans la Gazette de Hollande la harangue faite au Roy de Maroc, qui n'a pas trop bien reçeû nostre ambassadeur St. Olon, qui est revenu sans rien faire; soit que les présants qu'on luy avoit portez ne luy ayent pas esté agréables; ou qu'il ait esté de mauvaise humeur. Il vouloit que pour un Chrestien on luy rendist 3 Maures. En parlant des puissances de l'Europe, il dit qu'il ne faisoit point d'estat de l'Empereur, parce qu'il partage son autorité avec les Électeurs, idem du Roy d'Espagne, parce que ce n'est qu'un enfant imbécile, et de nulle capacité: et du Roy d'Angleterre, parce qu'il dépend de son Parlement. Mais qu'il estimoit beaucoup l'Empereur des François, parce qu'il est le maistre chez luy. On dit que c'est un maistre sire, redouté de ses sujetz et de ses voisins, et fort expert à couper des testes, dont il fait son plus grand divertissement. Le bon de l'affaire, c'est que les

Maroquins sont infatuez, lors que cet honneur leur arrive, qu'ils vont droit en Paradis trouver le Profète Mahomet. En sorte qu'ils sont tous glorieux de mourir de sa main. On dit que depuis qu'il est sur le trosne, il a coupé 25,000 testes. Voilà un maistre bourreau.

'Lors que nostre ambassadeur prit son audience de congé, il le fit attendre longtemps dans la sale, et puis parut avec sa veste ensanglantée: c'est qu'il venoit de prendre sa récréation par 3 testes qu'il avoit coupées. Au reste il le congédia sans grande cérémonie, disant qu'il se seroit bien passé de faire ce voyage inutile.

'Je vous metz icy àpart les vaisseaux qui sont venus de la Méditerranée avec Monsieur le Mareschal de Tourville.'

3 pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 4 Nov.*

E155. 1693, [Oct. 27/] Nov. 6. Paris. 'Nombre et noms des vaisseaux qui sont revenus de la Méditerranée avec Monsieur le Mareschal de Tourville.

'Il y en a 13 qui sont à Rochefort, un au Port-Louis, et 21 à Brest.

'Monsieur de Chateaufort en amène encore 26 qui ne sont pas arrivés, quoyqu'ils soyent partis immédiatement apres Monsieur de Tourville.

'Il en reste dans la Méditerranée 31. Je ne say pas encore combien il y en aura d'armez cet hyver dans cette mer-là, car il y en aura quelques uns aussy bien que dans l'ocean.

'Les noms des vaisseaux qui sont à Brest sont:

Le Brillant, capitaine le commandeur de Combes.

Le Marquis, commandé par Des Augers.

Le Fulminant, par De Modène.

Le Merveilleux, par Villette, lieutenant général.

Le Souverain, par Machaut.

Le Henry, par La Roche-Alard.

Le More, par le Comte de Blénac.

Le Content, par Ste. Maure.

Le St. Louis, par de Rouvray.

L'Orgueilleux, par d'Aligre.

Le Soleil Royal, amiral, par Tourville.

Le Sceptre, par Septesme.

L'Eole, par La Rongère.

Le Diamant, par de Mons.

Le Fortuné, par Genlis.

La Zélande, par Palières.

L'Heureux, par Serquigny.

Le Vainqueur, par Coetlogon.

Le Lys, par Mombbron.

L'Invincible, par le Chevallier de St. Pierre.

Le Juste, par Champigny.

Avec 3 brulots, savoir *Le Bien-venu*, *Le Dur*, et *L'Héroïne*.

'Ceux de Rochefort sont:

Le Victorieux, par Gabaret, lieutenant général.

L'Intrépide, par Damblimont.

Le St. Esprit, par Belle-Isle-Erard.

L'Aimable, par du Real.

Le Vermandois, par Du Pâlais.

Le Magnifique, par La Galissonnière.

La Sereine, par d'Arbouville.

Le Laurier, par la Roque-Persin.

L'Excellent, par du Rivau-Huet.

Le Bourbon, par de Ribérêts.

Le Téméraire, par Monbuet.

Le Bizarre, par la Vigerie.

L'Envieux, par Hautefort.

Avec 2 brulotz, sc. *L'Impudent* et *Le Colossée*.

'Celuy du Port-Louis est:

Le Prince, commandé par Le Bagneux.

'Les vaisseaux ont passé le Détroit sans aucune rencontre.'

2¼ pp. French.

F. OTHER LETTERS FROM PARIS

F1. 1692, [June 27/] July 7. Paris. 'On apprend de St. Malo que plus on prend des mesures pour faciliter la sortie des vaisseaux qui sont retirez, moins on void d'apparence dy pouvoir reussir, depuis que les vaisseaux ennemis rodent aux environs pour les venir brûler; en sorte qu'après le resultat de quatre conseilz de guerre tenus en presence du Comte de Tourville avec les officiers de marine et les commandans de la côte, on a fait avancer ces vaisseaux dans la riviere de Dinan où lon croit qu'ils seront plus en seureté. On a aussi fait porter du canon, les plus avant dans la mer qu'on a peu, pour empêcher l'entrée des brulots qui sont plus à craindre que tout autre chose. On a enfoncé des barques à 2 pieds deau à l'entrée du passage, on a fait avancer deux cens hommes de milice le long de la côte. On espère que tous ces obstacles obligeront les ennemis à se contenter d'empêcher la jonction de notre flotte et de demeurer par ce moyen maîtres de la Manche.

'Madame de Montespan a fait prier le Roy de disposer du gouvernement de St. Onge et d'Angoumois que possedoit le feu Duc Duzet en faveur du Marquis Dantein son gendre, fils du Marquis de Montespan et d'elle. On verra par le succez si elle a encore le même credit que cidevant aupres du Roy.

'On continue en cette ville les petites réjouissances pour la prise de Namur, en attendant les grandes qu'on prepare pour le retour du Roy. Sa Majesté partit de Dinan le 4 et alla coucher à Philippeville, le 5 à Mariembourg. Elle doit coucher le 7 à Rocroy, les 8 à Aubanton, le 9 à Liesse où elle fera ses devotions pour la prise de Namur, le 10 à Soissons, le 11 à Villers Cotteretz où elle fera quelque sejour, le 14 à Dampmartin, le 15 à Versailles.

'Un courrier d'Allemagne passant icy pour Flandres a porté la nouvelle que les Allemans ont passé le Rhin au dessus de Mayence, et qu'à leur aproche l'armée de Monsieur de Lorge a decampé et sest retirée vers Landau, peut être dans le dessein de passer aussi ce fleuve pour faire quelque diversion dans le pays de Dourlac et de Baden, et par ce moyen engager les ennemis dabandonner leur dessein; mais il y a peu d'apparence que Monsieur de Lorge y puisse avoir le même succez que l'année derniere, amoins qu'il ne soit bientôt renforcé par quelque dettachment considerable. On dit que le Marquis de Cogny a ordre de le joindre avec les 6,000 hommes quil commande et qu'on dettache 6,000 chevaux et cinq bataillons de l'armée de Monsieur de Luxembourg pour aller occuper les postes du Marquis de Coigny. Quelques autres regimens defilent en Franche Comté pour aller joindre Monsieur de Catinat à Villars, où il na fait dautre mouvement que de changer sa droite à sa gauche, pour faire tête aux Vaudois, de Lusserne et de La Perouse, qui lincomodent fort.

'On apprend de Mons que la garnison du chateau de Namur forte d'environ 3,000 hommes compris les malades et les blessez a été conduite à Louvain. Les plus incomodez sont restez dans les hôpitaux. On ajoute que l'armée des allies se retire du côté de Hall, et que celle de Monsieur de Luxembourg doit repasser la Sambre à Labussiere pour gagner le camp de Pieton.

'Les vaisseaux qui étoient à la rade de Berthaume l'ont enfin quittée pour entrer dans la baye de D'Ouarnenes, où on les croit plus en seurté. On confirme que les vaisseaux ennemis ont paru au nombre de 60 voiles vers Ouëssan de sorte qu'on sattend à quelque entreprise de ce côté là.

'La diminution des especes na pas fait porter plus d'argent au Tresor sur la dernière constitution de 1,200,000 de rente au denier 18, dont la plus grande partie du fonds capital reste à remplir. Les uns disent que la misere fait resserrer les bourses, et les autres qu'on craint de placer son argent sur des fondz de cette nature sujet à diminution. On parle d'une nouvelle marque des monnoyes au commencement de l'année prochaine, et que lon travaille desjà aux estempes pour le changement de l'empreinte dont on espere de tirer 30 millions pour les fondz de la campagne prochaine.

'Les lettres de Perpignan du premier marquent que l'armée du Duc de Noailles estoit à l'entrée du Lempourdan où elle souffre par la disete des fourrages parce que celle des ennemis sy fortifie et lempeche de passer plus avant.

'On croit que nos gallères yront sur les côtes de Catalogne si lon n'apprend que les vaisseaux espagnols se mettent plutôt en mer.'

4pp. *Copy. French. Unsigned.*

F2. 1692, [Sept. 26/] Oct. 6. Paris. 'Depuis ma dernière on a grossi l'affaire d'Allemagne, où l'on dit que les ennemis ont perdu plus qu'on ne disoit. On les a pris pour dupes. Ils ne croyoient pas que Monsieur le Mareschal de Lorge seroit si fort, et aussitost qu'ils decouvrirent tant de troupes, ils prirent la fuite, sans faire la moindre resistance. Ainsi tout ce qu'on a tué, ou pris prisonnier, a été en les poursuivant. Les dragons y ont bien fait leur orge. Ils s'y sont enrichis. L'on a pillé ces deux petites villes. Le Baron de Soyer se tiroit aux cheveux. Il a mangé avec l'administrateur de Wirtemberg [avec le Mareschal de Lorges]*; le dernier a confessé qu'il avoit perdu cette journée la plus de 200,000 escus, en effet tout le bagage, argent, monnoye, et en vesselle etc.

'On assure que le Prince de Bade na pas trouvé l'armée de Hongrie à beaucoup pres si forte que l'on croyoit. Le bruit même c'est repandu que les

*The square brackets have been added in pencil.

Turcs l'avoient battu, mais on n'en croit rien. On est persuadé icy de la superiorité des Allemands sur eux, comme de la notre sur les ennemis. On s'attendt fort icy à une ligue des princes d'Italie, quoyqu'on dise que Caraffa leur demande de la part de l'Empereur de se declarer contre la France. On pretendt que la hauteur avec laquelle on les traite de la part de l'Empereur les obligera à se ranger de nostre côté.

'Palfi a vendangé les vignes des environs de Pignerol, et ensuite les a toutes arrachées ou brulées. L'Intendant du Daupiné fait distribuer des bleds aux paysans de ce pays là, pour resemmer leurs terres.

'On ne voit encore rien sur les affaires de religion, qui reponde aux esperances qu'on avoit eues, et dont le bruit s'estoit repandu par tout, ainsi je ne crois rien que ce que je verray. On a arresté Lesieur Deslayes, ministre de Touars, à Poitiers, ou l'Intendant avoit exigé quil demeurast, et 3 ou 4 autres l'ont esté aussi en même temps, cela ne rassure pas les gens. Les ennemis du repos public font courir un bruit que si les religionnaires du Dauphiné n'ont pas remué ce n'est pas manque de bonne volonté, mais simplement parce qu'ils n'ont pas jugé encore la partie assez bien liee pour pouvoir reussir dans leurs desseins. Nous n'avons point ouy parler de ce qu'on mande des pays estrangers, qu'on ait mis en liberté les gens detenus à Dieppe.

'La cource de Monsieur de Bouflers fait grand bruit. On dit qu'il a esté deux lieue par delà Mastrick, sans trouver personne qui s'opposast à luy. On s'attent à plusieurs expeditions de cette nature pendant l'hyver. On dit que nos troupes sont en quartier de rafreschissement. Celles qui ont le plus souffert pendant la campagne vont estre mises dans de bons quartiers d'hyver. Monsieur de Pontchartrain veut qu'on les mettent [*sic*] dans les villes pour espargner le plat pays. On fait estat seur de 80 gros vesseaux pour la campagne prochaine, et l'on espère que le Roy Guillaume n'aura pas les memes facillités de tirer de l'argent cette année de son Parlement que celle cy devant. On espère encore beaucoup de la division que cause en Allemagne les oppositions à l'Ellectorat du Duc d'Hanover, auquel tous les princes s'opposent, ainsi nous sommes plus pleins d'esperance que jamais. Vous savez bien que du temperament dont sont les François, les moindres prospérités leur enflent le courage, et leur donnent de la confiance, au lieu que si nous aurons tasté de la disgrace, nous tomberions dans des defaillances dont les ennemis tireroient de grands avantages. On va convertir en troupes reglées toutes les milices du royaume, et enlever d'autres en leurs places. Je ne say pas comme on fera dans les provinces qui sont déjà fort degarnies d'hommes.

'Le Roy Jaques a resté icy, à cause de l'indisposition de la Reyne, qui a eu quelques accès de fièvre. On peste asses communement contre luy parceque tout le monde le regarde comme le plus grand obstacle à la paix. On craint

fort la cherté des vivres de cette année. Le vin triplera de prix, le pain devient fort cher tous les jours.'

2½ pp. *Copy. French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 5 Oct. 1692.*

F3. 1693, [Feb. 28/] March 10. 'Il y a un nommé Seuer anglois, qui a este autrefois a la Bastille et qui a present est en Angleterre, qui donne avis de tout ce qui passe en Angleterre.

'Il y a a Calais une chaloupe qui va jusqu'es sur les costes d Angleterre, ou elle transporte les personnes qui y sont envoyes d'icy pour affaire de consequence, et assurément, si on la pouvoit attraper en y allant, on scauroit bien des choses. On ma assuré qu'elle débarquoit ordinairement a Douvre, et qu'un nommé la Croize ou la Croise demeurant sur le bort [*sic*] de la mer en avoit connoissance. Tout cela est seur.

'Le Roy a determine aujourd'hui son voyage et la fixee au quatre de may.'

½ p. *French. Unsigned. Enclosed in no. 215 above.*

F4. 1693, [March 24/] April 3. Paris. Ten or twelve days ago a monk of the discalced Carmelites' convent left here for England 'sur des mauvais desseins': a short man with a swarthy face marked by smallpox. He appears to have gone by way of Flanders, unless he took passage on one of the boats which go nearly every week from Dieppe and St. Valery to Rye.

1½ pp. *French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 19 April.*

F5. 1693, [May 29/] June 8. Paris. 'On m'asseure que le premier plan estoit d'aller à Bruxelles et de pousser vers les Provinces Unies afin de faire beau jeu aux Alewyns et à ceux de leur party, et que si on ne suit pas ce dessein ce sera parceque la negociation pour une paix particuliere ayant esté decouverte, cela ne feroit plus le même effet.

'Depuis que Monsieur de Tourville est à la mer nous n'avons point eu de ses nouvelles. Il exhorta des le premier jour les officiers de l'armée à la frugalité, dont il vouloit leur donner l'exemple, non pas par menage, disoit il, mais parcequ'il prevoit que leur navigation pourroit estre longue, quoiqu'il n'eut pas encore les ordres de la cour, celà ne luy estant perniis qu'à une certaine hauteur.

'On escrit de la cour du 5e. que Madame la Duchesse de Chartres est grosse; que le Roy avoit fait preparer du biscuit pour trois semaines; qu'on en auguroit une longue marche par le pays enemy; que personne ne savoit encore le dessein du Roy; que les opinions estoient toujours partagées entre

Liege et Bruxelles; que sa Majesté avoit dit en pleine table que Monsieur de Lorge, qui n'avoit pû marcher plutost, faute d'ordre et de vivres, devoit enfin aller droit à Heilbron chercher le Prince Louis de Bade; et que Monsieur de Tourville est allé vers le Cap de Finistere guetter l'escadre angloise qui est destinée à la Mediterranée.'

1½ pp. *French. Unsigned. Enclosed in no. 265 above.*

F6. 1693, Sept. [1/] 11. Paris. 'Comme le Roy á ú ávis que toutes les troupes déstinées pour le renfort de l'armée du Marechal de Catinat avoient passé par Lion le 7 et le 8 de ce mois, et quelles ne pouvoient pas tarder de le joindre à Fenestrelle ou il est toujours campé, sa Majeste, sur les avis que ce général a envoyé en cour, tint il y a deux jours un conseil de guerre, dans lequel lon a deliberé des moyens de faire en cette occasion un dernier effort sur le Piémont, d'autant que tout ce qui peut y contribuer se trouve au pied des montagnes, et inutile d'un autre côté par larrière-saison qui contraindra dans quelques jours les autres armées de se retirer dans leurs quartiers d'hiver. Les lettres de Grenoble du 6 marquent que le camp de Sablons ou 8,000 chevaux s'estoient assembles avoit été levé, et qu'il estoient [*sic*] en marche pour joindre à Briançon les autres regiments qui y estoient arrivés; que l'on avoit enlevé dans le Dauphiné plusieurs cheveaux pour servir à ramplacer au besoin ceux que la fatigue des montagnes aura mis hors d'état de servir, et aussi, pour monter dans un coup presté de linfanterie en la place de la cavallerie que lon perdra; cest ce qui confirme que la cour est absolument resolute d'en venir à un combat général, dont l'heureux succez puisse mettre fin à la guerre de ce côté la, qui coute plus á entretenir que toutes les autres. Et enfin que le Duc de Savoie, aiant quitté son camp devant Pignerol et donné les ordres pour le blocus de cette place, étoit retourné avec le Comte Caprara dans La Perouse pour se maintenir dans les postes quil y occupe. Que 6,000 cheveaux de ses troupes estoient entrées dans le marquisat de Sallustes, et aux environs de Cony, ce qui reduisoit Messieurs de Larré et D'Usson, qui commandent 4,000 hommes du côté de Barcelonnette, de ne plus faire des courses de ce côté la. Son Altesse Royale a fait miner le fort de Ste. Brigide pour le faire sauter en cas qu'il soit contraint de l'abandonner.

'L'on á avis de Montroyal du 5 qu'on y préparoit toutes choses pour l'arrivée du Maréchal de Boufflers qui y devoit repasser la Moselle avec 12 des 18 bataillons quil conduit en Flandres. Les 6 autres tiennent une autre route pour vivre plus commodement. On a demême separé la cavallerie.

'Enfin Monseigneur le Dauphin, accompagné du Duc du Maine et de Monsieur de Beringhem, premier écuyer du Roy, qui a servy ce prince en Allemagne, arriva mecredy au soir à Versailles, ou le Roy le receut avec toute

la tendresse possible, apres quoy Monseigneur rendit conte á sa Majesté de ce qui setoit passé pendant la campagne.

'Il y à des avis de Normandie qui disent que l'on y continue l'amas de plusieurs materiaux pour le port de la Hogue, que l'on à dessein de perfectionner.

'Le prévot des marchands de cette ville acheve de regler la taxe par tête que l'on va lever tant dans cette ville que partout le royaume, et ce suivant le bien d'un chacun.

'La cour partira j[e]udi pour Fontainebleau. Le Roy ira coucher a Choysi, belle maison de Monseigneur le Dauphin. Monseigneur le Duc de Berry sera a ce qu'on dit du voiage.'

2½ pp. *Copy. French.*

G. LETTERS FROM BRITTANY, POITOU, AUNIS AND SAINTONGE

G1. 1692, [Jan. 24/] Feb. 3. Rochefort. 'Je suis icy depuis 10 à 12 jours, ou jay resu vostre derniere. Je ne vous aurois pas escrit ce jour hors la priere que vous men faite, car je nay presque rien a mander. Arrivant icy dans ma barque, je vis partir de Lille Dest [l'Ile d'Aix] Monsieur de Naymont et Monsieur de La Galissoniere avecq deux navire dautourd de 70 canons ...' [The rest of this letter is a version of no. K9 below, which is written in much better French so has been chosen for transcription. Significant differences are marked at K9. As the author of G1 had been in Rochefort for ten or twelve days and the author of K9 arrived only on 3 February, their claims to have witnessed the same events on their arrival cannot both be accurate.]

3pp. *French. In a hand not found elsewhere among Nottingham's papers. No address, signature, or endorsement. Enclosed in no. B26, reaching Nottingham two days before the better version at no. K9, which he endorsed: 'Received from Sir Patience Ward February 16 [16]91-2, and is the same with that enclosed in Jurieux letter which came to me February 14'.*

G2. 1692, March [13/] 23. Rochefort. 'J'arrive de Bordeaux depuis huit jours, ou je seray obligé de retourner dans peu pour achever l'affaire qui m'y retient depuis sy longtemps, d'où je vous feray sçavoir le succez. L'on travaille icy avec une diligence extraordinaire a mettre tous les navires du Roy qui y sont en estat, y ayant pour cet effect assurément 4 a 5 mille charpentiers, et tout autres sortes de gens au travail, de sorte que cela avance extraordinairement. Il y a desia 11 navires de force de 60 canons et plus, ausquels on travaille a mettre le canon et les vivres a Lisle-day [l'Ile d'Aix] qui est a la sortie de cette rivière. Ils partiront pour Brest a mesure qu'ils auront leurs equipages, qu'on a bien de la peine a trouver. C'est une marchandise bien rare que les matelots.

'Monsieur de Villette est arrivé en ce lieu pour monter un navire neuf de 100 canons qu'on a mis a l'eau. Il a envoyé des officiers par tout ce gouvernement chercher les matelots, et ou on ne les trouve pas, on met la force des garnisons. On enleve tous les meubles que les soldats vendent pour vivre, et ruinent tout. Avec cela ils n'auront pas le quart dans les navires qu'on puisse nommer matelots; le reste sont des batteliers a pigouille ou gabariez de toutes les rivières depuis Toulouze et Montauban jusques à celle de Nante, et des laboureurs et saulniers et toutes sortes d'autres artisans, dont les capitaines qui les montent enragent, et disent hautement qu'avec de semblables equipages s'ils trouvent vos armées qu'ils feront comme l'année dernière. Ils fuyront d'un autre costé dez que les vedettes les auront advertis de leurs

routes, a mesure que le reste des navires qu'on equippe icy s'appresteront. Ils doivent partir pour Brest sans attendre. On juge plus apropos de les risquer de la sorte que de s'attendre. Ainsy sy les Anglois ou Hollandois avoient une bonne escadre de 30 navires entre Belisle et Brest ils ne manqueroient pas d'en attraper.

'Monsieur de Nesmond est toujours avec 7 gros navires de guerre vers le Cap de Finisterre, a croiser et attendre vos flottes d'Espagne et Portugal, ou celles qui peuvent venir des Barboutes ou de la Jamayque, affin de les attaquer et en prendre pour payer partie de nostre armement, car se sont tous gros navires qui vallent bien 14,000 livres. Il y a icy des lettres de Brest qui disent qu'il y a 18 navires de prests s'ils avoient leurs matelots. Avec tout cela les capitaines ne croient pas qu'il y aye ordre de la cour de se battre, mais de faire figure et consumer les ennemis, empeschant seullement de rien entreprendre, comme on a fait la dernière campagne, et que les peuples des Alliez s'ennuyent de donner de l'argent. Car en France on en fera tousjours donner a coups de baston ou ance des troupes qui abisent les gens par de grosses garnisons. Ce sera tousjours de mesme tant que les ennemis ne nous batteront pas, car s'ils nous gagnoient une bataille ou deux de conséquence, l'on verroit un étrange changement dans les provinces, tout le monde ayant le coeur a la révolte s'ils avoient un chef, encore plus les papistes que les nouveaux convertis qui souffrent tout comme les négres font aux Isles. On a envoyé de Paris depuis un mois en cette province et le Poitou 4 a 5 scélerats qu'on croit Jesuittes déguisez, qui désolent tous les nouveaux convertis, vont a la campagne les surprendre dans leurs maisons, et s'ils trouvent un livre qui ne leur plaise pas, prennent prétexte d'y envoyer garnison, se saisissant d'abord de tout l'argent et des papiers. Bref, ils mettent tout le monde au desespoir. Ce sont ces sauterelles d'enfer envoyées par le vénérable clergé a qui le Roy permet tout pourveu qu'il donne de l'argent, et de lieu en lieu il y a des troupes dans les provinces pour faire obeir tout le monde. Car journellement on ne voit arriver que des nouveutez et des taxes pour avoir de l'argent, qui commence a manquer, et l'on paye fort mal icy a la marine.

'L'on compte tousjours que nostre armée de mer sera de 80 navires de ligne et nombre de frégattes légères et de brullots. On fait un amas incroyable de provisions. On en envoie beaucoup en Canada, ou il ira cinq navires de guerre conduire 10 a 12 navires marchands qui s'apprestent pour y aller.

'Le bruit est grand qu'une de nos frégattes de 40 canons [a été] coullée a fond par deux frégattes angloises allant a Dunkerque avec des canons. Ils sont a charger encore d'autres pour Brest icy.

'Nous n'avons point de nouvelles des Illes depuis 3 a 4 mois, ainsy l'on ne sçayt sy le Comte de Blénac y est arrivé avec sa flotte.

'Nous eusmes hier l'advis icy de l'interruption du négoce des lettres avec

l'Angleterre, possible quand le Roy d'Angleterre estant estant [*sic*] en Hollande fera faire la mesme chose en le communiquant a Messieurs les Estats Generaux, ainsy je ne sçay par quelle voye on escrira sy ce n'est par Geneve ou Allemagne.'

3pp. *French. Copy in the same hand as nos. D8, D10, and D11 (no address or signature). Probably enclosed in no. B33. The first paragraph has close verbal similarities with that of no. K10 of the same date.*

G3. 1693, [Jan. 13/] 23. Granville. 'Je ne voy point d'aparence de pouvoir acheter ny vins ny eau de vie; l'un et l'autre sont rares et a un prix ex[c]essif. Ainsy quelque menagement qu'on pût faire, je ne prevoy pas qu'on y profita. Le fret est extremement cher, le coullage grand, et les assurances sy hautes qu'on ne parle que de 45 et 50 pour 100 de Nantes et La Rochelle pour Dunquerque. Ainsy il ne faut plus songer a cette affaire. Je m'informeray de l'indigo, du cotton, et des laines d'Espagne; peutestre y pourroit on faire quelque profit. Vous aurez advis de tout au plustost s'il m'est possible. ConteZ ladessus et croyez que vos intherests me sont aussi chers que les miens propres. Vous me feriez la derniere des injustices si vous en doutiez.

'Comme je vous cognois bon François et que vous vous faites un plaisir d'apprendre des nouvelles, je vous diray que l'on travaille a l'armement de nostre flotte avec toutte la diligence possible. Les festes, les dimanches, et mesme les nuits, n'en retardent point le travail. Il est constant que nostre flotte sera composée de 83 a 84 vaisseaux de ligne, 40 brullots, 20 fregattes, 25 galliottes, et quelques briguantins. Tout cela ensemble composera pres de 200 voilles.

'Si nous avons eu le malheur de perdre 14 ou 15 vaisseaux dans le dernier combat, nous en avons reellement 18 tous neufs pour les remplacer, outre ceux qui sont revenus de l'Amérique, que l'on a mis en bon estat. On en a basti un a Toullon qui est percé a 110 canons; c'est un des plus beaux que nous ayons en France. Monsieur de Tourville le montera, au lieu du *Soleil Royal* qui fut brullé a La Hougue. Celuy cy se nomme le *Royal Louis*; les cognoisseurs disent que c'est un chef d'oeuvre.

'Il est certain qu'on ne manquera point de matelots. L'estat que l'on en a fait se trouve complet. Il y a 130 compagnies de soldats pour la marine. Chacque compagnie est de 100 a 110 hommes effectifs. Cela fait le nombre de 13 a 14,000 hommes. Ce sont les lieutenants de vaisseaux qui les commandent comme capitaines.

'Il ny aura point de changement pour le commandement des vaisseaux. Chaque capitaine montera le mesme quil avoit l'année passée, avec les mesmes officiers, a la reserve que l'on remplira la place de ceux qui ont esté tuez par des gens experimentez. Du vivant de Monsieur de Seignelay on

n'observoit point cette regle, car presque tous les ans on changeoit de vaisseaux, et capitaines et officiers, pour les mettre sur d'autres. Mais Monsieur de Pontchartrain, qui a une parfaite cognoissance de la marine, a trouvé que ce changement est extremement prejudiciable, car il soutint dans le dernier conseil que quand un capitaine et des officiers ont eu la conduite d'un vaisseau pendant un temps, qu'ils en cognoissent les deffauts et sçavent y remedier sur le champ, au lieu qu'un nouveau venu y est trompé et fait une mauvaise manœuvre, ce qui est d'un notable prejudice.

'Sy tost que le dernier conseil de marine fut finy a Versailles, tous les officiers receurent ordre d'aller chacqu'un en son departement, Messieurs d'Estrée et de Villette pareillement, le premier pour Toulon et le dernier pour Rochefort, afin dy faire mettre les vaisseaux qui sont dans ces ports en estat de mettre a la voile dans le 15 ou 20 febvrier, pour aller joindre les autres qui sont a Brest, afin de prevenir les ennemis, crainte qu'ils ne fissent quelque tentative pour empescher leur jonction. Il est seur que toute nostre flotte ne mettra en mer qu'au mois de may ou juin, car on pretend que les ennemis soient a demy fatiguez avant que de les combattre. On pretend aussy que nous aurons nostre revanche au double, et que sy les ennemis osent tenter un combat, ils trouveront a qui parler. Il est certain que tous les officiers ont une grande envie de se signaler, et de la maniere qu'ils en parlent ils sont seurs de la victoire. Il est vray que jamais Roy n'a esté servy avec plus de fidelité et d'ardeur que le nostre, car il semble que tous les officiers se fassent une felicité de se sacrifier pour son service. Tout ce que je vous marque cy dessus est positif. Je tiens de bonne part et cela vous doit suffire.

'Il a fait ces jours passez un temps le plus facheux et le plus tempestueux du monde. Les chemins estoient des abimes. Le messenger de St. Malo a perdu 2 de ses chevaux dans sa route. Ils ont pery dans la boue sans pouvoir les secourir. Voicy presentement un assez beau temps, mais les chevaux ne sçauroient tenir pied, car tous les chemins sont comme des rivières glacées, ou l'on ne peut tenir ferme sans estre en peril de se tuer. Je vous asseure qu'il y a bien des risques de toutes les manieres. On volle tous les jours, on tue, enfin on n'entend parler que de malheurs. Tout est d'une cherté inouye dans les auberges, le vin 32 sols le pot, le sidre 8 sols, le pain rare. On a peine d'en t[r]ouver pour de l'argent, enfin c'est une desolation universelle partout ou l'on va. On voit des troupes de paysans qui crient la faim et demandent l'aumone en menaçant. On leve des droits excessifs, on ruine tout, et sy cette malheureuse guerre dure encor du temps, tout le peuple deviendra pauvre et miserable. C'est une chose a faire pitié et [*sic*] de voir toutes choses sy hors de raison. Sy la recolte prochaine n'estoit pas meilleure que la dernière, je croy que tout periroit. Mais graces a Dieu les bleds ont belle aparence dans toute la basse Normandie, et particulièrement aux environs de Caen tout y est en tres bon estat, a ce que j'ay remarqué.

'Vous serez estonné de ce que je vous écris d'icy. Je n'ay pû refuser un de mes amis, officier de marine, de me détourner pour l'accompagner. Je ne scay s'il sera apropos que je fasse le grand voiage, veu l'état des choses, et la grande defence quil convient faire. J'attendray vos nouvelles la dessus, que vous m'adresserez par mon amy de Rouen.

'J'oubliois a vous dire qu'il y a dans Toulon 20 gros navires et 10 brulots prests, et a Rochefort presqu'autant.'

4pp. *French. Unsigned, but referred to in subsequent letters from the same source (nos. G4-5) and in the same hand.*

G4. 1693, Jan. [18/] 28. St. Malo. 'Je ne doute pas que vous n'ayez receu la lettre que je vous ecrivis de Granville il y a quelques jours, par laquelle je vous informois exactement de toutes choses touchant le prix des marchandises. Tout ce que je vous mandois est positif. Les eaux de vie sont encor augmentées de prix, de sorte que je ne prevoy pas quil y aye rien a faire, non plus que sur les vins qui sont extremement rare. Je tacheray de me rendre a Brest le plustost quil me sera possible pour la vente des marchandises qui s'y doit faire. J'aprehende de ne pouvoir pas m'y rendre aussitost que je le souhaite, car il m'est arrivé un malheur sur la route, qui me retiendra encor quelques jours icy. En entrant dans Pontorson, comme tous les chemins estoient glacez, les 4 pieds manquerent a mon cheval, qui s'abbatit ruddement sur le costé, ma jambe se trouva dessous luy attrapée, et voulant s'efforcer pour se relever il me la pressa sy fort que je crus l'avoir rompue aux environs de la cheville du pied, mais Dieu mercy elle n'a esté que déjointe. J'envoyay chercher un chirurgien qu'on m'asseura estre un habille homme, qui en effet me l'a remit fort adroitement, mais ce ne fut pas sans une sensible douleur. J'espere estre en estat de me remettre en chemin la semaine prochaine pour achever mon voiage. Je vous donneray de mes nouvelles le plus souvent quil me sera possible; depuis le dégel les chemins sont sy mauvais qu'un homme de cheval a peine peut faire 6 lieues a sa journée, particullièrement dans la Bretagne ou ce n'est que mons et vaux.

'Je croiois avoir le plaisir de voir icy quelques vaisseaux de guerre, mais il ny en a pas un seul, tout est allé à Brest. Le Roy a fait fermer les ports, et tous les matelots ont ordre de se rendre incessamment a Brest, et comme il est sorty depuis 15 jours de ce port plus de 30 armateurs pour aller en course sur les ennemis, ils ont ordre de revenir icy au commencement de fevrier ou d'aller desarmer a Brest dans le 15e. dudit sans y manquer, a fin que tous leurs equipages sy trouvent tout portez. Au surplus tout ce que je vous ay dit dans ma precedente est réel. On ne manque point de matelots, tout le monde donne du costé de la marine et comme l'on a fait icy des prises tres considerables, et que bien des gens s'y sont enrichis, chacqu'un en veut tater

et cela fait quantité de bons matelots. Il est rentré aujourd'huy dans ce port un armateur qui a amené deux prises, sçavoir une tartane chargée de sucre et de tabac, et un autre vaisseau chargé de sel de St. Hubes, pour Hollande.

'On travaille avec toute la diligence possible à l'armement de nostre flotte. Les vaisseaux de Toulon et de Rochefort doivent se rendre incessamment a Brest; on assure qu'ils sont prests à mettre en mer sytost que les officiers et les matelots y seront arrivez, ce qui sera dans peu, car on craint que l'ennemy ne se mette en mer pour empescher leur jonction. C'est pourquoy on se precautionne de bonne heure. Sy vous m'escrivez, que se soit sous l'adresse de mon amy de Rouen. On assure que nostre flotte sera du moins de 85 vaisseaux de ligne, 40 brulots, sans les fregattes et galliottes etc.'

2½ pp. *French. Unsigned. Addressed to:* 'Monsieur le Cavelier, marchand a Rotterdam'. *Endorsed:* 'de Dieppe'. *Enclosed in no. B68.*

G5. 1693, [Jan. 22/] Feb. 1. St. Malo. 'Je ne doute pas que vous n'ayez reçu la lettre que je vous escrivis il y a quelques jours de Granville, et une autre que je vous escrivis d'icy il y a 3 jours par voye de Dieppe, par lesquelles je vous informois exactement du prix des marchandises et particulièrement des vins, eaux de vie et indigo, a quoy je me réfere. Je ne prevoiy pas que vous trouviez a propos que je fasse aucqu'uns achats, puis que par ordre du Roy on a fermé tous les ports et havres du royaume pour avoir tous les matelots au service de sa Majesté. Ainsy voila la navigation aneantie jusqu'a la fin de la campagne. Les assurances pour Dunquerque et Callais sont à un prix excessif, et quand on auroit la liberté d'y envoyer des marchandises cela emporteroit le profit. Il est sorty d'icy depuis peu plus de 30 armateurs, parmy lesquels il y en a jusques a 36 pieces de canon, mais ils ont ordre de venir desarmer dans ce mois apeine de dix mil livres d'amande, pour envoyer leurs equipages au service du Roy. J'espere continuer mon voiage dans peu de jours. Je vous donneray advis de temps en temps de ce qui se passe dans la négoce.'

1p. *French. Unsigned. Addressed to:* 'Monsieur Le Cavelier, marchand a Rotterdam'. *Seal of arms (3 trefoils. The crest is also a trefoil. The same arms are on the seals at nos. G12 and G16; the other seals in this bundle are not armorial).* *Enclosed in no. B68.*

G6. 1693, Feb. [7/] 17. Brest. 'Je me donnay l'honneur de vous escrire le 13e. du courant. Je ne doute pas que vous n'ayez reçu ma lettre, et que Monsieur Neel ne vous aye fait tenir celle que je luy ay escritte comme je l'en ay prié, par laquelle je vous parlois touchant nos affaires, et vous en donnois un eclaircissement fort juste et autant exact quil m'a esté possible. J'espererois que vous m'auriez escrit comme je vous en ay prié et neantmoins je ne reçois

auqu'une nouvelle de vostre part. Sy je trouve de l'indigo et du cotton à La Rochelle a un prix un peu raisonnable j'en acheteray. Mandez moy si vous estes encor dans le sentiment d'y prendre moitié à fin que je prenne mes mesures ladessus. S'il y a quelque navire pour Dunquerque et que je trouve l'eau de vie a un prix qui ne soit point trop haut, et la fret de mesme, je tacheray d'en embarquer quelque partie. Je vous donneray advis de ce que j'auray fait. Cependant j'y attendray vos ordres, sans retardement.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *French.* *The signature has been torn off, apparently deliberately; but what remains of it corresponds exactly to that of no. G12 below. On the back, in another hand: 'Jay mis la vostre a la poste. L'incluse a etté retardée.'* *Enclosed in no. B71.*

G7. [1693, before 21 Feb.] French ships at Brest.

'Premier rang:

Le Formidable
Le Souverain
Le Grand
Le Dauphin Royal
Le Vainqueur
Le Magnanime
L'Orgueilleux
Le Conquerant.

Ces vaisseaux sont magnifiques et des mieux construits. Ils sont a 3 ponts et demy, depuis 90 jusqu'a plus de 100 de canon. Le moindre porte sur l'ariere de ses deux batteries de bas 32 pieces de canon de fonte de 24 et 36 livres de balles, et quelques uns jusques a 48 livres. Tout cela est dans un ordre parfaitement bien entendu. La plupart ont 3 galleries l'une sur l'autre a l'ariere, avec des ballustrades peintes et dorées, aussy bien que la chambre du capitaine, et la fleche demesme et les termes aussy. Enfin tout y est superbe.

'Second:

La Couronne
Le Monarque
Le Pompeux
Le Fleurissant
Le Parfait
Le Fort.

Ceux cy sont a peu pres demesme que ces 8 premiers. Ils sont a 3 ponts et montez de 78 a 86 canons de fer de gros calibre. Ils en ont aussy de fonte dans leurs batteries de bas comme les premiers.

'Troisieme:

Le Vigilant
Le Brusque
Le Fidelle
L'Agreable
Le Brillant
L'Equeüil
Le St. Michel
Le Marquis
Le Prudent
La Perle.

Ceux cy sont a deux ponts et demy, de 56 a 70 pieces de canon.

'*Castricum*

Maria Elisabeth

Un vaisseau de guerre anglois de 54 pieces de canon qui a esté pris aussy.

Ces deux sont de l'admirauté d'Amsterdam, lesquels servoient de convoie, et qui ont esté pris depuis peu par des vaisseaux du Roy. Ils sont montez de 54 pieces de canon chacqu'un. On les equipe pour aller avec l'armee, et l'anglois aussy.

'Le nombre de ses [<i>sic</i>] vaisseaux se monte a	27
et les 3 vaisseaux neufs qui vont estre prêts	<u>3</u>
	30

Ces 3 derniers sont a 3 ponts et demy, de 100 pieces de canon chacqu'un. Ce sont des mieux construits et des plus grands que nous ayons en France. On assure que Monsieur de Tourville en montera un, Monsieur de Chateau Renault et Monsieur de Némont les deux autres.

'Voila le nombre des vaisseaux qui sont presentement a Brest que l'on équipe actuellement, sans comprendre quelques fregattes legeres. Il y a peu de vaisseaux marchands, mais bien 80 prises, la pluspart navires anglois. Il ny en a pas 10 hollandois en tout, car il est constant qu'on prend 10 anglois contre un hollandois; a St. Malo, il en est de mesme, car les corsaires de la ne prennent presque que des anglois.

'Monsieur de Némont est en mer avec 10 vaisseaux, dont 6 sont sortis de Brest, qui ne sont pas compris dans les 30 cy dessus. Il y en a 5 au Port Louis, 20 a Toulon, et autant a Rochefort, a ce qu'on assure. Ainsy nostre flotte sera composée de plus de 80 vaisseaux de ligne. Il y aura 40 brulotz. On ne manque point d'agrez ny de canon pour fournir l'armement, quoy que les ennemis en doutent. Nous avons toutes sortes d'amunitions, plus quil n'en faut.

'Il y a dans l'arsenal des armes pour 40,000 hommes, tout cela est clair et

entretenu quil ne se peut pas mieux. On y travaille continuellement avec une application toute particuliere, aussy bien qu'a tout ce qui est necessaire pour rendre l'armement complet. Il y a plus de 10,000 hommes employez a tout cela, tant charpentiers, forgerons, cordiers, tonneliers, calfadeurs que voilliers, etc. Tout y va dans un ordre merveilleux.

'Voila de quoy remplir vostre gazette.'

2pp. *French. Undated, but endorsed by Nottingham as received 21 Feb. 1692-3. Addressed to: 'Monsieur Le Cavalier, marchand a Rotterdam'. Enclosed in no. B71.*

G8. 1693, Feb. [13/] 23. Brest. 'J'ay receu l'honneur de la vostre que Monsieur Cossart m'a envoyée en cette ville comme je l'en avois prié. En réponce je vous diray que la lettre qu'on a aportée a vostre boutique et que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer venoit de Monsieur Granville de Paris. Je suis dans un pays ou l'on parle une langue pire que l'arrabe, ou je n'entens pas un mot. Il faut des interpretes quand on a affaire aux gens du commun pour se faire entendre. Les hommes de ce pays cy n'en ont que la figure, ce sont de vrays sauvages qui fuyent dans la campagne lors qu'on leur demande le chemin. La terre n'est pas plus practiquable que les hommes, les chemins en sont detestables. Il a falu que j'aye eu la patience de marcher une journée entiere avec un guide pour faire 3 lieues et demie de chemin dans les boues jusqu'au sangles des chevaux et dans des fondrieres comme des abimes. Ayant eu 5 jours consécutifs la pluye sur le corps, je vous laisse a penser quel plaisir j'ay eu.

'Il est vray que parmy tous mes chagrins j'ay eu quelques momens de recreation, car je me suis trouvé à St. Malo dans la compagnie de tres honnestes gens, qui m'ont fait boire du meilleur vin de Canarie que jamais Dieu ait fait. Ce sont des interessez dans les corsaires et ce n'a esté qu'au dépens des Anglois que nous avons beu, car le jour que je partis de St. Malo *Le Comte de Revel*, qui est un des meilleurs corsaires de St. Malo, monté de 36 pieces de canon et de 200 hommes, amena dans ce port la 3 prises angloises, l'une de 300 thons et armée de 28 pieces de canon, chargée de vin d'Espagne et d'huile de Seville, la seconde de 12 pieces de canon, chargée de sucre et tabac, et l'autre de 8 pieces de canon, chargée de diferentes marchandises. Ces 3 prises se battirent plus de deux heures et croyoient enlever le corsaire, mais il en demeura vainqueur et les amena toutes 3, non pas sans avoir perdu des hommes de part et d'autre, et moy qui vous escrit j'en vis apporter a terre plusieurs blessez tant de nostres que des leur. Je vis des bras emportez et des jambes aussi. Enfin suivant les aparences on s'estoit battu vigoureusement de part et d'autre, on appelle cela *fructus belli*. Je me suis informé icy du vaisseau *La Dilligente*, on ne cognoit point cela. Vous

deviez me marquer sy c'est un navire de guerre ou un marchand, et d'ou il est party. J'ay esté au bureau des classes mais Messieurs les commis m'ont dit que ce n'est point un vaisseau du Roy et quilz n'en ont point de cognoissance. Donnez moy de meilleures enseignes sy vous voulez, que je vous instruise plus exactement, aussi bien que du *St. Lestestu*.

'Moreau n'est pas mort comme on vous l'avoit dit, car je l'ay veu a Landivisio en bon estat. Cela n'est distant que de 7 lieues d'icy. Il est la en quartier d'hiver dans les troupes de la marine qui sont asseurement les mieux entretenues et les mieux disciplinées du royaume. C'est une merveille de les voir faire l'exercice militaire. Il ny a point de soldats des gardes qui aprochent de cela. Je les vis hier faire l'exercice icy en presence de Monsieur de Chasteauregnault. Il faut avouer quil ne se peut rien de mieux, aussy n'y épargne t'on ny soins ny peines, et tout cela est conduit par des officiers d'une experience consommée.

'Comme vous m'avez prié de vous aprendre des nouvelles, je vous en diray que vous aurez peuestre aprises par les gazettes publiques, c'est que Monsieur de Némont a mis à la voile icy depuis quelques jours avec 11 beaux vaisseaux pour aller croiser sur les ennemis. On travaille icy avec toute la dilligence possible à l'armement des vaisseaux du Roy pour la campagne prochaine. Il y a un nombre infiny d'ouvriers employez a cela, et tout est conduit d'une maniere merveilleuse; et dans un tems de guerre comme nous sommes [blot] c'est une chose étonnante que rien ne manque dans les magazins et dans l'arsenal, qui sont dans un ordre admirable. Les prises qu'on fait sur les ennemis nous fournissent de tout, car il n'est pas vray quil soit venu icy des vaisseaux danois et suedois a porter des agrez comme la Gazette d'Hollande l'a publié plusieurs fois. Je puis vous asseurer quil y a icy 70 ou 80 vaisseaux qu'on a pris sur les Anglois et Hollandois; et encor plus à St. Malo sans comparaison.

'Il y a icy deux vaisseaux de guerre hollandois qui servoient de convoy, lesquels ont esté pris depuis peu. Ils sont du college de l'admirauté d'Amsterdam, de 54 pieces de canon chaque; l'un se nomme *Castricum* et l'autre *Maria Elisabeth*. Il y en a un troisieme qui est anglois monté de mesme. On les equipe actuellement et serviront cette campagne.

'Voicy nos vaisseaux que l'on equipe icy et qui seront en estat de mettre en mer dans peu de jours.

Le Souverain

Le Dauphin Royal

Le Formidable

Le Magnanime.

Ces vaisseaux sont armez de 104 pieces de canon à 3 ponts et demy. Leurs batteries d'embas sont de canon de fonte de 36 et 24 livres de balle. Il ne se peut rien voir de plus magnifique ny de mieux équipé.

Le Florissant
Le Monarque
Le Pompeux
Le Parfait
L'Orgueilleux
Le Vainqueur
Le Fort
La Couronne
Le Conquerant.

Ceux cy sont de 80 a 90 canons, dont la plus part ont leur batterie de bas derriere de canon de fonte de 24 livres de balle, c'est a dire qu'ils en ont du moins 24 pieces chacu'un.

Le Vigilant
Le Brusque
Le Fidelle
L'Agreable
Le Brillant
L'Equeüil
Le St. Michel
Le Marquis
Le Prudent
La Perle.

Ce sont tous vaisseaux de 56 à 70 pieces, dont quelques uns ont aussi du canon de fonte.

'Lesquadre que commande Monsieur de Némont n'est pas comprise icy.

'Il y a encor 3 vaisseaux tous neufs, dont 2 ont esté lancez a l'eau depuis peu de jours et le 3me. le sera la semaine prochaine. Ils sont de plus de 100 pieces de canon, chaqu'un a 3 ponts et demy. Ce sont les plus grans et les plus beaux qu'on aye basty en France. Monsieur de Tourville en montera un et Monsieur d'Estrée montera celui de Toulon.'

4pp. *French. The signature of this letter appears originally to have been Noblet but has been altered to (?) Nablasiere. Enclosed in no. B71.*

G9. 1693, Feb. [15/] 25. Nantes. 'Mon voiage a esté meslé d'avantures assez bizarres jusques aujourd'huy. J'ay eu a la verité quelques bons momens, mais cela a esté traversé de chagrins et d'inquietudes. Tout cela ne s'écrit point. On vous en instruira sy on vous approche quelque jour comme on l'espere.

'Je suis sorty depuis quelques jours des Arabies pierreuse et deserte. C'est la haute et basse Bretagne que j'entens. La premiere est une suite continuelle

de montagnes de pierre, et de profondes vallées que ne vous representent que des precipices. Tout cela est environné de sources qui rendent les chemins détestables et fangeux. La seconde n'est pas plus agreable; ce ne sont que des landes et des fondrieres ou la plus part du temps les chevaux en ont jusqu'aux sangles, et ont besoin de toutes leurs forces pour s'en tirer. Ainsy on ne sçauroit y voyager sans prendre des guides qui sçavent les routes, car le plus souvent on marche 3 ou 4 lieues sans trouver de maisons ny d'hommes. Il arrive quelques fois qu'on rencontre des Bretons, mais on ne peut tirer auqu'[u]ne raison d'eux, car leur parler est moins intelligible que l'arabe, et toutes leurs manieres tiennent tout a fait du sauvage.

'J'ay passé au Port Louis, dans l'esperance d'y voir quelques beaux vaisseaux de guerre, mais il n'y en a que 5 ou 6, dont le plus grand n'est que de soixante canons et les autres inferieurs. On en a lancé deux neufs a l'eau depuis peu, dont l'un qu'on nommera (a ce qu'on dit) *Le Soleil Royal* est percé a plus de cent pieces de canon, et l'autre qu'on nommera *Le More* est de 60 a 70 pieces. Il y a dans ce port quelques navires marchands, et deux que la Compagnie des Indes Orientales fait équiper pour aller dans ces pays la, a la fin de mars.

'On assure que les vaisseaux de Toulon ont mis a la voile, et on espere qu'ils arriveront a Brest avant que les ennemies soient en estat d'empescher leur jonction.

'Il y aura garnison a Brest de 3,000 hommes pendant que l'armée navale sera en mer, 1,500 a Belle Isle et 500 au Port Louis.

'Il est difficile de comprendre que l'armée soit composée de plus de 80 vaisseaux de ligne comme on le publie, car a examiner la chose au plus juste, je ne voy pas que cela puisse aller a ce nombre la, veu qu'on assure que la moitié des vaisseaux de Toulon resteront dans la mer Mediterrannée, pour faire teste a l'Espagnol.

'Il est a remarquer qu'on a peine a rassembler le nombre des matelots necessaire pour fournir la flotte. On prend tous les batteliers du long de la Loire, et mesme des paysans aussy. J'en ay recontré sur la route un grand nombre, qui tiroient vers Brest, et qui m'ont paru de tres moiennes gens pour l'employ auquel on les destine, mais il en faut, et on se sert de ce qu'on trouve.

'On tient pour certain que l'armée navale n'entrera point cette annee dans la Manche. Il en cousta trop cher la campagne derniere. On est tres certain que les ennemis seront d'un tiers plus forts qu'ils n'estoient l'annee derniere, et qu'ils auront une armée considerable. C'est pourquoy on se menagera en sorte qu'on ne risquera rien qu'en bonnes enseignes, et l'on voudroit bien prendre sa revanche du dernier échec s'il estoit possible.

'Il est constant qu'on n'épargne ny soins ny peines pour mettre la flotte dans sa perfection. On y travaille avec une application extraordinaire, et il en couste

des sommes imences au Roy. Il y a dans les magasins de Brest tout le necessaire pour l'equipage des vaisseaux. Cela est conduit et menagé avec la derniere régularité par des commis qui ont toute la cognoissance requise pour remplir dignement leurs emplois. Aussy en touchent ils de bons gages, et sont payez exactement tous les quartiers. Il ne manque que des mateurs de Norvege, qui sont infiniment meilleures que celles dont on est obligé de se servir presentement, qui sont du crû du pays. La qualité n'en vaut rien, parce qu'ils sont d'un bois trop sec, qui se fend a la chaleur et qui ne dure pas longtemps, comme ceux de Norvege qui deviennent meilleurs au service. Un mats qui ne coustoit que deux cens ecus avant la guerre en vaudroit presentement deux mil. J'ay veu travailler a ceux qui doivent servir aux trois vaisseaux neufs de Brest. Ils sont faits chaqu'un de huit pieces jointes ensemble. Tout cela est lié de cordages et de cercles de fer en sorte qu'il ne paroît pas qu'ils soient de plusieurs morceaux assemblez. Ces mats la sont sans exageration gros comme un ponçon françois* tout au moins.

'Je vous reytere qu'il n'est pas vray qu'il soit venu dans aucqu'un de ces ports des navires danois et suedois chargez de mats, de planches et d'autres agrez, comme le gazetier de Hollande l'a publié; cela est entierement faux, car je m'en suis informé exactement.

'On dit qu'il y aura un camp aux environs de cette ville pendant l'esté prochain, qui sera de vint a trente mil hommes, pour la seureté des costes, au cas que les ennemis voulussent faire quelque dessente, mais il ny a point d'aparence qu'ils entreprennent rien a cet egard, puis qu'ils l'eurent sy beau l'année passee, et qu'ils ne tenterent rien, quoy qu'il leur estoit sy facile, veu la grande consternation ou l'on estoit par tout, et qu'ils eussent pû mettre pied a terre ou ils eussent voulu, sans qu'ils eussent rencontré aucqu'une resistance.

'Je suis arivé aujourd'huy en cette ville un peu fatigué du voiage. Je n'y resteray que peu de jours, car on fait de grosses dépenses dans ces pays cy, ou tout est d'une cherté incroyable a cause du grand passage pour Brest; mon cheval est presque sur les dents de fatigue.'

On a separate slip. 'Il y a quantité de navires marchands sur cette riviere, et particulièrement a Painboeuf, qui attendent le vent et quelque convoi pour aller aux lieux de leur destination. La plus part sont chargez pour le Roy. Les uns portent du bois pour bastir des vaisseaux, les autres des amunitions du vin, de l'eau de vie, etc.

'Les trois vaisseaux neufs de Brest se nomment *Le Merveilleux*, *Le Terrible*, et *Le Foudroyant*.

'Je ne doute pas que vous n'ayez receu mes deux dernieres. J'attends de vos

*A *ponçon* (later *poinson*) was a large cask or puncheon for wine, fish, salt, etc.

nouvelles par voye de Rouen, au plustost pour recevoir vos ordres et ceux de nos amis. Mes dernieres lettres estoient fort estendues.'

3½ pp. *French. Addressed to:* 'Monsieur Le Cavalier, marchand, Rotterdam'. *With note in the hand of Le Cavalier:* 'La datte de cette lettre est supposée [suppositious], par ce quon ne peut avenir de Nantes en moins de 10 jours, et le port de la lettre est marqué sur le prix. Venant de ce lieu la le correspondant a eu ses raisons.' *Endorsed by Nottingham as received 25 Feb. Enclosed in no. B72.*

G10. 1693, [Feb. 23/] March 5. Rochefort. 'S'ensuit le nombre des vaisseaux qui sont a Rochefort:

canons

<i>L'Ambicieux</i>	104 pieces
<i>Le Magnifique</i>	86
<i>Le Fort</i>	64

Ces 3 vaisseaux sont neufs.

<i>Le Victorieux</i>	90
<i>L'Intrepide</i>	80
<i>Le Glorieux</i>	60
<i>Le Moderé</i>	50
<i>Le Courtisan</i>	64
<i>L'Excellent</i>	60
<i>Le St. Esprit</i>	80
<i>Le Laurier</i>	60
<i>Le Precieux</i>	60
<i>Le Téméraire</i>	60
<i>La Sereine</i>	60
<i>L'Indien</i>	50
<i>L'Illustre</i>	80
<i>Le Gallion</i>	60
<i>Le Neptune</i>	64
<i>Le Vermandois</i>	64
<i>Le Courageux</i>	54
<i>L'Aimable</i>	64

'Les vaisseaux de Toulon sont:

<i>Le Royal Louis</i>	112 pieces de canon.
<i>Le Fulminant</i>	
<i>Le Lis</i>	
<i>Le Sceptre</i>	

Le Monarque
Le Belliqueux

Ces 5 sont de 90 a 96 pieces.

L'Heureux
Le Content
L'Invincible
Le Bourbon
Le Phenix
L'Apollon
Le Furieux
L'Aroquant
L'Eclattant
L'Entreprenant
Le Ferme
Le Hardy
Le Fleuron
Le Serieux

Ceux cy sont de 60 a 80 canons.

'30 a Brest
 21 a Rochefort
 20 a Toulon
 4 au Port Louis

 75

'Je ne scay combien il y a de vaisseaux au Havre et a Dunquerque.

'Jarivay hier icy, ou un officier m'a fait voir tout ce quil y a. Les magazins sont incomparablement plus beaux que ceux de Brest, aussy bien que l'Arcenal. Tout cela est conduit avec un ordre merveilleux. Il y a des vaisseaux a charmer, et entr'autres *L'Aimable*, *Le St. Esprit*, *Le Magnifique*, *L'Ambitieux*, et quelques autres; ce n'est que doruree et peinturee parfaitement belles, tant par dedans qu'au dehors, et du plus beau canon qui se puisse voir, la plus part de fonte. Il y a icy ce qui nest point a Brest, c'est la fonderie ou l'on fait le canon de metal. J'y ay veu travailler a du canon de 36 et 48 livres de balle, c'est une chose estonnante de voir toutes les machines et le feu violent quil y a dans cet endroit la, et la quantité des ouvriers qui y travaillent actuellement. Il y en a un nombre considerable prest a monter, et d'autres ou l'on donne la derniere main. Une lettre est trop bornée pour vous faire une description exacte de tout.

'Il sortit la semaine passée 5 vaisseaux de ce port, sçavoir, *L'Illustre*, *Le Neptune*, *Le Vermandois*, *Le Courageux*, et *Le Gallion*. Ce dernier a esté pris sur les Espagnols. Il sortit encor hier *Le St. Esprit* et *Le Courtisan*, et il en sortira

dans peu encor 3 qui feront le nombre de 10 qui doivent se joindre a Monsieur de Chateaurenaut, qu'on attend de Brest avec pareil nombre, a ce qu'on assure, pour aller au devant des vaisseaux de Toullon, car on a nouvelles que les ennemies sont allez les chercher avec 40 navires. L'on est dans l'aprehension quilz ne les rencontrent, car a vous dire vray, on les craint plus que par le passé, et on est persuadé que leurs forces maritimes excelleront celles de l'armée passée. Il arrive icy journellement des officiers, et on travaille avec application a l'armement des vaisseaux, lesquels seront en estat dans peu de jours. On a aujourd'hui placé sur les chantiers la quille d'un vaisseau neuf que sera de 80 canons. Vous voyez bien par la qu'on ne se relache pas.

'Je resteray encor quelques jours icy, en attendant que j'apprenne de quel costé je dois tourner, car je croy quil est inutile d'aller plus loing, et a parler sincerement je suis mallade de fatigue et hors d'estat de marcher d'avantage, ny estant pas accoutumé. Je vous proteste que je n'aurois pas entreprise de voyager dans cette facheuse saison sy j'avoit esté pour mes propres affaires, mais la consideration que j'ay pour vos amis me donne de l'emulation a leur rendre service.

'Après vous avoir dit des nouvelles, vous trouverez bon et apropos que je vous dise que l'eau de vie vaut a la Rochelle 130 livres les 27 veltes. L'indigo qui a esté vendu depuis peu 59 sols vaut presentement 3 livres 10 sols la livre, et les autres marchandises a proportion ainsy. Je croy quil vaut mieux ne rien faire a present, et de plus on ne peut pas trouver de vaisseaux pour le transport des dittes marchandises. Il faut patienter et voir comme les choses tourneront.

'Voicy la 5e. lettre que je vous ay escrites de divers endroits sans recevoir rien de vous.

'On attend des troupes dans ces quartiers, car on croit que les ennemis entreprendront quelque dessente sils en trouvent l'occasion favorable. Chacq'un craint cela. On a prorogé la diminution des especes, car cela faisoit extremement crier tout le monde.'

2pp. *French. Addressed to: 'Monsieur le Cavelier, marchand, Rotterdam'. Possibly enclosed in no. B73.*

G11. 1693, [Feb. 26/] March 8. Rochefort.

Vaisseaux qui sont a Brest	Vaisseaux qui sont a Rochefort	Vaisseaux qui sont a Toullon
<i>Vaisseaux du premier rang</i>	L'Ambitieux } 104	<i>Vaisseaux du premier rang</i>
Le Formidable	Le Magnifique } 90	Le Royal Louis 112
Le Souverain	Le Fort } 64	Le Fulminant
	Le St. Esprit } 80	

Le Grand	L'Aimable	64	Le Lis
Le Dauphin Royal	Le Victorieux	90	Le Sceptre
Le Vainqueur	L'Intrepide	80	Le Monarque
Le Magnanime	Le Glorieux	60	[marginal note: 'au
L'Orgueilleux	Le Modéré	50	lieu du Monarque
Le Conquerant	Le Courtisan	64	c'est Le Triomphant
Le Terrible	L'Excelent	60	76 pieces']
Le Foudroyant	Le Laurier	60	Le Belliqueux 80
Le Merveilleux	Le Precieux	60	
	Le Temeraire	54	<i>Vaisseaux du</i>
<i>Second rang</i>	La Seraine	56	<i>second et 3e.rang</i>
La Couronne	L'Indien	52	L'Heureux
Le Monarque	L'Illustre	70	Le Content
Le Pompeux	Le Gallion	60	L'Invincible
Le Fleurissant	Le Neptune	50	Le Bourbon
Le Parfait	Le Vermandois	60	Le Phenix
	Le Courageux	54	L'Apollon 78
<i>Troisieme rang</i>			Le Furieux
Le Vigillant	Vaisseaux qui sont a		L'Aroquant
Le Brusque	Port Louis		L'Eclattant
Le Fidelle	2 neufs dont je ne scay		L'Entreprenant
L'Agreable 60	point le nom et deux		Le Ferme
L'Equeüil 48	autres dont l'un est		Le Hardy
Le St. Michel 58	de 58 pieces et une		Le Fleuron
Le Marquis 60	fregatte de 36.		Le Serieux 64
Le Prudent			A Brest 29
La Perle			A Rochefort 21
			A Toullon 20
			Au Port Louis 4
			74
<i>3 prises</i>			Il y a quelques
Castricum			fregattes legeres et
Maria Elisabeth			viron [=environ] 40
L'anglois			brulots et quelques
			flutes et galiottes qui
			suivront l'armee.

Noms de la plupart des premiers commandants et capitaines des vaisseaux pour cette année 1693:

<i>Messieurs</i>	de l'Aigle	de la Porte
Le Comte d'Estrée	de Beaulieu	de Villers
de Tourville	de Montortié	du Maine
de Chasteaurenaut	de Chalais	de Mancheau

de Némont	des Francs	de Combe
de Villette	de Langeron	de Bellefontaine
de Coetlogon	de Palliere	de Ste. Hermine
de Blenac	de Soges	de la Luserne
Du Magnou	de Medricourt	de Grandfontaine
de Betune	de St. Mare	d'Ervaux
de Gabaret	des Nos	de Chamelin
de la Bretesche	de Rochemart	d'Anemon
de Relingue	de la Rongère	de Chaussebert
Pannetier	de la Gallissonniere	de Rouxel
de Vaudricourt	de la Vigerie	des Cours, etc.
de Perinet	de Real	Nous avons perdu
de Roche Allart	de Ste. Ville	depuis un an
de Champigny	de Salampart	Messieurs
d'Arsetoire	de Beaujeu	d'Anfreville, Foran
de Ste. Maure	de Montbron	et le Chevalier de
	de Belle Isle	Flacour, qui estoient
		de braves gens.

'Je vous marque les choses au plus juste quil m'a esté possible de le faire, ayant tout examine de pres depuis ma derniere, et reformé les endroits ou j'aurois manqué par inadvertance. Je vous marque cy dessus les noms des commandans pour la plus grande partie, suivant l'estat qu'on m'en a donné. Lors que je sçauray qui sont les autres je vous en feray part pour satsisfaire vostre curiosité, quoy que je ne pense pas que cela soit d'une grande utilité.

'J'ay parlé ce jourd'huy a un maistre charpentier de navires qui arrive de Toulon, le quel m'a assuré que l'estat que je vous envoie des vaisseaux de ce lieu la est juste, puis quil me l'a confirmé et donné par ordre.

'On attend aux environs de La Rochelle des troupes que camperont la cet esté. Il y en aura le long des costes de toutte la Bretagne jusqu'a La Hougue, ou il y en aura plus qu'en aucqu'un endroit, a cause de la facillité quil y a pour une dessente au cas que les ennemis en eussent dessein.

'Je ne vous marque point le nom des vaisseaux de Port Louis, n'en aiant pû aprocher.

'J'ay rencontré icy un homme de ma conoissance lequel je voudrois bien n'avoir pas veu. Il m'a paru fort empressé de sçavoir quelles affaires jy ay, mais j'ay tourné la chose assez bien.

'Les vaisseaux qui sont sortis de ce port sont encor en radde.'

3pp. *French. Addressed to: 'Monsieur le Cavelier, marchand, Rotterdam'. Endorsed by Nottingham as enclosed in Jurieu's letter of 14/24 March (no. B75 above).*

G12. [1693,] March [1/] 11. La Rochelle. 'Je vous avoue que j'estois dans une peine extreme de ce que depuis mon depart de Rouen je n'avois acqu' une de vos nouvelles. Je receus hier vostre lettre du 5e. du passé qui aparemment a retardé. Elle ma tiré d'embaras; ne scachant point le sujet de vostre silence, cela me faisoit aprehender que vous n'eussiez point receu 6 lettres que je vous ay escrittes consecutivement.

'Je vous ay amplement instruit du prix et de la qualité des marchandises suivant l'ordre que vous m'en avez donné, et particulièrement des vins et eaux de vie. Les premiers sont sy moyens qu'a peine en peut on boire; ils semblent plustost du verjus que du vin, et cependant on les veut vendre des prix excessifs, comme je vous l'ay marqué par mes precedentes. Ce n'est pas seulement cela qui m'a empesché d'en acheter. La difficulté de les pouvoir transporter est un grand obstacle. On ne trouve point de vaisseaux ny pour Calais ny pour Dunquerque, veu quil faut des matelots pour le service du Roy. Enfin j'ay fait tout pour le mieux et n'ay épargné humainement ny soins ny veilles pour faire exactement mon devoir. C'est sur quoy on doit compter. Je n'ay rien a me reprocher de ce costé la. Aussy a t'on bien fait de me donner ordre libre et de ne me point borner sur la dépence quil convient faire. J'en useray tousjours avec autant de ménage quil me sera possible, mais il y a des temps et des occasions qui ne demandent pas tant d'economie, et pour peu de chose on trouve les moyens d'avancer les affaires et les conduire a une bonne fin, en tirant des lumieres qui instruisent les gens de ce quil y a deplus caché et deplus raffiné dans le commerce. Pour moy, qui suis un peu novice, et qui n'ay pas tout l'acquis necessaire, je tacheray de prendre exemple sur les autres pour en profiter dans la suite, et sy dans cet intervalle je fais quelque fausse demarche, ce sera plustost par ignorance que manque d'inclination. C'est ce qui me fait esperer qu'on me le pardonnera plus facilement apres cet aveu sincere.

'J'ay esté me promener a Rochefort, d'ou je suis revenu malade d'une espee de rhumatisme qui m'est venu de froid et de fatigue, car imaginez vous que j'ay eu pendant 15 jours la pluye et la gresle sur le corps, avec des tempestes et vents impetueux, et pour surcroit de malheur mon cheval se mit dans un trou ou j'eus l'eau pardessus mes bottes en passant les marets qui sont de St. Jemes a La Rochelle. Vous pouvez vous informer quels chemins ce sont dans l'hiver. Je me feray seigner demain, et en suite purger, ainsy qu'on me l'a ordonné. Je suis obligé de garder la chambre, ce qui me chagrine beaucoup, estant esloigné de toute cognoissance. Comme je ne prevoy pas pouvoir rien faire davantage je me prepareray apres cela de retourner.

'J'ay envoyé chez Monsieur Pierre Faneüil pour scavoir s'il y avoit des lettres pour moy de vostre part, comme vous me le marquez par la vostre. Il a dit quil n'en avoit point receu. J'y enverray encor quand la poste viendra.

'J'ay vendu mon cheval, ou pour mieux dire donné; il estoit sur les dents de fatigue. Il m'auroit consommé en dépence. Il couste 30 sols par nuit dans ces pays cy pour la nourriture, car tout y est d'une cherté extraordinaire.

'Asseurez de mes respects Messieurs Hays, du Chemin, Allart etc., et vous m'obligerez.

'Il a fait ces jours cy une sy violente tempeste que plusieurs navires marchands sont allez a la coste et ont pery, mais Dieu mercy le temps se tranquilise un peu a present. Il y a dans ce port quelques vaisseaux qui se preparent pour le voiage de Canada. Il ny a rien de nouveau pour le present qui merite vous estre mandé que cela.

'J'oublie a vous dire que l'indigo de St. Domingue augmente de prix de jour a autre. Ainsy il y aura du profit sur celui que j'ay acheté.'

2½ pp. *French. Signed: Noblet. Addressed to: 'Monsieur Le Cavelier, marchand, a Rotterdam'. Seal of arms.*

G13. [1693,] March [5/] 15. La Rochelle. 'La vostre du 23e. du passé m'est bien parvenue. J'ay un chagrin mortel de n'estre point en estat d'executer vos ordres pour faire le voiage comme vous me l'ordonnez. Mon indisposition ne me permet point cela. Les remedes dont j'ay usé ne m'ont pour ainsy dire donné que tres peu de soulagement. C'est ce qui me desespere, car mon inclination penche entierement a rendre toutes sortes de services a vos amis, pour lesquels j'ay une pure et sincère affection. Croiez quil ny a point d'obstacles que je ne tachasse de surmonter, pour perilleux quils fussent, afin de leur prouver cette verité. Je vous ay assez fait cognoistre par ma derniere l'estat ou je suis. Sans cela contez que je n'aurois pas manqué de monter a cheval au receu de la vostre.

'Je croy vous avoir amplement instruit du prix des vins et eau de vie et autres marchandises par la mienne en datte du 8e. du courant. Il ny a presque point de changement depuis. Vous pouvez prendre vos mesures la dessus.

'Il est arrivé hier en cette radde 12 ou 14 navires danois et suédois sous l'escorte d'un convoi de 56 pieces de canon, lequel a continué sa route pour en accompagner pareil nombre destinez pour Bordeaux, ou ils doivent estre presentement arrivez, car ils ont le vent favorable. On dit que leur charge consiste en planches, mats, fer, goudron, etc. Ils estoient au nombre de 43, mais il en est entré en passant dans Dunquerque, Le Havre, Dieppe, Nantes, et Brest. Voila une occasion favorable pour y charger des marchandises, puis que ce sont des navires libres, mais je ne pense pas quil y aye rien a faire pour les eaux de vie, car il y a deffence d'en transporter.

'On assure que Monsieur le Comte d'Estrée a mis a la voile pour tenir vers ces costes avec les 20 vaisseaux de Toulon, et quil y aura 24 ou 30 autres

fregattes depuis 16 pieces de canon jusqu'a 40, qui accompagneront les galleres commandées par Monsieur de Nouailles dans la Mediterannée pour faire teste aux Espagnols. Voila ce qui se publie. On ne peut pas penetrer les ordres de la cour, qui sont extremement secrets.

'Les dix vaisseaux qui devoient sortir de Rochefort sont hors. Ils ont mouillé a l'Isle Dé. On assure que Monsieur Gabaret les va commander, car il partit hier en dilligence pour aller de ce costé la. On dit quil a reçu pour cet effet des ordres de la cour quil doit ouvrir lors quil sera en mer.

'On equippe les autres vaisseaux de guerre avec beaucoup d'empressement, et les officiers de marine arrivent journellement de toutes parts pour s'embarquer. On dit qu'on n'a pas autant de matelots du costé de Toulon qu'on en a besoin pour fournir a tout.

'Le temps demeure tousiours facheux. Ce ne sont que pluyes et gresles continuelles, accompagnées de vents impetueux. Il est pery ce matin un des vaisseaux danois nouvellement arivez. Il estoit mouillé a chef de bois, mais la tempeste la jetté sur la coste ou il s'est brisé.'

2pp. *French. Unsigned. Addressed to:* 'Monsieur Le Cavelier, marchand, a Rotterdam'.

G14. [1693,] March [8/] 18. La Rochelle. 'Je n'ay rien a adjouster a ce que je vous ay escrit le 15e. du courant. L'on continue de dire comme une chose certaine que Monsieur le Comte d'Etrée vient vers ces costes, et quil y aura 25 ou 30 fregattes depuis 16 jusqu'a 40 pieces de canon, qui se joindront aux galleres dont Monsieur de Nouailles aura le commandement, pour faire teste aux Espagnols dans la Mediterannée. On tient que cela suffira.

'Monsieur Gabaret est encor a l'Isle Dé, avec les dix vaisseaux de guerre qui sont sortis depuis peu de Rochefort. Il ne peut mettre a la voile, a cause des vents impetueux de nordouest, qui continuent encor a souffler. On ne scait point pour certain quels ordres il a reçue de la cour, mais on presume quil doit aller chercher une esquadre de vaisseaux ennemis que l'on a vue a la hauteur de Belle Isle. Ce quil y a de certain, c'est qu'il s'est embarqué avec beaucoup de precipitation, et qu'il va pour quelque entreprise d'importance, a ce qu'on publie.

'Les vaisseaux danois et suedois qui sont arrivez en cette radde estoient escortez par deux convois, l'un danois de 54 pieces de canon, et l'autre suedois de 30 a 40 pieces. Ceux qui estoient destinez pour Bordeaux y sont arrivez heureusement. Ils sont la plupart chargez de planches, mats, goudron, bray, fer, etc. Ce sont des marchandises qui viennent fort apropos, car on commençoit d'en manquer. Ils estoient au nombre de 43 navires,

desquels il en est entré a Dunquerque, Havre, Brest, et Nantes, a ce que l'on asseure.

'Je vous envoie cy joint un imprimé que s'est vendu hier publiquement dans les rues. Je le trouve assez singulier, et j'ay crû la piece trop curieuse pour ne vous en pas faire present. Ceux qui la distribuoient en eurent un prompt debit, car riches et pauvres, tout le monde en achetoit a cause du titre qui flatte d'une paix, que chacq'un souhaite de passion. On appelle cela en bonne politique des levres.

'Je suis tousjours indisposé, mais pas autant que je l'ay esté, Dieu mercy. Le temps facheux quil fait ne me donne pas la liberté de sortir souvent. Vous savez que le froid est extremement contraire au rhumatisme.'

1p. *French. Addressed to:* 'Monsieur Le Cavalier, marchand a Rotterdam'.

G15. 1693, March [9/] 19. La Rochelle. 'Je vous ay mandé par mes precedentes que les eaux de vie estoient à 130 livres les 27 veltes, mais elles ont diminué tout d'un coup et ne vallent que 100 livres, et sont sur le train de diminuer encor. Les vins ne vallent que 20 écus le thonneau.* Cela fera grand tord à ceux qui en ont acheté. Il est vray quilz sont chetifs, mais il en faut tels quilz sont puis qu'on n'a point d'autre breuvage icy.

'Il y a des gens qui ont veu des lettres à Rochefort venant de Toulon par les quelles on mande que Monsieur d'Estrée est party avec les 20 gros navires des Isles d'Hieres ou il estoit pour venir dans l'ocean. On tient cela pour seur. Monsieur Gabaret est encor a l'Isle Dé [d'Aix] avec les 10 vaisseaux de Rochefort; on dit quil a ordre de mettre en mer sans retardement, et quil doit estre joint par d'autres navires.

'Il y a un edit du Roy qui proroge le cours des monnoyes jusqu'au dernier avril, et qui permet d'exposer les pistolles d'Espagne à 123 livres et les pieces de 8 à 64 sols. On pretend que cela fera venir de l'argent dans le royaume.

'Je partiray dans peu pour Paris où j'attendray vos ordres.'

1p. *French. Unsigned. Addressed to:* 'Monsieur Le Cavalier, Marchand, a Rotterdam'. *Enclosed in no. B76.*

*An écu was worth about 4s.6d. sterling, and a thonneau held about 900 litres, so an English shilling would have bought ten litres of wine. Brandy prices had held up better; they had been lower in the late 1670s, when a shilling would have bought a litre and a half of brandy. The reduction now reported is from 1s 2½ d. per litre to 11 d. per litre, as a livre tournois was worth about 1s.6d. and a barrel of brandy at La Rochelle held 27 veltes or about 161 litres. See H. Roseveare, ed., *Markets and merchants of the late seventeenth century: the Marescoe-David letters 1668-1680* (1987), pp. 193, 393, 593, 634.

G16. [1693,] March [13/] 23. Rochelle. 'Je vous ay fait scavoir par ma derniere les prix des vins et eau de vie. Il ny a point de changement depuis ce temps la. Je croiois quil y auroit liberté de charger dans les navires danois et suedois, mais il y a déffences. Ils ne chargeront que du sel pour retourner en leur pays, et rien autre chose.

'Pour nouvelles, Monsieur de Gabaret a mis a la voile avec 5 vaisseaux. Il monte *Le Vermandois*, qui est de 64 pieces de canon. Il a pris sa route du costé du ouëst. On dit quil sera joint par d'autres navires a certaine hauteur; le temps nous aprendra le sujet de son depart précipité. Les autres vaisseaux de Rochefort s'aprestent tous les jours, et sortent a mesure pour se ranger a l'Isle Dé aupres des autres. On assure que la plupart de ceux de Brest sont en estat de sortir.

'On continue de dire que Monsieur le Comte d'Estree est sorty le Destroit. Les vents regnent tousjours du nordouest et continuent d'estre violens.

'Il est arrivé une fregatte du Roy nommée *L'Opiniatre* commandée par Monsieur le Chevalier de Lagnon. Elle vient de la Martinique en 32 jours de trajet. J'ay veu un passager qui m'a asseuré que la peste y regne beaucoup, aussi bien qu'a la Gardeloupe; ce qui y cause de la mortalité. On craint fort que les ennemis ne forment le dessein d'attaquer ces deux isles, qui ne sont point en estat de se deffendre, et par consequent quils ne s'en rendent les maistres comme ils ont fait cy devant de St. Christophe, et quils ne les pillent, car il y a bien de quoy, et peu de monde pour faire la moindre resistance.

'Je croiois estre hors d'affaire, mais j'ay resseny depuis deux jours quelques doulleurs de rhumatisme. J'espere neantmoins que ce ne sera rien, pourveu que les temps tourne a la douceur. Ma maladie m'a causé beaucoup de chagrin et d'inquiétude. Vous en pouvez penetrer la raison, car il y a de facheuses suites a craindre. J'espere que Dieu me garantira de tout par sa grace. Je prendray la voye du carosse pour Paris.'

1p. *French. Copy. Addressed to: 'Monsieur Nicollas le Cavelier, marchand, inde n'opert, a Rotterdam. Demy port.' Seal of arms. Endorsed by Jurieu: 'Cette lettre seconde de nostre voyageur est venue depuis la premiere'. Possibly also enclosed in no. B76.*

G17. 1693, March [15/] 25. La Rochelle. 'Il me fache extremement de n'avoir point de vos lettres depuis celle du 22 febvrier. Je vous ay escrit frequemment depuis que je l'ay receue, et vous ay informé avec exactitude du pris des marchandises, particullièrement des vins et eau de vie, sans avoir de réponce de vous, ny aucqu'un ordre sy je dois acheter ou non, ainsy j'ay les mains liées et ne sçay a quoy me determiner.

‘Pour nouvelles, Monsieur Gabaret a relaché avec ses 5 vaisseaux a La Pallisse a cause des ventes d’ouest et nord’ouest qui continüent tousjours de souffler avec violence. On ne les a jamais veu regner sy long temps sans changer; ce ne sont que bourasques et tempestes tous les jours.

‘On continue d’equiper les vaisseaux de Rochefort, qui se joignent amesure a ceux qui sont a l’Isle Dé. Ils seront tous prests, dans peu de temps, aussy bien que ceux de Brest.

‘La Gazette d’Hollande ne dit pas juste d’escrire que les vaisseaux destineez pour le Canada sont a chef de bois prests de mettre a la voile. Les principaux sont encor dans ce port ou on les radoubbe, et ils ne pourront estre prests qu’a la fin du mois prochain. Elle dit encor d’autres choses qui ne sont pas plus veritables.

‘On attend icy Monsieur le Marechal d’Etrée avec des troupes qui camperont aux environs de cette ville, et de Rochefort.

‘On va travailler pour finir les fortifications de cette ville qui seront fort regullieres, et qui la rendront presqu’imprenable, a ce qu’on pretend.

‘Je n’ay point encor recouvré toutes mes forces. Les sueurs que l’on m’a ordonnées m’ont tout a fait soullagé, mais elles m’ont extremement afoibly, et j’ay peine a me tenir sur pied. Je louë Dieu de m’avoir rendu ma santé, car j’estois dans de mortelles aprehensions d’en venir aux extremitez. Aussy ay je repeté bien souvent et de bon coeur ces parolles du prophete royal: *Intende in adjutorium meum, domine Deus salutis meae.*

‘Nous n’avons aucqu’unes nouvelles de Monsieur le Comte d’Etrée; on attribue cela aux tempestes et ventes contraires.’

1p. *French. Addressed to:* ‘Monsieur le Cavalier, marchand, a Rotterdam’. *Probably enclosed in no. G22.*

G18. 1693, March [21/] 31. La Rochelle. ‘Je vous donne avis que les vins et eaux de vie diminüent de prix de jour a autre, et quil y a beaucoup d’aparence que cela continuera. Ainsi j’ay jugé a propos de discontinuer les achapts jusqu’a ce que je voye un prix fixé.

‘Pour nouvelles, nos vaisseaux sortis de Rochefort sont encor a l’Isle Dé; ceux que devoit commander Monsieur de Gabaret les ont joint, et ne peuvent mettre en mer a cause des vents d’ouest et nord-ouest qui regnent depuis plus de six semaines, avec de frequentes tempestes meslées de pluyes et de gresle. Sy cela continue il est a craindre que les biens de la terre n’en souffrent du dommage. Il fait un froid continüel, ce qui n’arrive que tres rarement en ce pays cy dans la saison ou nous sommes, et l’on aprehende extremement une année pareille a la precedente. Sy cela arrivoit tout seroit perdu, car le bled

est extremement rare. On en transporte tous les jours d'icy pour les autres provinces qui en ont disette, quoy quil soit a un prix excessif. Jugez ce qui arriveroit sy Dieu n'y mettoit la main, car la famine et la guerre sont de terribles fleaux a supporter, lors qu'un peuple est accablé d'ailleurs.

'On n'entend point parler de Monsieur le Comte d'Estrée n'y de sa flotte. On attribue cela au vent contraire.

'Il arrive continuellement des troupes en ces quartiers.

'J'attens que le temps nous donne de la douceur pour me mettre en chemin, car j'aprehende que le froid ne renouvelat mon rhumatisme, dont je resseve encor de fois a autre quelque reste de doulleurs, mais graces a Dieu ce ne sera rien, puis que mes forces augmentent de jour en jour.

'On ne doit pas negliger ce que je vous ay marqué touchant ce que le passager m'a dit des 2 eylanden [Martinique and Guadeloupe].'

1p. *French. Addressed to:* 'Monsieur Nicolas le Cavelier, marchand, a Rotterdam'. *Probably enclosed in no. G22.*

G19. [1693, March 26/] April 5. Maren. 'J'ay obmis a vous marquer que l'on a basti a Bayonne 3 vaisseaux de guerre de 70 pieces chacqu'un, et quil y a presentement au Port Louis un certain navire que l'on nomme la machine. C'est un bastiment d'une façon toutte particuliere. Il y a un gouvernail devant et un derriere, tellement quil ne vire point et l'on ne fait que tourner les voilles, en sorte que la proüe devient la poupe en un instant. Il y a 3 mats et deux beaupréz; il porte sur chaque bout deux pieces de canon de 100 livres de balle, et 3 de chaque costé de 60 livres. On pretend que cela fera un furieux ravage dans un combat. Il y aura 36 rames pour le faire voguer dans le temps de calme, et il sera monté de 300 hommes. C'est quelque chose de rare.'

1p. *French. Addressed to:* 'Monsieur le Cavelier, marchant, a Rotterdam'. *Endorsed:* 'de Saumur'. *Enclosed in no. G23.*

G20. 1693, [March 27/] April 6. Poitiers. 'Il y a plus d'un mois que je n'ay reçu de vos nouvelles. Je ne puis penetrer le sujet de vostre sillence. Je crains que vous n'ayez point reçu les lettres que je vous ay escrites touchant le prix et la qualité des marchandises suivant l'ordre que vous m'en avez donné. J'aurois esté bien content d'apprendre sy tout ce que je vous ay mandé est conforme a vostre desir. Obligez moy de me le faire sçavoir sans prete de temps, et quelles mesures je dois prendre a l'avenir, afin de m'y conformer.

'J'espere estre dans huit jours a Paris, d'ou je vous escriray plus amplement. Faites en sorte que j'y reçoive de vos nouvelles. J'y resteray jusques a ce que j'en aye reçu.

'Le temps est tousjours facheux, il pleut continuellement. La vigne n'avance point, et n'a pas encor de bourgeon. On apprehende quelle ne soit trop tardive, comme l'année passée, ce qui acheveroit de rüyner le pauvre paysan. Tout est d'une cherté excessive en ces quartiers et on apprehende que les choses n'empirent encor.'

1p. *French.* *Addressed to:* 'Monsieur Nicollas Le Cavalier, marchand, a Rotterdam'. *Endorsed:* 'de Tours'. *Enclosed in no. G23.*

G21. 1693, [March 28/] April 7. Rochefort. Pierre Desmierre to Monsieur Charron, marchand a Rotterdam. 'Il reste encor en se port quelques navires a apresté; en voilla 12 dheors [*sic*] a Lilleday quy doitve partir au premier bon vant pour aller a Brest soubz le commandement de Monsieur de Bellille de La Rochelle, quy nest pas un de nos moindre capitainnes. Je croy quil convoyera en sen allant 18 ou 20 navires charges de munitions de guerre, canons et de toutes sortes de provitions pour les vesseau quy sont a Brest venant de Bourdeaux quy arriverent hier, et aussy divers autres quy porte les vins et autres provitions pour les 12 navires sortis de se port, sans quoy ils seroist partis. Ont travaille a mettre le reste de tous les vesseaux de se port en estat pour sortir quand il y aura des matelots pour les garnir. Il en est venu quelque uns dans trois navires du Roy quy sont arrivé depuis quinze jours de nos Illes de l'Amerique, auxquels ont fait faire quarantenne, parce quilz ont getté a la mer les 2/3 de leurs esquipage de la maladie des Illes, quy continuée toujours et quy est mesme a terre cheuz les habitans. Ainsy sy les forces partiée d'Angleterre pour les Barbades vont cytost leurs arrivée sans perdre de temps a la rade attaquer la Martenique avant que la maladie ce mette en leurs navires, lon ne doute nullement quil ne lanlevent les abittans et les esclaves, estant accablez des traveaux quon y a fait faire pour tacher a se deffandre, et sy mal tretté du Conte de Blenac quy les commande que sy cestoit les Hollandois quy les attaquaissent comme les Anglois, il se randroit a ceux des ce quilz paroistrois, et leurs liveroist le Conte de Blenacq, quy les ruine et abime par les brigandage quil leurs fait. Ont avoit resollu dy envoyer un navire du Roy excorté quelque navires marchants, mais lordre est revoquée.

'Il estoit venu un courrier il y a douze jours portant ordre a Monsieur Gabaret de sortir avecq le premier navire quil trouveroient prest incessamment pour quelque dessain, mais comme le vant lan a enpeché, il est venu depuis un autre ordre. Ce quy reste de vesseau en ce port ont ordre de partir a mesure quil seront prest sans attendre les autres, pour ce randre a Brest avant que les Anglois et Hollandois puisse se mettre entre deux pour les en enpeché, ny ayant rien sy facile avecq un escadre de 30 a 40 navire a croizer depuis Belle Ile jusque a Brest. Les navire du Port Louis ont les mesme ordres, a mesure quilz seront prest. Sy ont destruisoient ces 12 navires de

guerre et ces 20 navires de provisions qu'y doibtent partir au premier jour pour Brest, nous nozerions paroistre de toute l'armée.

'Ont devoit mettre encore deux grand navires de 80 a 100 canons icy sur les tins pour l'année prochenne, mais lordre est revoquée et lon a congédié tous les cherpentiers des environs et retenu seulement ceux de se lieu pour le travail pressent, qu'y marque que largant doibt manquer.

'Ces 12 navires qu'y sortent ont autant de paverains, laboureurs, massons et autres artisans que de matelots. Ont se refiée plus sur les soldats de la marinne qu'y se font matelots, et sur les gardes de marinne, dont ont met 15 ou 20 sur chaque navire, et deux capitainne et autres officiers qu'on met a triple, que sur les matelots avecq leurs bravoure qu'y est assuremant grande, chacun voullant savancer.

'Le bruit est grand icy que l'armée ennemiée sera de 150 navire et plus. Monsieur le Conte d'Estré est party de Toullon avecq 20 navire. Ont dit quil va faire quelque expedition pour sen venir ensuittes a Brest.

'Il doibt venir 7 a 8,000 homme en cette provinse. Il en est desja arrivé 1,000 a La Rochelle, tres meschants. Sy les autres ne sont pas meilleurs il ne feront pas grand mal aux ennemis. Monsieur le Mareschal d'Estré devoient y venir, mais il est un bruit que cela est changé et quil en viendra un autres.

'On continuée a fortifiér Lilleday. La follie va jusque a y bastir une ville. On ne sait commant despanser mal apropos largent du Roy, car cette forteresse empeche l'entrée au navire dans la riviere de Charante comme sy elle estoient faite a Londres, et ont veut y deschargé tous les canons des navires du Roy aux desarmemens.'

2½ pp. *French. Enclosed in no. G23.*

G22. 1693, [March 31/] April 10. Rotterdam. Le Cavalier to Nottingham. 'J'ay eu ordre de Monsieur Jurieu, qui est a present au Synode, de vous envoyer les lettres qui viendroient de la part du correspondant qui est allé a Brest et Rochefort a ma sollicitation. J'ay aujourd'hui receu lincluse que je prend la liberté de vous adresser.

'Lon me mande aussy de Normandie que le commissaire des vivres establi a Caen commence a travailler a faire des magasins de bled, avoine et foin pour les troupes que lon attend dans ces quartiers la pour la garde des costes de Basse Normandie. Jespere scavoir dans la suite quelles elles seront – cavalerie, infanterie, milices, ou troupes réglées, et leur nombre. L'on me reitere encore un advis que lon a cy devant donnée [*sic*] du dessein du nommé St. Germain dont Monsieur Jurieu vous a escript. Il est a present a la suite du Roy Jacques. Il en doit partir aussytost que sa Majesté Britannique sera en campagne, pour venir en Flandres chercher les occasions d'exécuter ce quil

a promis. Je suis persuadé que Dieu ne permettra pas quil reussisse dans un sy malheureux dessein, et que vostre grandeur donnera les ordres necessaires pour le decouvrir.’

2pp. *French. Holograph. Signed. Probably enclosing nos. G17 and 18.*

G23. 1693, [7/]17 April. Rotterdam. Le Cavelier to [Monsieur]. ‘Il y a aujourd’huy huit jours que je receus une lettre de nostre correspondant qui me mandoit que Monsieur Gabaret avoit mis en mer avec 10 vaisseaux. Jenvoyay la lettre a Mylord Nottingham. On me mandoit aussy de Normandie que le commissaire des vivres estably a Caen avoit eu ordre de travailler incessamment a assembler des vivres pour des troupes qui devoient aller a la Hougue. Lon me donnoit aussy advis que ce scelerat dont je vous ay parlé estoit a la suite du Roy Jacques, prest a partir pour Bruxelles.

‘Je receus mardy dernier la lettre du c[orrespondant], et aujourd’huy les deux autres que je vous envoie affin que vous en faciés ce que vous jugerés apropos.

‘Jay sceu que lannée derniere il nestoit resté dans la citadelle du Havre que 600 hommes pendant toute la campagne. Sy il ny en restoit pas davantage celle cy, et que lon eust quelque intelligence dans la place, on la pourroit emporter en quatre jours avec 20,000 hommes et moins. On pourroit y faire aller nostre correspondant, qui y a bien des habitudes. Il en decouvriroit aisément le fort et le foible et nous le feroit scavoir, et dessus on pourroit prendre ses mesures. Sy vous le jugiés a propos vous en confereriés avec Monsieur Blatwait. Il y a un de ses secretares ou commis nommé Paysant qui connoist, a ce que je croy, ce St. Germain, estant de sa mesme ville. Son veritable nom est Courvallet.

‘Voicy une lettre et un billet que Mademoiselle Jurieu ma donnés.

‘Je manday mardy a Monsieur de Beringhan quil estoit entré dans Dieppe une sy grande multitude de pauvres paysans des campagnes voisines que les bourgeois en avoient prix lallarme, les avoient chassés de la ville et faisoient garder aux portes comme sy ils avoient lennemy sur les bras. Cette nouvelle est vraye et fait lon voir la misere de ce pays la. Un de mes amis, arrivé de Paris lundy au soir, ma dit que on ne peut exprimer la miserable estat de toutes les provinces, et particulierement de Normandie et Picardie, qui augmentera de jour en jour jusques a la recolte.’

2pp. *French. Holograph. Signed. Enclosing nos. G19, 20 and 21. Signed endorsement by Jurieu: ‘Monsieur, voici un paquet de lettres arrivees de France. Cest de celuy qui a visité les costes’. Forwarded by Jurieu to Blathwayt, and enclosed in Blathwayt’s letter of 10/20 April to Nottingham (no. 165 above), which was endorsed by Nottingham as received on 16 April.*

G24. 1693, Sept. [19/] 29. Rochefort. 'Jaccepte avec plaisir la proposition que vous me faite croyant bien que vous ne vousderies pas mexpose, ainsy puis que me le conseilles contes contes [*sic*] qu'a ladvenir je feray de mon mieux pour vous satiffaire. Javy creu des cet ordinaire vous donner satisfaction mais je nay peu mais en peu vous aures une autre lettre qui vous donnera ce que vous atandes mais comme cela mangagera affaire de la depence faites en sorte que je la puisse soutenir.

'Je commence a vous donner les nouvelles que jay peu savoir, qui est que Monsieur de Tourville est attendu dans ces costes avec 35 à 40 vaisseaux des plus neufve et ceux à qui il faudra le moins de radoub, parce que lon craint que la campagne prochaine ceux qui restent à Toulon ne pourront peut estre pas se joindre, ainsy on y laisse les plus vieux et les plus endomagés. On le croit parti du 15 ou du 20 de ce mois.

'Il ny a guere de vaisseaux sur les chantier [*sic*] cette année. Icy il ny en a qu'un de 96 pieces de canons et une flute, et on marque navoir pas dessein den bastir cette année. On a fait commandement à tous les marchands de bois de sortir celuy quil avoient dans le parcq. On nen veut plus du tout et on a aussy congedie les charpentiers jusques ace quil soit temps de racomode les vaisseaux pour lannée prochaine. On en bastit à Lorient en Bretagne un grand aussy avec deux fregades. Voilà tout ce qui ce fait pour larmemant prochain que je sache.

'On arme icy trois petites fregades pour les Iles qui doivent estre preste en quinze jours. Il y a *Lopimas* qui est de 40 canons et les deux autres plus petite. Je ne say point qui les commande. Je vous le diray une autre fois.

'On avoit amené icy 10 navirres de ceux qu'on avoit pris dans le Destroit, mais il ny en a qu'un qui est de bonne prise, parce que la marchandise paroist appartenir aux Englois, mais pour les autres [ils] seront ranvoyés. On croit pourtant que le Roy fera prendre la marchandise qui lui sera propre, comme le vin, lhuile, le ris et autre chose, mais en payant, et qu'en reconpance on les chargera de sel pour les renvoyé.

'On abisme les peuples de taxes de toutes manieres, il est imposible [*sic*] de pouvoir vivre. Icy les maisons sont taxes aux sixsiesme denier du pris quelles sont estimees et on fait payer fort pressamment et de lheure que je vous escriis il y à trois soldats ches Monsieur Roux pour sa taxe. Je ne say point aux vray combien il est taxé. Il y a icy des taxes de mille escus et plus, on na rien vouslu escouter pour une diminusion que cest [*sic*] messieurs demandoient quoy qua La Rochelle toute la ville en est quitte pour 120 milles livres. Enfin il nest presque plus rien exempt de taxe. On a aussy taxe les nobles qui nestoient point dans le service, on a taxe les bien aizees, et ce nest rien dit aux pris de ce qu'on nous prepare. On a pourtant peine a vivre aux pris que toutes les danres sont. Il est vray que la Saintonge et le Poitou nont pas

encores manque, mais le Perigort et le Limousin ont presque peri de fain [sic]. Il y a une desclarasion du Roy qui fait deffence a toutes personnes de nachetée [sic] du bled davantage que pour sa provision de six mois.

'Les magasins dicy sont assés bien munis tant d'armes que de provisions. On dit que Monsieur de Tourville a ordre d'aporter des vins de Provence parce que cette année en ce pays là est abondante et qu'en ces environs de puis Bourdeaux et toutes la Saintonge il ny a presque rien et il ny en est jamais moins veu pour une année.

'Je vous escriray encore une fois avant de partie des ces quantons pour Bourdeaux dou je vous escriray. Faite ma condition la plus avantageuse qu'il sera possible et me faite toucher quelque chose et assurez vous que je maquitteray ponctuellement de ce que vos amys et vous m'ordonneres, et quoy qu'il y ait du risque il ny a rien que je ne face, car soit pour aller a La Rochelle, en Re, Rochefort, Bordeaux et autres endroits s'ils le faut je ne perdray point de temps. Je suis bien monte mais comme je vous ay dit, cela mangagera en despence, ainsy faite ensorte que je la puisse soutenir.

'Nos costes ne sont point munies de troupes, il ny a que les habitants qui les gardent. Juges sy elles le sont bien.

'Monsieur de Belair capitaine de hautbort est casse et à les fers aux pieds a Toulon pour avoir pillié des marchandises dans les prises qu'il conduisoit, il y a aussi icy un soulieutenant casse pour mesme chose.'

2pp. *French. Unsigned. In an otherwise unknown hand. Headed: 'Copie d'une [sic] lettre escrite de Rochefort le 29 Septembre 1693'. Enclosed in no. B99, which makes clear that it was from Caillaud's brother-in-law Bourigault.*

H. LETTERS FROM NORMANDY

H1. 1692, April [9/] 19. Dieppe. 'Tous les vaisseaux de charge qui sont dans nos ports n'attendent que des convois pour se rendre a la flotte, a la quelle on travaille puissamment pour la mettre en estat de faire un grand effort.

'Jay receu lettre de Caen qui me marque quil y a grand nombre de troupes aux environs de cette ville et le long de la coste. Celles qu'on attend pour estre postées entre Le Havre et cette ville ne sont point encore arrivées. Elles seront commandées par Monsieur de Bellefond. On fait de grands amas de foin, davoine et dautres fourrages dans tout le pays de Caux pour embarquer sur les vaisseaux de charge, et entreautres grand nombre de selles a cheval, ratteliers et eschelles. Lavoine, que ne valloit que 11 a 12 sols le boesseau [boisseau, bushel] il ny a qun mois, se rend presentement 25 centimes. Les pauvres paysans sont dans la derniere necessitté; la pluspart quittent leurs maisons pour aller mandier. Dieu nous donne une bonne paix. Je vous assure que le peuple la souhaite tres ardamment.'

1692, [13/] 23 April. Caen. 'La compagnie que nous attendions est presque toute venue au nombre de pres de quarante mil hommes qui vont a La Hogue, et le Roy Jacques est attendu demain pour y aller. Aussi lon dit que lon va embarquer toutes les troupes quil commandera, et les menera chez luy, ou tout le monde lattend. Il y a plus de dix mille Irlandois dans quinze jours. Cela sera fait, et le Roy Guillaume peut bien se tenir, car on luy taille bien de la besongne. Lon tient cela pour certain, et quoyque vous puissies dire toutes les apparences y sont, cest LEcosse qui recevra toute la compagnie. Nous sommes accablés de gens de guerre. Nous navions pas moins que deux capitaines la semaine passée, et jamais on a veu tant de gens de guerre comme lon en voit chez nous.'

1½ pp. *French. Unsigned. Probably enclosed in no. B41.*

H2. 1692, [April 30/] May 10. Dieppe. 'Pour toutes nouvelles je vous apprene que la Reine douairiere dAngleterre arriva hier dans ce port avec six vaisseaux qui ont apporté ses equipages. Elle estoit escortée par deux fregattes de 50 a 60 pieces de canon, qui reprirent la route dAngleterre sy tost que la Reine fut arrivee a la rade. Elle mist pied a terre hier au soir avec une suite assez nombreuse. On ne luy a fait aucun honneur ny tiré un seul coup de canon. Elle doist partir mardy pour continuer son voyage en Portugal.

'On travaille avec empressement a expedier le restant des vaisseaux de charge qui sont en ce port et qui doivent estre de lexpedition pour la descente, mais il fait un sy mauvais temps de vents et de pluyes qu'on a peine den venir a

bout, autant qu'on le voudroit. Quelques uns disent que le Roy Jacques est arrivé au Havre pour sembarquer avec les Irlandois qui y sont depuis quelques jours, mais il est certain que les vaisseaux ne sont pas encore prests. Les uns disent que cest pour les Isles de Gersey et Guernesey, et dautres soustiennent que cest pour Angleterre, Escosse ou Irlande, ou lon a intelligence. Tout cela nest cognu que du Conseil Secrett.

'Joublois a vous dire que lon a mis des soldats de la garnison dans les vaisseaux qui ont apporté la Reine douairiere pour empescher qu'aucun homme des équipages ne viennent a terre, ny quilz ayent communication avec personne de cette ville. Il y a raison pour cela.

'Comptés sur moy pour la marchandise dont vous me parlés. Je ne mespargneray point pour lexpedier du mieux quil me sera possible.'

1p. *French. Unsigned.*

H3. Caen. 1692, May [4/] 14. 'Je ne comprends pas pourquoy vous avés tant de peine a vous persuader une chose aussy veritable que celle dont je vous ay parlé. Ayés patience et vous verrés que nous ne vous trompons point. Il y a autant de troupes que lon vous a dit prestes a passer en Angleterre; peu de chevaux, mais infanterie la pluspart. Il y a plus de dix mil Irlandois. On dit que lon descendra a Cornouailles, vis a vis des costes de Bretagne. Cest une province seure. Les battiments arrivent de toutes parts a La Hougue pour lemarquement des troupes, qui se doit commencer le dixhuit de ce mois.

'Lon dit Namur investy. Nous allons encore prendre cette place. Le Roy est party pour ce sujet.'

1p. *French. Unsigned.*

H4. Rouen. 1692, July [3/] 13. 'Je vous diray que les deux galeres que lon a équipées icy doivent partir pour Le Havre aujourd'hui ou demain. Tous les matelots qui doivent les conduire sont arrivés depuis deux jours dans des chaloupes, et ceux la serviront au deffaut des esclaves, dont on a besoin ailleurs.

'Monsieur de Tourville passa dimanche pour aller en cour recevoir des ordres.

'Lon travaille a Brest a reparer les vaisseaux qui ont esté endommagés dans le combat naval, mais comme on assure que les autres sont bloqués dans St. Malo, on ne mettra pas en mer cette année.

'Il passe icy tous les jours quantitté de troupes qui sont dans la Bretagne et le pays d'Aulnis. Celles qu'on avoit envoiees a Dieppe n'y ont point sejourné. Elles sont allées avec les autres où elles sont plus necessaires.'

1p. *French. Unsigned. Enclosed in Finch IV, no. 581.*

H5. 1692, July [6/] 16. Rouen. 'Les deux galleres que lon a equipées icy sont descendues la riviere. Elles doivent estre postées à la rade du Havre pour sadvancer a decouvrir la flotte ennemie. Il semble que lon ne craint pas la descente de ce coste icy, puisque on ny laisse presque pas de troupes reglées. La noblesse et la milice ont ordre de partir au premier signal qui se doit faire sy on apperçoit les ennemis. On craint davantage pour les costes de Bretagne ou de Poitou. Il nest resté que quelques legeres fregates devant St. Malo. Encore elles se tiennent tousjours au large. On tient que sy on bombardoit cette place il y auroit bien des banquerouttes à Paris et icy.

'Le temps sest remis à la pluye. Le miracle na point duré. La cherté augmente; sy elle continue elle nous reduira dans la derniere misere.'

1 page each. *French. Unsigned. Two identical copies, one perhaps enclosed by Jurieu in no. B48 above, and the other, which is endorsed by Blathwayt 'News from France. Lord N.', enclosed in Finch IV, no. 581.*

H6. Dieppe. 1692, July [15/] 25. 'Monsieur le Mareschal de Bellefond arriva hier au soir en cette ville. Il alla visiter la coste et les places maritimes pour donner ordre que tout y soit en bon estat, car on craint quelque entreprise des ennemis, qui donnent lallarme du costé de St. Malo. Ceux de Cancale et de quelques autres endroits des environs ont retiré leurs effects dans les terres esloignéés de la mer. Ont escript de St. Malo que les ennemies y sont avec quarante cinq vaisseaux devant les costes.'

Caen. July [15/] 25. 'Nous avons tousjours des troupes qui vont et qui viennent. Il y en a icy deux cents chevaux qui y demeureront jusques a nouvel ordre. Toutte nostre coste est garnie affin dachever les demorages [delay] des ennemis.'

1p. *French. Unsigned. Probably enclosed in no. B51.*

H7. 1692, July [20/] 30. Dieppe. 'On est tousjours en crainte que les ennemis ne facent quelque descente le long de nos costes. Monsieur de Bellefonds partit dimanche de cette ville et alla au Treport voir en quel estat y estoient les choses, apres quoy il passa au Neufchastel pour de la retourner en Basse Normandie du costé de La Hougue. Il na laissé a Dieppe que les quatre compagnies dinfanterie qui y sont depuis quelque temps, nayant pas jugé apropos dy en laisser un plus grand nombre.

'Il court un bruit que les ennemis ont bloqué Dunquerque par mer et par terre, mais on ne le croit pas.

'On parle du mariage de Monsieur le Duc avec la fille de Monsieur.

'Le beaultemps na pas duré, ce qui fait apprehender une mauvaise recolte. Dieu nous en preserve.

'Sy la guerre dure encore longtemps ce sera icy une desolation extraordinaire. Tous les pauvres gens de la campagne abondent dans les villes, pour demander du pain. Cest une chose qui fait compassion a voir.'

1p. *French. Unsigned. Probably enclosed in no. B51.*

H8. [1693,] Feb. [11/] 21. 'Jay bien receu la vostre du 12 courant. Pour y repondre je vous diray que lon ne fait quoyque ce soit aux 3 endroits [marginal note: Cherbourg, Le Havre et Dieppe], mais cela pourra arriver, et je vous promete que vous en serés tres bien instruit. Le commissaire des vivres est nostre voisin et amy. Lon ne fait nulle provisions, mais lon dit que les paysans des lieux ou estoit larmée [marginal note: La Hogue] se precautionnent et amassent tous leurs grains dans lesperance dy faire un gros proffit, ce que nous souhaittons quil narrive pas, car les passés des gens de guerre nous ruinent. Il doit venir la semaine prochaine 800 Suisses pour La Hogue, et pour augmenter nostre incommodité l'estapier est logé dans nostre voisinage.

'Jay envoyé vostre lettre par un expres a Cherbourg. Lon ny fait à present nul negoce. Je vous promete des quil y aura apparence dy en pouvoir faire, que vous en aurés advis affin de voir sy la marchandise pourra s'y debiter.

'Jusques icy vous navés tenu compte de ce que je vous ay mandé touchant ce fripon.'

At the foot, in Jurieu's hand: 'Ces deux dernieres lignes regardent ce scelerat de Caen que l'on croit avoir esté engagé pour assassiner le Roy. Vous y prendres garde sil vous plaist.'

1p. *French. Unsigned. On the back, also in Jurieu's hand:* 'Cette lettre est de celuy qu'on a envoyé pour visiter la Normandie en particulier'. *Enclosed in no. B71.*

H9. 1693, March [1/] 11. Dieppe. 'Monsieur, suivant vos ordres jay esté a Cherbourg ou il ny [a] aucuns preparatifs pour ce que vous scaves. On y attend des milices et troupes reglées qui camperont partie a Cherbourg partie a la Hogue pour empescher les descentes de nos ennemis. Quand jay esté de retour chez moy je suis venu au Havre et icy ou tout le monde estoit occupé il y a un an a l'armement, mais a present il ny a rien du tout. Les matelots ont ordre de se tenir prests pour aller sur la flotte. On equipe au Havre 4 fregattes de 48 a 60, et deux ou trois petites fregates. On travaille a reparer quelque dommage causé par la mer. Tout est dans la derniere misere dans ce pays la. Vous ne scauriés croire combien les pauvres gens y souffrent.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *French. Unsigned. Enclosed in no. B74.*

H10. 1693, [April 22/] May 2. Caen. 'Sy lon faisoit une descente icy elle reussiroit asseurement. Il ny a aucunes troupes pour lempescher, et tout est bien disposé pour recevoir le secours. Il ny a encore nulles milices sur nos costes quoy quil y ait plus de 15 jours que cela devoit estre fait, mais on remet de jour a auttre. Lon dit que la noblesse de Paris vient a la Hougue et que lon y envoie nos bourgeois. Nous sommes icy dans un triste estat; le bled encherit de jour en jour. Sy il ny avoit bonne police, les pauvres pilleroient tout dans la misere ou ils sont. Cest un grand bonheur que nous navons point de troupes, car nous ne pourrions pas subsister. Il est bien des maladies, et meurt beaucoup de monde.'

1p. *French. Unsigned.*

H11. 1693, [April 29/] May 8. Versailles. 'J'ay cru que vous seriez exact a me faire réponce sur ma lettre du 24e. du passé. Il faut quelle contienne quelque chose qui vous embarrasse, car je ne croy pas que vous eussiez differé de m'écrire, veu l'empressement que je vous marquois d'avoir de vos nouvelles. On fait de grosses depences icy, bien plus qu'ailleurs. Tout y est d'une cherté excessive, et l'on est dans l'aprehension que les choses n'empirent. La misere est generale. Le pauvre peuple est aux abois, et neantmoins tout cela, on est journellement surchargé de nouveaux edits et déclarations ruineux. [This paragraph is omitted from the copy at H12.]

'Le Roy a fixé son depart pour le 16e. de ce mois. Sa Majesté ne déclarera point quelle route elle veut prendre, quelle ne soit arrivée a Chantilly ou a Compiègne.

'Monsieur partira le 21 pour aller commander en Normandie. Son rendez vous est a l'Aval [H12: 'Laval']. Il y a 24,000 hommes destinez pour garder les costes de Normandie, Bretagne, et Poitou, sans y comprendre la noblesse. On est dans une grande crainte que les ennemis ne fassent quelque dessente comme ils en menassent, mais on s'assure sur une chose: c'est que s'ils avoient effectivement ce dessein, ils ne le publieroient pas comme ils font depuis un sy long temps.

'On tient pour certain que nostre flotte ne se mettra point en mer cette annee, a cause que les ennemis sont allez dans la Mediterannée avec 40 gros vaisseaux [H12: '40 vaisseaux'] pour joindre la flotte d'Espagne, et par ce moien ils empescheront la jonction de nos vaisseaux. On assure quil est party des couriers pour tous nos ports avec des ordres pour desarmer la flotte et de se tenir a couvert.

'On aresta avant hier [H12: 'arresta hier'] a Paris un prestre qu'on dit avoir de la corespondance avec les ennemis. On publie qu'on la trouvé saisy d'un nombre de lettres par les quelles on découvrira bien des affaires.'

1693, [April 27/] May 6. Caen. 'Depuis ma derniere, on travaille beaucoup a la seureté des costes. Il a desja passe des troupes, et il y en a bon nombre en chemin. Lon dit que Monsieur le Prince vient a La Hougue avec 2,000 hommes. La coste va estre garnie de tous costés. On fait venir du bled et de la farine de Beauce.'

2pp. *French. Addressed to: 'Monsieur le Cavalier, marchand, a Rotterdam'. The letter from Versailles is in the same hand as no. G7 (etc.) from Noblet to Le Cavalier. The copy of the letter from Caen is in Le Cavalier's hand. Enclosed in Blathwayt's letter to Nottingham of 5/15 May (no. 215 above), which was endorsed by Nottingham as received 8 May.*

H12. Copy of no. H11, but lacking the first paragraph. Other substantial differences are noted under H11.

1p. *French. In the hand of Le Cavalier. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Paris on 6/16 May (two days before the fuller version).*

H13. 1693, May [5/] 15. Pays de Caux. 'La misere est extreme dans ce pays. On voit dans la campagne les pauvres paissant l'herbe comme les bestes, et plusieurs morts de faim. Les habitants aisez sont chargez chacun d'un certain nombre de pauvres. N—, que vous connoissez, et qui n'est pas trop à son aise, en a dix à nourrir pour sa part; mais il dit qu'au lieu de dix il en a plus de cent qui viennent à sa porte depuis le matin jusqu'au soir, et principalement la nuit; que ces pauvres gens vont de porte en porte hurlants et jettant des cris lamentables, et crians, "Au nom de Dieu ayez pitié de nous, nous mourons de faim".

'Le blé valloit à Bacqueville 5 livres 10 sols le boisseau; et il a diminué de dix sols la halle derniere, parce que plusieurs laboureurs se sont défaits au plus viste de leurs grains, de crainte d'estre pillé par les pauvres. La misere est encore plus grande vers Boslebec que de costé-cy.

Same date, Dieppe. 'J'ay eu des soldats logez chez-moy qui m'ont beaucoup incommodé pendant quelques jours, mais je m'en suis défait en leur donnant de l'argent pour aller loger ailleurs. La misere est icy tres-grande; plusieurs meurent de mort subite, et pour comble de malheur, la recolte ne promet rien de bon.'

1p. *Extracts. French. In an unidentified hand.*

H14. [1693, May.] 'On nous fait esperer icy toutes sortes d'avantages pour cette campagne, et quoyque la prise de Heydelberg ne soit pas grand chose, cest un acheminement pour de plus grande succez que lon attend avant le mois d'aoust.

‘Je suis fasché que vous ne voules point changer dair et prendre les eaux. Il ny a que ce remede qui vous soit utile, et je vous puis dire sans vous flatter quil ny a que ce party la qui vous soit salulaire. Vous en avés tousjours le dessein quand il nen est point temps et en laissant perdre la belle saison. Il ny a aucun changement a vos maux. Penses y encore un coup. Prenes les eaux et elles vous feront du bien. Il en seroit temps sy vous me croyés. Ne negligés pas ladvis que je vous donne.’

At the foot in Jurieu's hand: ‘Ce billet vient des costes de Normandie vers Caen et signifie qu'on y croit la descente facile.’

Additional note in Jurieu's hand: ‘De Caen, le 3 de juin [24 May]. Sur les costes de Caen il ny'a pas de troupes reglées. Il ny'a que l'arrierban qui n'est que de trois ou quatre cents gentilshommes.’

1p. *French. Unsigned.*

H15. [1693, late May.] ‘Il y a un billet escrit de Caen du 5e. de ce mois de juin nouveau stile, qui a esté envoyé au Roy, et dont on ne sçauroit envoyer la coppie a Mylord. Mais le contenu est qu'on croit la dessente facile dans les costes proche de Caen, ou il n'y a pour toute garde que 3 ou 400 hommes de l'arrière ban, le gros des troupes estant à La Hogue a 20 lieues de la.’

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Unsigned. In the same hand as the 1692 letters in nos. D8 and D10–11, but similar in content to no. H14 (whose date is confirmed by the capture of Heidelberg in May 1693), and annotated by a previous editor as apparently enclosed in no. E107 of [May 29/] June 8, although there is no surviving evidence for this.*

H16. 1693, June [4/] 14. Caen. ‘Je trouve quil est inutile de vous parler de descente puisque vous ne suivez pas les advis qu'on vous donne. Cependant sy vous prenés ce party la vous trouverés des amis qui vous serviront et mesme je crois quil y a bien de nos compatriotes qui nen seroient pas faschez. Cest aussy le seul moyen de sortir daffaire, et comme la chose ne nous regarde qu'en partie nous ne pouvons agir sans secours.

‘Le bled commence a diminuer en ces quartiers, quoyque la noblesse y aye augmenté. On attend celle de Paris, en sorte quil y aura bien icy trois cents gentilshommes.’

1p. *French. Unsigned.*

H17. [1693, March.] Report by Le Cavalier. ‘La Hougue, ou sont toutes les troupes de Basse Normandie, est un lieu scitué sur le bord de la mer

proche de St. Vaast, tres propre pour le embarquement et débarquement. Toutte cette coste, a commencer depuis Cherbourg a venir jusques dans le Grand Vé, est tres propre pour ce sujet. Les vaisseaux de cinquante et soixante pieces de canon peuvent approcher de terre a portee de mousquet de pleine mer. Ils peuvent aussy entrer dans le Grand Vé presque une lieue. Dans les terres je scauray au plustost le nombre juste des troupes qui sont dans la Basse Normandie, tant cavalerie qu'infanterie, troupes réglées ou milices. Jattends des lettres de Dieppe dun homme intelligent et hardy pour scavoir quelles troupes sont ou seront en Haute Normandie, et le lieu de leur campement.

'La Basse Normandie depuis Bayeux jusques a Cherbourg peut fournir des fourrages pour dix mil chevaux, mais point davoine, ny bled assés pour mil chevaux.

'Sy la cavalerie y reste, il faudra prendre de lavoine dans le pays de Caux pour y porter, parceque ce sont presque tous pasturages dans le Cotentin, et presque point de terre de labeur.

'Pendant lhyver la Basse Normandie est impraticable par les chemins, qui sont sy mauvais que on ny peut rien porter par chariots ny charettes.

'La coste dEstreham [Ouistreham], Colleville et Hermanville est tres bonne et on peut mettre plus de 1,500 vaisseaux a lancre a la rade, qui est la meilleure du monde.'

1p. *Holograph. French. Signed. For a longer report by Le Cavalier on the same subject see no. B74(1) above.*

I. MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS FROM GENEVA AND BERNE

11. 1691, Oct. 4/14. Genève. 'Toutes les lettres de Piedmont portent que les Alliez sont en mouvement; que son Altesse Royale avancera jusqu'à Ivree avec 15,000 hommes de ses troupes et des religionnaires; et que Monsieur le Duc de Schomberg les commandera ensuite. Qu'ils doivent entrer par la Valdoste pour secourir Montméliand, pendant que les autres troupes et les Alemans bombarderont Pignerol ou Suse. Un homme de foy écrit qu'il a veû passer tels et tels régiments entre Ivree et la Valdoste; que le régiment des gardes de son Altesse Royale estoit déjà à la Tuille; qu'il a veû passer Monsieur Daubercam, qui alloit à Aust, et plus de 60 boulangers; que tous les chemins estoyent remplis de mulets chargez de farine. Monsieur le Résident de France a reçu le mesme avis par Monsieur Catinat. Mais il a dit à 3 de nos magistrats qu'il avoit envoyez prier de le venir voir, que les Valezans estoyent en armes, résolus de s'opposer au passage des Aliez, ce qu'il croit aisé et nous aussy. Il leur a dit de plus qu'ils viendroyent tard, et que Monsieur Catinat luy mandoit qu'il esperoit estre maistre de Montméliand du 16/26 au 20/30 de ce mois. Que l'on avoit fait sauter un bastion qui estoit détaché du corps de la place, lequel avoit comblé une partie du fossé qui le séparoit d'avec elle. Que la citerne avoit esté gastée par les bombes, et que les assiégés estoyent obligés d'aller chercher de l'eau fort bas. Qu'il y avoit des batteries qui les incommodoyent furieusement. Nos avis particuliers portent la mesme chose. Mais tout cela vient du camp, ce qui fait espérer aux gens qui se veulent flatter que les choses ne sont pas si mal. Cependant on ne compte pas sur le secours, et nous craignons bien que la place ne tombe.

'Les Gennois ont payé cent mille piastres pour leur contribution. Le Grand Duc de Toscane a payé la sienne. Les logements effectifs seront a Mantouë, Parme et Modène, c'est à dire dans ces estats là.

'Le bastion n'avoit pas encore sauté; mais on devoit le faire sauter incessamment. Il estoit battu de 24 pieces de canon. Il est aisé de battre un homme, quand il ne se défend point.'

1½ pp. *Extract. French. In the hand of Legoux.*

12. 1692, Jan. 8/18. Geneve. 'Je n'ay rien de nouveau a vous dire, sinon que la France fait travailler a Marseille et a Toulon festes et dimanches a l'équipement de quarante galères et de vingt navires de guerre, et que l'on envoie en Provence 16 bataillons qu'on croit que l'on embarquera sur ces bastiments. L'on parle que leur dessein est d'assiéger Final. Les autres disent que c'est pour la Catalogne; les autres pour fatiguer les princes d'Italie et faire faire quelque diversion aux Allemans.

‘Quoy qu’il en soit, il passe pour constant que l’on travaille en diligence a un grand equipement, et que quarante navires des Alliez dans la Mediterrannée seroient d’un grand secours et fortifieroient fort les princes d’Italie. Cela assureroit la Catalogne, et s’il y avoit sur ces vaisseaux seulement cinq ou six mil hommes a mettre a terre l’on épouventeroit les costes de Provence. Mais il faut croire qu’ils sçavent mieux a quoy les employer. Dieu le veille.

‘Nous avons icy des officiers françois qui ont ordre de partir pour se rendre en Flandres. L’on parle du siège de Namur; j’en doute. Mais nous contons que la France a pris ses mesures, que le Roy de France prendra ce qu’il attaquera par ce qu’il a ramassé toutes ses troupes, et qu’outre celles qui feront le siège il aura plus de 80,000 hommes a opposer aux Alliez, qui ne seront pas en estat de parer a ce coup la, a nostre grand chagrin.’

1p. *Extract. French. In the same hand as no. D8.*

13. Genève. 1692, Jan. 22/ Feb. 2 [*sic*]. ‘Je vous écris aujourd’huy par extraordinaire pour vous dire que la France fait tous ses efforts pour engager les Vaudois à demeurer neutres; qu’elle est preste à leur donner autant d’argent qu’ils voudront; qu’il y a des gens ébranlez parmy eux, et qu’il s’en peut trouver de corruptibles. Mais ce qui les y peut porter plus que toutes choses, c’est le peu de soin que l’on prend d’eux en Piémont. On les laisse perir de faim et de misère, et cela par l’intérêt du Marquis de St. Thomas, qui a eû la confiscation de ces gens-là, et qui craint leur rétablissement. La France met tout en oeuvre pour cela.

‘Vous avez sans doute veû la lettre aux Suisses par laquelle le Roy de France les laisse arbitres de l’accommodement entre luy et le Duc de Savoye. Cela ne produira rien. Mais son Résident d’icy ne cesse de vouloir persuader à messieurs les envoyés suisses qui sont icy l’intérêt qu’auroyent les Vaudois à s’accommoder avec la France. Je ne doute point qu’il n’offre que les Suisses en seront garants; soit qu’il trouve de la disposition favorable pour la France dans quelqu’un d’eux, soit qu’il les ait persuadez, il y en a qui sont assez foibles pour donner dans ce panneau sans appercevoir les desseins de la France; et nous voyons quantité de gens que le Résident entraîne dans ce sentiment. Cependant des gens gagnez par la France ne pourroyent pas luy rendre un meilleur office. Car si cela arrivoit, les Alliez seroyent bien empeschez à pouvoir entrer en France. Il est donc de la dernière conséquence de rompre ce coup, premièrement en traittant bien les Vaudois et en les engageant par des manières douces et bonnes à demeurer fidèles à leur prince, et en faisant faire des plaintes par les envoyez de sa Majesté.

‘Messieurs de Berne paroissent bien intentionnez. Il y a beaucoup de gens a Zurich qui le sont aussy; mais tout ne va pas d’un mesme pied, dont je suis sensiblement affligé. Si messieurs les cantons pouvoyent connoistre ce qu’ils

peuvent, et s'unir ensemble, il leur seroit fort aisé de procurer une paix seure, et avantageuse à toute l'Europe, et à eux aussy. Mais la France n'oublie rien pour les diviser; et l'on ne fait rien de ce qu'il faut faire pour les réunir.

'Encore un coup, comptez que cette affaire des Vaudois est un coup de partie; qu'on les a trop négligez; qu'il n'y avoit rien de plus important que de les bien traiter; et qui si deux personnes du conseil du Prince de Savoye, par leurs interestz, tâchent à les ruiner, il est de la prudence des bons Alliez de ne rien épargner pour les fortifier, appuyer, et leur donner les secours nécessaires. Il faut demeurer d'accord qu'ils ont fait seuls plus que toutes les troupes ensemble.

'La chose presse, et je vous écris cecy afin qu'on en donne avis incessamment.'

2pp. *Copy. French. In the hand of Legoux.*

14. 1693, Feb. 7/17. Geneva. 'Je vous prie de vous souvenir que je fus le premier qui vous avertis l'an passé du dessein qu'on avoit en France de faire une descente en Angleterre. Vous avez veu que j'avois de bons mémoires. L'avis que je vous donne aujourd'hui vient du mesme endroit que l'autre. C'est d'une personne de considération de qui je le tiens, qui a grande part aux affaires, et qui écrit à un amy particulier. Il doit luy mesme monter sur la flotte et y faire une grosse figure.

'Il écrit que le 7 de ce mois il y avoit à Toulon 22 vaisseaux prests à partir des que Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées seroit arrivé, desquels il y en avoit 6 de 80 a 112 pieces de canon, et le reste de 60 a 70; qu'ils devoient aller joindre l'armée en Ponant, où tous les vaisseaux étoient carenez; qu'on avoit fait une diligence prodigieuse, et que l'on conduiroit le grand dessein qu'on avoit avec une promptitude surprenante; qu'il devoit aller incessamment s'embarquer sur la flotte, qui seroit de 88 vaisseaux de ligne, 30 brulotz et quantité de galiottes à bombes.

'Cette nouvelle venant d'une part à ne pouvoir douter de sa vérité mérite qu'on en donne avis à des gens sages, qui ne s'en ouvrent qu'aux ministres. Elle vaut bien la peine qu'on travaille à s'en éclaircir parfaitement.

'Je ne say si ce qu'on dit de Korke et Kinsale est vray. Mais non obstant la nouvelle, je ne croy pas qu'on doive négliger les affaires de la Méditerranée, où je ne saurois me lasser de dire qu'il faut une bonne escadre.

'Comme je suis naturellement défiant, je ne say s'il n'y auroit point quelque dessein à celuy qui m'a fait voir la lettre qu'on luy écrit de me faire prendre le change. Je n'y voy pourtant nulle apparence, et vous dis seulement cela afin qu'on ne s'amuse à rien, et qu'on aille son chemin, mais qu'on ne néglige pas l'avis. Si je vous nommois l'homme, vous conviendriez qu'on peut ajouter

foy à ce qu'il dit; ainsy je ne doute nullement de la chose, et l'on y peut compter, c'est à dire sur la disposition et l'estat où sont les choses présentement. Je ne say pas le dessein qu'on a. Si j'en découvre quelque chose je vous en informeray diligemment.

'J'allay hier chez un amy du Résident, où le mien se trouva. On y parla de nouvelles, et sur la lettre de mon amy, on traita *da puoco* toutes les autres nouvelles.

'Le bruit commun est que le Comte d'Etrées doit en passant se saisir de Minorque. On prétend que la chose est facile; quoy qu'il en soit, il seroit bon qu'on se precautionnast, car les François sont alerte, et primeront sur mer. Il paroist fort étrange que les Alliez, ayant autant de vaisseaux qu'ils en ont, ne tiennent pas une grosse escadre dans la Méditerranée s'amuser aux Espagnols, c'est temps perdu. Six vaisseaux françois battront toute leur armée.

'Encore un coup, l'avis que je vous donne mérite qu'on y fasse attention.'

2¼ pp. *Extract. French. In the hand of Legoux. Headed: 'A Monsieur L[egoux] pour estre communiquée à Monsieur J[urieu].'* *Enclosed in no. B72. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 25 Feb.*

15. [n.d.] [Berne.] 'Je vous avoue que je suis dans un chagrin mortel de voir que nous allons entièrement et pour jamais perdre nos avantages, nos intérêts et toutes nos prétensions auprez de ce peuple-cy, et que nous allons leur permettre de se perdre aussy. S'ils ont beaucoup de tort, n'en avons nous pas un peu de nostre côté? La condescendence, la piété, et la charité chrétienne ne nous portent elles pas à tascher d'empescher les fous et les opiniatres a se précipiter? Et n'arrachons-nous pas nos enfans imbécilles, et mesme rebelles, du feu ou ils se veulent jeter, malgré nos raisons et nos remontrances, quand il y auroit quelque peine ou quelque danger pour nous a le faire? En un mot, Monsieur, on va tenir une Diète Générale a la réquisition de Monsieur Amelot, ou l'on doit cantoner Geneve et le Porentru, razer Montmélian, mettre la Savoye entre les mains des cantons pour sa neutralité, et en faire la garantie par des troupes suisses levées et payées par la France, qui pour cela donne a ce seul canton icy la somme de 1,356,000 livres a un seul payement; et a celuy cy et a tous les autres du bled, du sel, de l'argent, du service, et tout ce que leur avarice et leur aveuglement leur peut inspirer a demander a la France; qui non-seulement promet, mais donne tout à pleines mains a ce pauvre peuple aveuglé et perdu, pour pouvoir par la mettre toutes les frontières de France a couvert, et les rendre impénétrables a jamais de ce côté icy; et par la garantie mesme des Suisses, qui nous auroient aidé a y outrer, sy nous eussions voulu.

‘La France triomphe ainsy de nous, en tournant de cette manière nostre propre artillerie contre nous-mesmes, et en ozant hardiment tirer toutes ses meilleures troupes de la Savoye, du Piedmont, du Haut Rhin, de l’Alsace, etc., pour les faire marcher en Flandre. Les levées soubś-main, les recrűes, les remontes de la cavallerie et enfin tout ce que la France veut ou peut souhaitter se fait icy présentement a la faveur de tous les beaux desseins que je viens de vous dire.

‘Je vous prie, Monsieur, de vouloir juger des conséquences fatales pour la Religion, le service du Roy et la bonne-cause, non pas seulement icy mais (par contre-coup) dans toute l’Europe. Dieu veuille que nous ne les sentions pas quand il sera trop tard.

‘Je me fais fort, avec l’aide de Dieu, de détruire entièrement toute cette fatale-machine dans trois mois, sy l’on veut enfin m’écouter et me croire, apres des volumes escrits en vain, depuis six mois passez. Mais le danger est bien plus pressant à cette heure. Car j’ay assuré tout nouvellement Mylord Nottingham, et je vous assure icy, Monsieur, que sy je n’ay pas les ordres et les moyens icy tout prests dez que le Roy sera passé en Hollande (ce que je suppose et espere devoir arriver dans un mois d’icy, tout au plus-tard) pour traitter une alliance défensive avec les cantons-Protestants pour commencer, de concert avec ce canton de Berne, et avec son assistance et soubś son ombre et autorité, de faire un petit magasin à Genève en faveur de nos affaires de Piedmont, en Savoye, et de ce canton icy, en cas d’attaque, et enfin pour faire une petite levée de Suisses Protestants, a un prix fort bas et raisonnable et pour servir par tout ou le Roy et Messieurs les Estats voudront, nous perdons a jamais ce peuple icy, qui se va incontinent jeter plus que jamais entre les bras de la France, sans aucune espérance de retour, ou de repentir. Peut estre qu’un peu de temps nous fera voir que de perdre ou de gagner cette nation n’est pas une affaire de sy petite conséquence qu’on se l’imagine dans tous les endroits de l’Europe ou la Religion ou la bonne-cause ont quelque chose a craindre ou a espérer. Je vous répète, Monsieur, encor’une fois, qu’avec l’assistance divine je répons de la vie et de l’honneur du bon succez des affaires en ce pays sy a la fin et sans plus différés on veut m’escouter. Mais que ce soit sans aucun délai, et tout de bon. Sinon, je me descharge devant Dieu et les hommes de toutes les conséquences, présentes et futures.

‘Faites, Monsieur, tout vostre possible pour cecy, pour l’amour de Dieu, et des gens de bien; et pour qu’on nous envoie en Piedmont, s’il est possible, un bon corps de troupes Protestantes, sans quoy nous ne ferons jamais rien.’

P.S. ‘Les Vaudois n’ont plus de bled qu’un peu dans la terre qu’ils ont semé. Ils sont réduit aux chatagnes pour subsister. Ils n’en ont guères cette année, la récolte en ayant esté fort médiocre. Au nom de Dieu, Monsieur, ayez la bonté d’intercéder et de presser pour ces pauvres gens auprez de Monsieur le

Pensionnaire, et de tous autres que vous trouverez bon. J'en écris aux ministres et a quelques évêques en Angleterre. Il y a bien trois mois que Mylord Nottingham m'avoit fait espérer un prompt secours pour ces misérables, mais je n'entends plus parler n'y de cela n'y d'autre chose.

'Mademoiselle Arnaud est preste a mourir de faim, avec sa famille, a Neuchatel, faute de la pension.'

2pp. *Copy. French. In the same hand as no. D8.*

J. MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS AND PAPERS CONNECTED WITH JURIEU AND HIS ORGANIZATION

J1. [1691–3.]. ‘Supposé qu’on eust dessein sur la Normandie et notamment sur le pays de Caux, qui jusqu’à present est dégarni de troupes réglées, il seroit necessaire d’entretenir commerce par mer avec les amis que nous avons dans cette province, afin d’en recevoir à propos des avis salutaires. Les voyes ordinaires sont trop longues, et l’on pourroit manquer des occasions favorables faute d’être averti à temps. Si donc, par exemple, on vouloit s’ouvrir une correspondance à Dieppe, il faudroit donner à quelqu’un des officiers de marine de cette ville qui sont au service de sa Majesté Britannique un petit vaisseau bon voilier, qui serviroit comme de paquebot. On pourroit pour cela jetter les yeux sur le Sieur du Fay, autrefois capitaine de vaisseau en France, et presentement capitaine reformé dans Cambon, au moins s’il n’a changé de regiment. Cet officier seroit tres-propre pour cet employ, ne manquant point de courage, et connoissant tres-bien la coste. A son défaut on pourroit se servir du Sieur Barbaux, aussi capitaine de vaisseau en France, lequel est couché sur l’estat au nombre des pensionnaires, et est presentement à Londres, s’il n’a passé depuis peu en Irlande suivant les ordres donnez à tous ceux qui recevoient pension de s’y rendre. On trouvera encore au nombre des pensionnaires de l’estat le Sieur de Cleremare sur le pied de lieutenant reformé, qui estoit pilote à Dieppe et qui pourroit bien servir dans cet employ. Il y a encore à Londres un vieux maistre de navire nommé Jaques La Veine, tres-experimenté pour la coste, qui ne serviroit pas moins bien que les precedens. Et outre ceux-là il y a plusieurs bons matelots de Dieppe sur l’escadre de Zelande qui seroient tres capables de rendre service en cette occasion.

‘Mais sur tous ceux-là il seroit tres-utile de se servir du Sieur Pol, tres-bon pilote, qui a autrefois exercé cette route. Car dans le fort de la persecution, il partit de Rotterdam avec une double chaloupe et dix-huit bons garçons d’équipage, avec laquelle il aborda devant Dieppe, mit à terre un de ses hommes, qui nonobstant une garde autant rigoureuse et exacte qu’on en ait jamais fait, ne laissa pas de passer par dessus un endroit de la muraille de la ville qui est assez bas, et alla avertir plusieurs Protestans de venir s’embarquer dans le vaisseau dudit Pol, et prit des mesures pour donner et recevoir des nouvelles de part et d’autre. Ce negoce dura assez long-temps. Le vaisseau gaignoit les costes d’Angleterre le jour, et la nuit il venoit devant Dieppe, où il alloit querir les lettres que les Protestans avoient laissées le long du rivage à un certain lieu designé, et luy y mettoit les siennes en place, et par là s’avertissoient reciproquement de ce qu’ils souhaitoient les uns des autres. Rien n’empêche qu’on ne fasse aujourd’huy la mesme chose; car on ne peut

point faire de garde plus exacte que celle qu'on faisoit alors; puisqu'en ce temps-là non seulement les bourgeois de Dieppe faisoient garde pour arrêter les Protestans, mais la garnison et les paysans faisoient la mesme chose; et la capture estoit pour ceux qui la faisoient; de sorte qu'outre le zeile de religion, le pillage rendoit les peuples extremement avides et exacts à garder la coste.'

3pp. *French. At the foot, in Jurieu's hand:* 'Ce capitaine Pol est sur un vaisseau hollandois. On le cherchera pour scavoir où il est.'

J2. 1691, Aug. [13/]23. Paris. Carriere to Monsieur Boissard, marchand cabinetier, proche l'église françoise, à Rotterdam. 'J'ai reçu les quatorze balots que vous fites partir le troisiéme de juin. Ils m'ont bien donné de l'inquietude par leur long retardement. Les marchandises sont belles et bonnes; j'espere qu'il y aura du profit à faire. J'ai tiré sur vous pour trois mille cinq cent livres, payables à Monsieur Riviere a quinze jours de veue. Ayez la bonté de l'aquitter.'

On the same sheet, and in the same hand, but in invisible ink, which appears to have been developed but subsequently to have faded. [Some words repeated in error have been omitted. A few words have been supplied in square brackets which are no longer legible, or were omitted in error or torn away with the seal.] 'Vous apprendrez sans doute avec plaisir, Monsieur et tres honoré pere, les benedictions que Dieu a repandu sur mon ministere depuis que je ne vous ai écrit, et les fruits abondans que j'en ai recueilli à la grande gloire de son nom. Certes j'experimente bien que si Dieu m'a conservé jusques ici comme par une espece de miracle, vû les soins que l'on se donne et les inventions que l'on met journellement en usage pour me surprendre et arreter son ouvrage, qu'il fait tant avancer en ma main. Ce n'a été que pour faire paraître davantage l'excellence de sa force en mettant de si pretieux tresors dans le plus foible et le plus contemptible de tous les vaisseaux de sa maison.

'Il me seroit, Monsieur, bien difficile de vous exprimer le travail que j'ai soutenu depuis un mois avant Paques jusques à la fin de juin. Il s'est passé peu de jours que je n'aye été en fonction. Il m'arrivoit le plus souvent de l'estre deux fois dans un jour et quelquefois meme trois. J'ai aidé au relevement d'un nombre infini de personnes, parmi lesquelles j'en ai vû beaucoup de vôtre eglise de Sedan.* Les visites des comissaires, qui vont dans tous les quartiers pour faire deloger tous ceux qu'on appelle nouveaux convertis quand il s'en trouve dans la mesme maison plusieurs familles ensemble, ont un peu ralenti le zeile. Dans le commencement nous croyons que l'on n'en vouloit qu'à moi, mais nous avons vû dans la suite que leur principal but étoit d'empêcher nos assemblées. Ils ont beau faire pourtant; ils

* This makes it probable that the letter was intended for Jurieu.

n'en viendront pas à bout. Comme c'est ici l'oeuvre de Dieu toute la ruse des hommes jointe à la malice des demons ne sauroient la retarder.

'J'ai pris ce tems de relâche pour faire quelque course à la campagne. J'ai visité Lisi [Lizy], Cressi [Crécy], Nantueil, Maux [Meaux] et Clayes [Claye], et j'ai recueilli dans tous ces lieux une abondante moisson. Si je vous ai donné de la joye en vous apprenant dans mes lettres précédentes des merveilles de la grace dans les conversions que Dieu fait de tems en tems nonobstant les persecutions cruelles qu'on exerce contre l'Eglise, ce que je vous apprendrai par celle ci [vous n]'en donnera pas moins. Le croiriez vous, Monsieur, que Dieu se choisit des fideles d'entre les acteurs de l'opera, les personnes du monde les plus impies et les plus perdues dans toute sorte de debauches? Il n'est pourtant rien de plus constant, ce qui doit bien nous faire admirer la liberté de sa conduite dans la distribution de ses graces. J'en ai vû depuis tres peu de tems une famille entière dont j'ai été particulièrement edifié. Ils ne savoient pas qui j'étois, mais me croyant simplement de la Religion ils m'ont découvert leur coeur et m'ont fait voir tant d'amour de Dieu et de sa verité, tant d'horreur pour le mensonge, tant de pieté et tant de zele avec conoissance que j'en ai été dans des ravissements. Si j'avois été maitre de moi je me fusse decouvert, mais je suis tout determiné de le faire à la premiere occasion. Ils ont pourtant soupsonné que j'étois pasteur, car on m'a rapporté qu'ils disent après que je fus sorti qu'ils ne pouvoient me mecônoitre. Je vous prie, Monsieur, que ce que je vous en dis soit un secret entre nous, car si cela étoit repandû et qu'on vient à le savoir ici, infailliblement on s'assureroit d'eux et on les tourmenteroit.

'Je vous pris d'agreer que j'assûre Mademoiselle qu'on ne peut pas l'honorer et la respecter plus que je fais, que j'ai toute la reconnoissance que je dois de tant de bonté qu'elle à pour moi. Je lui demande un peu de part dans son souvenir et dans ses prieres. Je [vous souhaite] une parfaite santé et une longue [vie] pour la consolation et l'edification de l'Eglise de Dieu.'

P.S. 'Faites s'il vous plait mon adresse à Monsieur Jourdan, marchand parfumeur [dans la Rue] des Mauvais Garçons au Fauxbourg Saint Germain, pour rendre à Monsieur Carriere, marchand.'

4pp. *French. Unsigned.*

J3. [?1691.] 'Mémoire sur le commerce de mer de la France.' 'La France a deux principaux commerces de mer, qui luy occupent plus de 800 vaisseaux, et qui luy font plus de 10,000 matelots; l'un est de l'Amérique, et l'autre est celui de la pesche des molües [morues, cod] et des baleines.

'Le commerce de l'Amérique conciste aux eaux de vie, vins, farines, chairs salées, et généralement toutes sortes de danrées et marchandises nécessaires

pour la subsistance des colonies que les François ont faittes depuis environ 50 ans aux Isles Antilles, qu'ils y ont peuplées, et où il est passé un grand nombre de François, et particulièrement de Protestans, qui estant fatiguez par des persécutions qui depuis ce temps là ont esté faittes à la religion réformée, estoient bien aises de s'éloigner de France pour aller chercher quelque repos dans un continent si éloigné. Cette considération a fait sortir beaucoup de monde de France, et a beaucoup servy à peupler plusieurs de ces Isles Antilles.

'La premiere des Isles que l'on trouve, et que les navigateurs ont accoutumé d'aller reconnoistre, est la *Martinique*, où le Roy de France a fait bastir un fort, qui est considérable, et où le gouverneur général des François fait sa demeure ordinaire. Il y peut avoir une garnison d'environ 7 à 800 hommes. Mais toute l'Isle peut bien mettre sous les armes 3 à 400 hommes, gens exerces aux armes, et qui, par la nécessité où ils sont, en travaillant à leurs plantations, de chercher une partie de la nourriture de leurs nègres et serviteurs, vont ou envoient leurs gens à la chasse des cochons sauvages. Ce qui les accoutume à la fatigue et aux armes.

'La deuxieme Isle, la plus considérable de ces quartiers-là, est la *Guadeloupe*, où il n'y a point de forteresse, mais seulement un gouverneur particulier, et qui dépend de Monsieur le General, dont est parlé cy dessus. Ainsy toute la force de cette isle conciste en ses habitans, qui ne sont pas en si grand nombre qu'à la Martinique, où les Jésuites, qui y sont établis et qui y ont de belles habitations, y régissent à leur manière et selon l'esprit de leur Societé.

'La troisieme Isle estoit *St. Christophle*, partagée avec les Anglois, et où se réfugioient encore volontiers les Réformez françois, acause de la commodité qu'ils y trouvoient de l'exercice de leur religion chez les Anglois, avantage qu'ils n'ont dans aucune des autres Isles. On ne dit point icy en quel estat est présentement cette isle, dont on a parlé diversement depuis quelque temps que les rélations ont raporté que les Anglois s'en estoient entièrement rendus maistres, en ayant chassé les François.

'Ce sont là les 3 principales Isles des François, qu'on estimoit contenir 24 à 25,000 habitans, c'est à dire de toutes sortes de personnes, tant maitres que valets.

'Il y a encore *Ste. Croix*, *Marigalante*, *St. Martin*, *La Grenade*, *St. Domingue*, et quelques autres petites Isles peu considérables, où il peut y avoir, 5, 6 et jusqu'à 7 ou 800 habitans en chacune, les unes plus, les autres moins. Seulement chacune a son gouverneur particulier, qui dépend, comme il a esté dit, du général de la Martinique.

'Le plus considérable de ces petits etablissements est celui de *St. Domingue*, où il peut y avoir environ 800 habitans, appelez *boucaniers*, gens de sac et de corde, qui subsistent plus par leurs pyateries que par la culture de leurs

terres, qui passent pourtant pour estre fort propres pour le tabac. Le voisinage des Espagnols, qui occupent plus de trois quarts de l'isle, et avec qui ils ont toujours quelque démeslé, les rend plus aguerris. Aussi, quoy que de beaucoup inférieurs aux Espagnols, ils ne laissent pas de s'en faire craindre, et de se rendre si considérables que jamais les Espagnols n'ont pu les en chasser.

'Il est certain que le commerce que les François font dans toutes ces isles leur est extrêmement avantageux.

'*Primò*, on tire de France une grande quantité de danrées et de marchandises, dont on a par ce moyen un débit fort avantageux; car on sait bien qu'il ne peut aller là aucun vaisseau etranger.

'2. On tire en échange de ces isles des sucres brutes appelez mascovades qu'on apporte en France pour les convertir en sucres blancs. Et c'est par cette seule raison qu'on a ébly en France environ 60 raffineries qu'on y a fait construire, à mesure que les colonies des Antilles s'augmentoyent. Il vient encore de ce pays là du tabac, de l'indigo, et du gingembre.

'3. Les colonies Antilles entretiennent encore un autre commerce assez considérable. Il faut à tous les habitans de ces isles des négres pour la culture des terres, à quoy les Européens ne sont pas propres, ácause de la grande chaleur. C'est par cette considération que les ministres de France ont ébly des compagnies avec des priviléges pour aller négocier à la coste d'Afrique des négres qu'on porte dans ces isles, qui ne pourroyent se soutenir sans cela; et cette nécessité d'aller chercher ces négres donne lieu à d'autres commerces qui se font en Afrique, qui concistent en cuirs, ivoire, gomme, or, etc.

'Outre les avantages que l'on vient de toucher que la France tire de ces pays-là, il est certain que l'on peut dire que ce commerce fait pour le Roy plus de 4,000 matelots, dont il se sert quand il a à faire des armemens de mer.

'Pour ce qui est de l'autre commerce de mer, qui est celuy de la pesche des molües et baleines, il est encore vray qu'il y a bien 400 vaisseaux qui y vont tous les ans, d'où l'on peut voir qu'il sert aussy à faire un fort grand nombre de matelots.

'On peut juger que si ces deux commerces estoyent détruits en France, on osteroit au Roy une grande facilité d'avoir des matelots. Car le grand nombre qu'il en faut pour ces deux commerces les forme, sans qu'il en coûte rien au Roy. Et, ces moyens luy estant ostez, il se trouveroit fort embarrassé. Parce qu'il faudroit, ou qu'il continuast à faire de grands dépenses pour l'entretien des matelots, ou que les gens qui le portent présentement à la marine prissent une autre profession.

'Il est aisé de voir, par l'estat où l'on représente que sont ces isles, les forces qui seroyent nécessaires pour les conquérir. Il est vray que si la France peut

soubçonner qu'on ait ce dessein, elle ne manquera pas d'y envoyer des vaisseaux de guerre. C'est pourquoy il faudroit estre extrêmement informé des préparatifs que la France fera à cet égard pour prendre des mesures là dessus. On ne peut raisonner par le présent mémoire que sur l'estat des choses, sans la supposition du secours françois.

'Il est certain que si l'on pouvoit estre une fois maistre de la Martinique, toutes les autres isles françois tomberoyent d'elles mesmes. Mais ce n'est pas une petite entreprise.

'1. On sait assez qu'il ne faut point estre sur ces costes-là depuis juillet jusqu'en octobre, ácause des houragans auxquels le pays est sujet, et qui viennent d'ordinaire dans ce temps-là, tantost un peu plustost, tantost plus tard. Quelquefois ils ne viennent point. Mais cela est rare. Quoy qu'il en soit, pendant cette saison là le général faut enfermer tous les vaisseaux dans le port.

'2. On peut juger que le gouverneur estant sur ses gardes, et le maistre du port, il n'est pas aisé d'y faire des descentes. Et je ne doute pas que le Roy de France n'ayt renvoyé expres pour gouverneur le Comte de Blenac, gentilhomme de Xaintonge, qui a occupé ce poste plus de dix ans, et qui, par la consideration de son propre intérêt, ne manquera pas de se défendre vigoureusement, ce gouvernement luy valant par son adresse plus de 60,000 livres, au delà de ses appointements qui sont de 36,000 livres.

'Il semble donc qu'àmoins d'avoir des forces considerables, on devroit se contenter de se rendre maistre de la Guadeloupe, et de St. Christophle, et se soutenir là, ávec plusieurs vaisseaux de guerre qu'on y pourroit avoir, prenant des mesures selon les demarches de la France. Les Anglois, qui ont des etablissemens dans l'Amérique plus considérables que ceux des François, peuvent aisement, apres s'estre rendus maistres de la Guadeloupe, St. Christophle, et en général de toutes les autres isles à la reserve de la Martinique, se maintenir dans cette pcession, et fatiguer les François dans le commerce de ladite isle, en attendant l'occasion de s'en emparer.'

4pp. *French. In the hand of Legoux.*

J4. 1692, Jan. 'Avis'. 'Par beaucoup d'adresse, et de persévérance, nous avons enfin découvert que depuis le dernier combat donné en Flandres on avoit secrettement pris soin de faire travailler à 3,000 cottes de mailles pour les principaux corps de cavallerie, et qu'on y travailloit actuellement dans le dessein d'attaquer toujours les ennemis, l'épée à la main, qui est la manière la plus glorieuse, et la plus assurée. C'est aux autres à faire une contrebatterie, apres cet avis, et de tenir leurs ordres secret, comme on le fait icy, car c'est une espèce de miracle que cette affaire soit venue à nostre connoissance. Les

cottes de maille doivent estre mises dans des surtouts, qu'on ne donnera aux cavalliers que peu de temps avant que d'aller au combat.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. In the hand of Legoux.*

J5. 1692, Jan. [12/] 22. 'Mémoire.' 'Si l'on estoit capable de donner quelques avis sur ce qui regarde la marine, ce seroit d'imiter le Roy de France dans l'establissement de cadetz de marine, entretenus par sa Majesté et qui sont comme un seminaire d'où l'on tire dans la suite de bons officiers. On voit par les nouvelles de Paris du 14 de ce mois de janvier qu'il s'est présenté jusqu'à 1,500 jeunes gentilshommes que les pères ont envoyez pour estre cadets de marine, desquels on en a tiré 400 qu'on a fait gardes de la marine, à 400 livres de gages chacun. On les instruit dans les ports avec grand soin dans tout ce qui regarde la manoeuvre, le pilotage et conduite des vaisseaux, les exercices concernant l'artillerie, etc. On leur fait faire des voyages sur divers vaisseaux, où ils voyent mettre en pratique ce qu'on leur a enseigné. Par ce moyen ils deviennent capables d'estre de bons officiers, plus ou moins viste, selon leur genie.

'A l'egard des matelotz, on examine premièrement tout ce qu'il y en a dans les portz de France, et l'on en fait diverses classes. Il y a mesme un directeur ou intendant, en tiltre d'office pour cela, savoir le Sieur de Bonrepaux. Ces matelotz, ainsy divisez en classes, s'obligent de servir sur les vaisseaux du Roy, chacun à leur tour et par année, et n'oseroient s'engager aux marchands que dans les entretemps où ils ne sont pas obligez de servir le Roy, et comme ils savent leur rang ils ne se peuvent obliger aux particuliers que pour certain temps. Si quelques uns contreviennent aux conditions portées par leur engagement avec le Roy, et au serment qu'ils ont presté, on les punit sévèrement quand ils sont de retour chez eux. On sait les familles, les noms, et la demeure de chacun. Ainsy on les trouve tost ou tard. L'intendant prend connoissance de l'estat de leurs familles, a soin de les faire marier fort jeunes, de chastier ceux qui vivent mal, et de faire donner quelque recompense aux veuves de ceux qui sont mortz au service du Roy. Ainsy il n'est pas étonnant qu'avec toutes les précautions et les soins que l'on prend pour tout ce qui regarde la marine, le Roy fasse de bons hommes de mer, officiers et matelotz, et en quantité. Si l'on ne les avoit point persécutez pour la religion, il en auroit plus qu'il n'en faudroit pour son service.

'On est persuadé qu'avec 18 ou 20 mil livres sterlins onourniroit à la dépense nécessaire pour de pareilz établissemens, laquelle seroit glorieuse à sa Majesté Britanique, et utile au bien public de toute la nation.'

2pp. *French. In the hand of Legoux.*

J6. [?1692, April.] 'Memoire.' 'Le ministre anglois qui sert l'église angloise de Rotterdam a dit qu'un de ses amis de Cantorbery luy mandoit qu'il y avoit un mauvais levain dans la nation, que l'archevesque de Cantorbery d'aujourd'hui avoit du chagrin d'estre en la place où il est, à cause de la circonstance d'affaires. Un des amis du dit ministre passant à Rotterdam luy a dit qu'on tenoit pour certain que la Princesse de Dannemark se retirerait à York, où les mecontents d'Ecosse la joindroyent avec ceux du Nord d'Angleterre.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *French. In Jurieu's hand.*

J7. [?1692, April to Aug.] 'J'ay des avis si importans à donner que j'ay cru ne devoir les confier qu'à vous, Monsieur, qui estes suscité du ciel pour soutenir les interets de la verité, et pour confondre ceux qui la voudroient détruire s'il leur estoit possible. Vous avés travaillé avec tant de succès par la benediction de Dieu dans vos livres que la Beste et le faux prophete y ont reçu une playe mortelle, et les coups que vous avés porté contre l'erreur sont si pressant qu'elle ne s'en relevera jamais. Aussi n'est ce pas en y repondant que l'on pretend empescher la chute de Babylon. Ils ont des methodes plus abregées, et qui vont tout droit à la cruauté, et à ne demander pas moins que la mort de tout ce qui leur fait quelque obstacle. Je suis persuadé que l'on a tenté ceste voie contre vous plus d'une fois, mais ce n'est pas de vostre personne qu'il s'agit presentement, c'est de la personne sacrée de sa Majesté. C'est elle qui leur fait de la peine, c'est d'elle qu'ils voudroient se defaire à quel prix que ce soit. Ils le disent assés haut affin que l'on l'entende, cella n'a pas besoing de preuve, mais voici qui va dans le particulier, et qui merite que l'on y fasse quelque attention. L'on m'avoit rapporté confusement que quelques personnes inconnues parlans de sa personne sacrée disoient (sans croire estre entendus) qu'ils ajusteroient si bien leur coup qu'ils ne le manqueroient pas, et dans le meme temps j'apprens dans un port de mer où je me trouve trois jours après, que depuis un mois il y est passé plus de cinquante de ces gens là, qui se cachent en Angleterre.

'Mais voici particulierement ce qui me fait écrire. Une personne de qualité m'a dit qu'il sçavoit de bonne part que si la France donnoit bataille, l'on devoit estre assuré que le Prince y seroit tué, et que l'on ne la donneroit pas autrement; qu'il feroit le voiage pour donner cet avis, et pour en produire les preuves, mais qu'il apprehendoit que l'on ne le croiroit pas. On fera sur cet avis les reflexions que l'on jugera à propos. Comme j'ay déjà écrit que le Sieur Mazel devoit estre suspect, et que l'on m'a écrit que l'on avoit reçu cet avis, je n'en parlerai pas, je dirai seulement que quelque mine que l'on face, l'on est ici dans des grandes allarmes. On envoie les meilleures troupes et la meilleure cavalerie sur les cotes, je parle *de visu*.

'Au reste, les honnetes gens pensent et parlent bien autrement que ceux dont nous avons parlé. Ils disent que si l'Empereur Tite fut appelé les delices du genre humain, parce qu'il estoit clement, courageux et liberal, sa Majesté possédant ces qualités par un principe plus solide, doit estre appelée les delices du monde chrestien non romain. Je voudrois bien que l'on lui fit entendre que je n'ai pas besoin de sa clemence, car je suis innocent, que je n'ay meme besoin de son courage qu'avec tout le monde chrestien, mais que j'aurois besoin de sa liberalité, car je suis pauvre et je ne puis donner aucune subsistance à ma famille. Je voudrois bien qu'elle la put trouver à Rotterdam, et en voici la raison. J'ai perdu deux enfans de la consommation. L'on me mande que des deux qui me restent, il y en a une de malade, et que ma femme n'est pas trop bien. Après le Roy vous pouvés beaucoup. Si vous me servés là dedans, vous me mettrés en repos de ce coté là, vous m'empescherés de regarder en arriere, et vous m'attacherés à vous par d'autres liens que ceux de l'estime et de l'admiration.'

2½ pp. *French. Unsigned. At the head (in Jurieu's hand):* 'A Monsieur Jurieu'. *At the foot (in Jurieu's hand):* 'Cette lettre est d'un nommé Monsieur Brocas, ministre prechant sous la croix en France, qui a sa femme et ses enfants à Londres'. *On the back (in Jurieu's hand):* 'Copie de cette lettre a esté envoyée au Roy'. (For a related letter see BL Add. MS 57943, ff. 14–15.)

J8. [1692,] Nov. [17/] 27. As was learned yesterday from Mademoiselle Dopdam, passports are being given or have been given to Monsieur d'Avau and Monsieur de Bon Repos to go to Denmark and Sweden. On their journey they will pass 'par ici ou il[s] ne peuvent faire que du mal, lun pour la marine et lautre pour reveiller ses vieus amis'. As their journey to this place and Amsterdam will take at least three days, it might be well to inform London, although the King is sure to know about it already. 'Jay escrit à Monsieur le Marquis d'Hen sur le succes de leurs assemblée. Je leur demande avec instance communication de leurs actes et quelques instructions sur la maniere dont ils se sont pris. Comme le parti des gens de bien ce multiplie ici et leurs opposes baisse je pense quil ne fault point negliger la conjoncture afin dachever ce que vous aves si bien commencé, sur tout cela, Monsieur, ce que vous jugeres de plus sage et par dessus tout encore la conservation de vostre santé.'

P.S. 'Jasseure de mes obeissance Mademoiselle Jurius. Tout le monde ici vous assure de ses respects. Quand vous seres instruit de quelque choses important, faite nous escrire par Madame de Pierefite.'

2pp. *French. Signed: de Peray (? Geray). Addressed (in a different hand from that of the letter) to:* 'Monsieur Jurieus, pasteur de lesglise françoice à Roterdam.' *At the foot, in Jurieu's hand:* 'Quoyque l'on sache bien que le

Roy scait la nouvelle portee dans ce billet, cependant on croit qu'il est bon qu'il voye les reflexions que l'on fait là dessus, qui ne sont que trop solides.'
Endorsed by Nottingham as received 24 Nov. 1692.

J9. 1693, [June 23/] July 3. Rotterdam. 'Il est à remarquer que par la vérification qui a esté faite icy des deux etatz envoyez de Paris cy devant, l'un le 16e. mars dernier des 22 vaisseaux de la flotte de Monsieur le Comte d'Etrées, et l'autre le premier juin de l'ordre du mouillage de la flotte de Brest, il se trouve plusieurs différences sur le nombre des hommes et des canons de chaque vaisseau entre ces deux etats particuliers et l'etat général cy joint de l'ordre des 3 escadres, en quoy seront divisez tous les vaisseaux des 2 flottes quand ils seront jointz. Mais si l'on assemble tous les hommes et tous les canons contenus dans les deux etatz particuliers, on trouvera que la différence n'est pas fort considérable d'avec l'etat général de tous les vaisseaux, quand les deux flottes seront jointes, comme il se voit icy.

'Suivant l'etat général, il y a:

94 gross vaisseaux ————— 6,446 canons ————— 40,960 hommes.

'Suivant les deux etatz particuliers:

Toulon 22 vaisseaux	1,552 canons	10,230 hommes
Brest <u>68</u> vaisseaux	<u>4,876</u> canons	<u>30,118</u> hommes
90	6,428	40,348

vaisseaux	canons	hommes
94	6,446	40,960
<u>90</u>	<u>6,428</u>	<u>40,348</u>

Partant: 4 de plus	18 de plus	612 de plus.
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'Est aussy à remarquer que dans l'estat des vaisseaux de Brest, il en restoit alors 2 dans le port, savoir *Le St. Louis* et *L'Eole* nommez dans l'estat général, ce qui fait juger qu'ils ont esté joints aux 68 avant leur départ. Ainsy c'est 70 de Brest, qui avec les 22 de Toulon font 92. A quoy ajoûtant *Le Pelican* et *Le Superbe* nommez dans l'estat général, qui ne se trouvent point dans les deux etatz particuliers, et qui apparemment ont esté ajoûtez depuis qu'on les a envoyez, on trouvera en tout 94 vaisseaux de ligne.

'Noter que dans le calcul des canons et des hommes on n'a çompris que ceux des gros vaisseaux.

'Il faut encore remarquer qu'apparemment le copiste de l'estat de Brest s'est trompé dans le nom de 2 vaisseaux qui y sont employez, savoir *Le Courier*, nommé *Le Laurier* dans l'estat général, et *Le Castrigon*, nommé *Le Castillan* dans l'estat général.

‘Voilà tout ce qu’on a pû remarquer par la verification des deux etatz particuliers avec l’estat général.’

2pp. *French. In the hand of Legoux.*

J10. [1693, after July 19.] Battle of Landen. ‘Relation du combat, donné le mécredy 29e. juillet 1693 au village de Vange, scitué entre Tillemont, Leewe, ou Loo et Landem [*sic*], entre l’armée du Roy et celle de Monsieur le Prince d’Orange.’ ‘Monsieur le Prince d’Orange étoit campé entre les ruisseaux de Landen et de la Geette, sa droite à Vange où étoit le quartier de Monsieur le Duc de Bavière, et sa gauche vers Loo. Le quartier du Prince d’Orange étoit à Néerhespen.

‘Monsieur de Luxembourg ayant remarqué que le flanc droit de l’ennemy estoit découvert, en passant le Jar, et les ruisseaux de Cortil et de Landen à leur source, et sachant qu’outre les détachements que l’ennemy avoit faits pour la Flandre, il avoit encore envoyé la veille dix bataillons à Liège, résolut de marcher à luy. Apres avoir reconnu le 26e. luy mesme les lignes de Liège, qui furent trouvées par luy et par tous les officiers généraux si bonnes par leur situation, par les fortz qu’ils y ont faitz, et 27 bataillons et 2,000 chevaux qui étoit dedans, il se resolut donc, ne pouvant les forcer, de marcher à l’ennemy.

‘Pour le mieux tromper, il fit commander à l’ordre le 26e. 600 fascines par bataillons, et 300 par escadrons, afin de persuader à son armée et à l’ennemy, par le bruit qui s’en répandroit, que c’étoit pour attaquer les lignes de Liège. Il délibéra de partir de son camp à l’entrée de la nuit du 27e. à la sourdine pour s’approcher de l’ennemy. Mais il fit tant de pluye, par orages, que la difficulté de mener son canon, jointe à la peine de la marche d’une armée par un si vilain temps, et une nuit fort noire, luy fit différer la marche au 28e. du matin.

‘Il décampa à 3 heures à l’ordinaire, se mit en marche sur 6 colonnes, marcha sans bruit, fit passer les ruisseaux à leur source, à la réserve du Jar, que partie de l’armée passa à Orenille, ou grand et petit Ha, et à Viaren, et a la source. La teste de l’armée, et la personne de Monsieur de Luxembourg, arrivèrent à 3 heures apres midy, à la veuë du camp de l’ennemy, distant d’une demie lieue, sans que le Prince d’Orange eust eû aucun avis de sa marche.

‘À mesure que les troupes arrivoyent, le général, assisté de Messieurs les Princes, leur faisoit prendre des postes dans les vilages de Landen et de Ste. Gertruden-Landen, pour occuper les endroits les plus voisins de l’ennemy. Toutes les troupes couchèrent devant l’ennemy en la manière qu’elles arrivoyent; c’est à dire celles qui arrivèrent la nuit, car les dernières ne furent arrivées qu’à minuit. Il n’y avoit que les gardes du camp et ce qui étoit arrivé [*sic*] de bonne heure en bataille.

‘Monsieur le Prince d’Orange, voyant que cela étoit sérieux, profita de l’obscurité pour faire quantité de ponts sur la Geette, assez près de Loo, ou Leewe, où il fit passer les bagages toute la nuit, et tout l’attirail embarrassant. Il fit en mesme temps poster un gros d’infanterie dans les hayes, audelà de ses ponts, pour faciliter sa retraite en cas de besoin. Il fit aussy entourer toutes les hayes du village de Vange d’un bon parapet, qui estoit flanqué en des endroits, et fit tirer un retranchement du mesme vilage par la teste de son camp, aux endroits par où la cavallerie pouvoit s’aborder, jusques aupres d’un petit bois qui tenoit au ruisseau de Landen. Ainsy tout son camp étoit imprenable à la cavallerie.

‘Comme il y avoit apparence qu’il se retireroit la nuit, toute nostre armée en étoit persuadée. Cependant, le jour du 29e. se développant nous les montra fort bien en bataille derrière leurs retranchements, qui étoit une petite hauteur dominante sur nostre plaine. Monsieur de Luxembourg, ayant reconnu leur situation, bien fasché du grand travail que l’ennemy avoit fait dans une nuit, contre toute sorte d’apparence et d’usage, vid pourtant que les choses étoient trop avancées pour s’en pouvoir dédire, et qu’il seroit honteux aux armes du Roy de se retirer sans rien faire. C’est pourquoy il disposa 24 bataillons à sa gauche pour attaquer le mesme vilage de Vange, parce qu’il vid bien qu’il n’y avoit que cette attaque là qui pust découvrir le flanc ennemy, et faciliter le passage du retranchement pour nostre cavallerie.

‘Il mit 4 brigades d’infanterie à la teste du petit bois qui étoit à nostre droite, et qui avoisinoit la ravine des ennemis, qui aboutissoit pres de là, venant du centre de la ligne des ennemis. Il mit une ligne de cavallerie de la maison du Roy en face de l’ennemy, entre nos deux postes de droite et de gauche d’infanterie. Derriere cette ligne il en mit une d’infanterie de la brigade des gardes, puis une seconde de la maison du Roy, puis une d’infanterie, afin qu’en avançant il pust trouver de l’infanterie et de la cavallerie, selon qu’il en auroit besoin pour étendre la ligne. Le reste étoit en bataille derrière, parce que le front étoit fort étroit. Il fit étendre 22 bataillons en deux lignes sur la gauche de tout, pour attaquer le vilage de Vange.

‘Il comptoit que des que cette attaque commenceroit, le centre et la droite agiroient. Mais Monsieur le Prince de Conty et Monsieur le Mareschal de Villeroi, ayant tres prudemment remarque que des que leur cavallerie s’avanceroit au deçà du petit bois qui étoit sur leur flanc, toute la ligne des ennemis pouroit leur tomber sur leur flanc, envoyèrent le représenter à Monsieur de Luxembourg et luy dire qu’ils attendroient de nouveaux ordres de luy pour agir. Cependant le vilage de Vange fut attaqué, pris et les ennemis chassés, qui vinrent une demie heure apres attaquer les nostres, et les en chassèrent.

‘Monsieur de Luxembourg et le Prince d’Orange, voyant que ce vilage étoit

capital pour chaque party, mirent tous leurs efforts à l'ataquer et à le défendre. Monsieur de Luxembourg le fit r'attaquer par 16 bataillons, et Monsieur le Duc à la teste, qui chassèrent les ennemis, et se rendirent maistres du village; mais une demie heure apres, ils en furent rechassez. Monsieur de Luxembourg fit venir la brigade des gardes et celle de Vermandois, commandée par Monsieur de Charost, et fit tout de nouveau, par ces brigades, rattaquer le vilage, qu'ils emportèrent de vigueur, et s'y maintinrent malgré deux attaques formidables que leur firent les ennemis. Il est vray que des qu'ils se furent postez à la teste des hayes ils furent joints et soutenus par les débris des troupes qui en avoyent esté chassées.

'Après quoy Monsieur le Prince de Conty, voyant toute l'infanterie engagée, et qu'il falloit faire passer de la cavallerie, en alla chercher, et y marcha à la teste de 5 ou 6 escadrons, qui ensuite furent suivis par d'autres. La maison du Roy entra d'un autre costé, avec encore d'autres brigades de cavallerie. Des qu'ils furent entrez dans les retranchements des ennemis, on chargea, avec peu d'escadrons, toute leur ligne, et comme elle étoit beaucoup plus longue, elle débordoit, et prit quelques uns de nos escadrons en flanc. Ce qui fit faire une manoeuvre chancelante à quelques uns. Monsieur le Duc de Chartres, qui étoit à leur teste, fut obligé de suivre le torrent, et faillit à estre pris, ayant esté saisy par son justaucorps; mais il fut bientost secouru par les gens qui étoient pres de sa personne.

'Le Prince d'Orange, voyant ses retranchements forcez, songea à la retraite; ce qui luy étoit aisé en retirant ses troupes sur la gauche, parce qu'on ne les pousoit que par leur droite. Celles-cy, qui étoient poussées en desordre, alloyent à toutes jambes passer les ponts, à la faveur de l'infanterie qui étoit postée de l'autre costé, si bien que Monsieur de Luxembourg, le suivant de fort pres, et s'étant aperceû que leurs pontz étoient fort gardez, ne jugea pas á propos de faire approcher les troupes de ces hayes, acause que cela n'auroit servy qu'à faire tuer bien des gens, dont le profit auroit esté médiocre.

'Le Prince d'Orange a abandonné tout son canon, et le champ de bataille. Il y a eû bien des gens de tuez de part et d'autre.'

5pp. *French. In the hand of Legoux. Endorsed by Nottingham: 'French relation of the battle in Flanders. July 19/29 [16] 93'.*

K. LETTERS AND PAPERS RECEIVED FROM SIR PATIENCE WARD

K1. 1691, May [16/] 26. St. Martin [de Ré] . 'Mon capitaine, je vous ay écrit diverses fois sans recevoir de vos lettres, dont je me passe pourveu que je sache que vos affaires aillent bien. Je vous ay dit par ma dernière tout ce qui se passe dans nos provinces et dans nôtre isle [Isle de Ré]*, où l'on prend tout le monde de force jusques aux meuniers et sauniers, pour les embarquer sur les navires de guerre, sur lesquels on n'a jamais veu de si mechans équipages. Je passay dernièrement à bord de Monsieur de Villette [chef d'escadre] et autres qui étoient à l'Isle d'Ay [isle entre Oleron et La Rochelle], comme je venois de Rochefort avec ma barque. Je n'ay jamais veu de si miserables équipages, mais de beaux navires et bien arméz! Celuy de Monsieur Vilette est tout neuf, monté de 96 canons. Tous les navires de Rochefort sont partis (a la référence de 4) à mesure qu'ilz étoient pretz, les uns apres les autres, et si les Anglois, qui font tant les fiers, avoient uzé de prévoyance ilz les auroient presque tous pris, mettant une escadre à croizer à la hauteur de Bel-Isle.

'La flotte d'Irlande est partie de ce dernier lieu depuis 3 semaines, aiant prés de 200 voiles conduites par 28 navires de guerre et un brûlot, qui s'y rendront sans obstacle apparamment! Car le Prince d'Orange est trahy de toutes partz, et s'il ne fait couper des têtes, pendre et rouer, il ne sera jamais de repos. Les navires anglois viennent impunement en France avec toutes sortes de contrebande.

'Si les Anglois savoient biens leurs interetz, ilz auroient tenu une escadre de leurs navires de guerre depuis la hauteur de Bel-Isle jusquez a cella de Brest. Il ne seroit pas passé un navire qu'ilz ne l'eussent veu et auroient empesché le secours d'Irlande, qui leur sera tres fatal, car il fera durer la guerre en ce pays là.

'Les galeres ne vous feront pas de mal cette campagne. Elles restent dans la riviere de Rouen, et lon en a envoyé les chiourmes en Provence.

'On travaille à Brest pour mettre en etat le reste des navires, mais quelque chose que l'on face, l'armée navale ne sera pas si forte que la dernière campagne, par le manque de matelotz. Le gros de l'armée sera à Brest. On parle quelle sera de 80 navires.

'Il partit hier de cette rade une flote de 40 navires suédois et danois, conduitz par deux navires de guerre de Suede! S'ilz rencontrent l'armée angloise, ilz passeront peutêtre avec peine.

*These and the other words in square brackets are in the margin in the manuscript.

‘Nous sommes en cette isle en toute tranquillité, comme si nous estions en pleine paix! Mais le menu peuple ne laisse pas de souffrir beaucoup de misere, et si le blé étoit cher, le tiers du menu peuple iroit demander l’aumone à la grande terre! Car les sels et les vins sont à un prix miserable.

‘On ne travaille plus aux travaux de l’Isle, ce qui faisoit valloir les denrées. Tous les ouvriers sont allés à La Rochelle où l’on continue les fortifications.

‘Monsieur de Miraumont arrive aujourd’huy de Paris. On ne sait s’il n’aura point quelque ordre de la cour pour faire revivre les travaux au fort du Martray, comme on en parloit dernièrement. Sans Monsieur le Comte d’Aubarède nôtre gouverneur, qui protege les habitans, nous ne pourrions vivre. On prend partout les gens par force pour servir dans les troupes de terre, puis qu’on n’en peut plus avoir de bonne volonté.

‘Un homme de ce lieu qui vient de La Rochelle dit qu’il y avoit nouvelle que nôtre flote d’Irlande estoit arrivée à Galloway sans aucune rencontre le 9e. de ce mois. Ou sont donc vos flottes formidables, qui laissent tout passer ce que va en ce royaume la? Monsieur le Comte d’Estrées, qui doit conduire une escadre de 12 ou 15 navires de Thoulon a Brest, passera tout de même sans obstacle. Si on n’étoit pas assuré de vos commandans on n’iroit pas si hardiment à la besogne que l’on fait de tous côtez. Mais on est bien assuré de tous vos commandantz, et nous avons des gens qui conferent souvent avec eux pour savoir tout ce qui se passe et prendre des mesures pour ce [*sic*] trouver à une hauteur quand nos navires passent à l’autre. Les Anglois ne sont plus Anglois, ils sont devenus pires que les Irlandois.

‘Voila le Roy d’Angleterre en Hollande, ce qui a surpris bien du monde. Ce prince se risque comme un soudrille pour la liberté de la nation angloise, qui ne sent point cela. Dieu luy donne plus de prosperité par terre qu’il n’en a eu par mer. On fait de grands mouvemens en Flandres pour le faire tomber en quelque piège, car on en veut plus à sa personne qu’à son état, et s’il ne prend garde à luy, on introduira des scelerats dans son armée pour se défaire de luy au premier combat où il se trouvera.

‘On a si peur des Anglois à St. Malo que les gens riches envoient leurs meilleurs effetz à Rennes, pour les mettre en seureté. Toutes les troupes de la province y marchent, et la noblesse a ordre de se tenir prête à y aller au premier commandement du gouverneur.

‘On équipe et fait bâtir des frégates à Bayonne pour courir la coste d’Espagne, afin d’interrompre le negoce des Anglois et Hollandois, puis qu’ilz se conservent si mal avec des montagnes de navires. Ilz donnent des convois de gueux à des flottes de marchands si considerables. Que diable font tous vos navires de guerre dans la Manche, quilz ne sortent hors à venir bloquer Brest? Il y a 150 navires à Brest chargéz de vins et eau de vie pour la

Manche qui ont été depouillés de leurs équipages, qu'on a fait aller sur les navires du convoi d'Irlande, et qu'on leur rendra à leur retour.

'Nous n'avons aucunes nouvelles de l'Amerique; faites nous part de ce que vous en apprendrez chez vous.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed as received from Sir Patience Ward 4 June.*

K2. 1691, June [16/] 26. Rochelle [*carefully obliterated*]. 'Nous sommes à present icy comme dans un desert. Tous les navires du Roy qui y étoient en sont sortis pour se rendre au gros de l'armée, qui se devoit faire à Bell-Isle, où s'estoit randue l'escadre des 25 navires qui avoient escorté le secours d'Irlande et ou ceux de Brest devoient les venir joindre. Mais depuis que l'on a seu que vos armées estoient en mer, on n'a pas cru l'armée en seureté dans une rade comme cella la, entre deux terres, et on les a fait aller à Brest, où nous apprenons par ce dernier courrier qu'ilz y sont bien arrivéz et jointz avec les autres, qui font ensemble dans la baye de Brest 70 navires de ligne. Deux autres navires du Port Louis les doivent aller joindre et puis mettront en mer avec ordres d'aller chercher les vôtres. L'on verra dans peu s'il se rencontreront et feront mieux que l'année derniere, car on public que ny les uns ny les autres ne firent rien qui vaille, les uns dans l'attaque, et les autres dans la défence. Tous nos capitaines à leur retour dans ce port n'étoient pas d'accord là dessus, les uns blâmant Torrington, et les autres admirans sa manoeuvre qui sauva votre armée. Vous avez perdu un bon general, que Tromp. Je ne sai si on en trouverra un assez capable de commander une si grosse flotte. Le tens nous l'apprendrà. Les Anglois savent mal prendre leurs avantages, car si nos François avoient été en leur place, il ne seroit pas retourné un navire d'Irlande en France, n'y passé un navire d'icy à Brest. Il ne falloit que 40 navires à croiser entre Brest et Bel-Isle pour prendre tous les navires partis de ce port, qui sont alléz à Brest 2, 3 et 4 à la fois. Il faut quil y ait encore bien des malintentionnéz chez vous, qui donnent des avis de tout ce qui se passe, autrement on ne se seroit pas risqué à envoyer la flote en Irlande, car on étoit bien assuré de ne trouver aucun obstacle. On ne conte plus sur les 10 ou 12 navires qui sont à Dunquerque pour venir joindre l'armée, parce que vos vaisseaux sont entredeux. Ils ont ordre de sortir des qu'ils apprendront que votre flotte aura sorti le Canal (au moins si elle en sort) et votre escadre qui les bloque a bien malfait d'avoir laissé sortir des frégates de guerre, qui ont été prendre une flotte entiere sortie de Hull, et encore plus den avoir laissé rentrer bonne partie à leur veüe.

'Le Prince d'Orange se tue à mettre ordre à tout, mais il a affaire à d'étranges têtes, sa clemence le perdra, ayant encore pardonné à Preston. Les Alliéz prennent de si mechantes mesures dans tous leurs desseins que le Roy les battra toûjours par tout. Ils s'estoient forméz un fantôme de l'acculler dans

ses terres, et il va par tout les attaquer chez eux. Il va à la veüe de leur armée bombarder Liège, sans aucun obstacle. Il prend les villes du Duc de Savoye l'une apres l'autre, sans qu'on luy donne du secours, au préjudice de tout ce qu'on luy avoit promis. C'étoit là le vray endroit pour acculler la France, car Pignerol et Casal se seroient randus la corde au col, sans les attaquer. Il a envoyé un mal habille homme en Suisse (cest Cox) qui a gâté toutes les affaires. Les Suisses et nôtre ambassadeur, par le moyen de nôtre argent, ce [sic] sont jouëz de luy, et n'y a rien fait que perdre la réputation de son maître. On écrit de l'armée de Piémont que l'on va assiéger Turin et chasser le Duc de Savoye de son pais, ou s'en rendre les maîtres, et ensuite du Milanois qui tremble déjà. Si on eust entré dans le Daupiné avec seulement une bonne armée de 30 mille hommes, elle auroit grossi dans un mois de plus de 50 mille et attiré toutes les forces d'Allemagne et de Flandres de ce côté là, dont on craint extremement l'attaque, à cause du grand nombre de malcontents qui y sont. Ceux de Lion envoioient déjà leurs meilleurs effets jusques vers Paris. C'est une erreur aux Alliez de croire epuizer la France d'argent; le Roy a tant de moyens extraordinaires a créer des charges, qu'il en trouve tant qu'il veut! n'ayant encore fait de taxe sur les peuples que les charges ordinaires de ses fermes. Il y a tant de misere et de miserables en France qu'on trouve asséz de gens pour l'armée de terre. Il n'y a que les mattelotz qui nous manquent. Il y a bien asséz de gens sur les navires de guerre, mais la moitié ne vallent rien, estant ou des laboureurs ou gens de métier, qui n'ont jamais veu la mer, qu'on a pris de force, et lesquels, peut-être, dans un combat, feront plus de mal que de bien dans un navire. L'argent abonde partout. On fait des travaux en Oleron et La Rochelle (ou j'étois il y a 8 jours pour vôtre affaire) que les gens du métier jugent fort inutiles, et qu'on pourroit employer cet argent plus utilement! Cela fait que le Trésorier de la Marine ne paye plus personne des vieilles ordonnances.

'Il y a toujours quelqu'un des Alliez qui tire de l'arriere pour envoyer ses troupes au rendezvous, et cela par le moyen de l'argent qu'on leur donne. S'ils ne font quelques exploitz avantageux cette campagne, par mer et par terre, ils n'ont qu'à demander la paix la prochaine, car on assure de Paris que les fons pour les dépenses sont prêts. Le Roy est admirablement bien servi par ces ministres et par luy-même, qui prend connoissance jusques aux moindres choses.

'Il est arrivé à La Rochelle 7 ou 8 navires des Isles de l'Amerique partis de la Gardeloupe et Martinique le 21 et 22 avril, a ce que disent les mattelotz venus icy, qui disent quil y avoit 38 a 40 navires et barques angloises devant la Gardeloupe, sortis de la Barbades, chargéz de monde, à dessein de prendre cette isle. Mais on ne croit pas qu'ilz osent attaquer la Martinique.

'On a aussi des nouvelles de la côte de St. Domingo par des navires arrivez à Nantes et St. Malo. Ils disent que les Espagnols, apres avoir pillé le Cap, et

bruslé une partie, sen sont retirez, et que les habitans, sauvez de ce desordre, commençoient à y retourner; que 3 navires de La Rochelle, abordant l'Isle, ont été pris par des armateurs de Jamaica.

'On travaille icy tous les jours à la construction des navires. On dit que ceux qui sont sur l'âtelier sont destinéz pour les Isles, au mois d'octobre; qu'il y aura des matelots du désarmement de la grande flotte, car à present il est impossible d'en trouver; aucun navire marchand n'en peut avoir pour aller hors le royaume.

'Il y a long-tems que les Maloüins n'ont fait des prises. On a vandu il y a 8 jours à La Rochelle toutes les laines des prises angloises à 21 sols la livre, l'une portant lautre.

'Vos amis sont en tranquillité à present, on les laisse vivre dans leurs libertéz. Dieu veuille que cela continüe. Les vins et eaux de vie sont toujours à rien. Ils ont pourtant monté à Cognac de 23 a 30 livres depuis la gelée que la vigne a souffert. Il y aura pourtant assez de vins, par le peu de vins qui se chargent en Charente, ou nous ne voyons plus venir de navires etrangers. Monsieur de Luxemburg attend son avantage pour attaquer le Prince d'Orange; nous sommes a tout moment dans l'atente de quelque grand carnage.'

4pp. *French. Unsigned. With a blank sheet endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 6 July.*

K3. [1691, before July 17]. 'Projét pour entretenir un commerce secret en France, sans faire aucune dépence.' 'Qu'on donne un passeport d'Angleterre, en bonne forme, pour six mois, ou un an! pour un navire neutre, pour aller en France avec du charbon, du plon [in the margin: pour mieux couvrir le jeu en France], de la coperoze, etc. J'obtiendray aussi tôt un passeport de France.

'Mais comme on ne donne, là, ces passeportz qu'à condition de récharger les navires de marchandizes de France, c'est un préalable nécessaire qu'on m'accorde, aussi, la liberté de faire décharger ses marchandizes la a Dublin, en les entrant comme venant de St. Sebastian.

'Il faut aussi faire obtenir des passeportz d'Espagne et d'Hollande, afin que ce vaisseau aille en toute liberté.

'On établira sur ce vaisseau un homme intelligent qui sera propre au dessein qu'on a; apparamment, de s'instruire a fons de l'estat du royaume en general et des peuples en particulier, tandis que nos correspondans le déchargeront et réchargeront.

'On conduira l'affaire fort secretement et avec toute l'abileté possible, les gens qu'on a, de dela, étans tres adroitiz et tres bien intentionnéz.

‘Ce vaisseau pourra ainsi faire plusieurs voiage, tantôt dans un port, tantôt dans l’autre, et ces voiage ne seront pas longs, car on le dechargera de dela en 2 jours et en 2 autres on le rechargera.

‘De cette maniere on recompensera mes correspondans de dela la mer sans rien debourcer icy, et on les encouragera à s’étudier de plus en plus a nous donner de bonnes intelligences, tant que la guerre durera.’ [In the margin against this paragraph: ‘Il y a deux ans qu’ilz donnent des intelligences icy, et qu’ilz entretiennent des gens en divers lieux de France pour mieux savoir ce qui sy fait.’]

1p. *French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 17 July 1691.*

K4. 1691, [July 26/] Aug. 5. ‘Il n’y aura que le tiers ou quart de vendange cette année, de ce qu’il y avoit la precedente. Cela sera general non seulement en Aulnix mais aussi en Xaintonge et vers Cognac. La misere est grande en l’Isle de Ré et Aulnix et le sera bien d’avantage, maintenant que la recolte des bléz ne rend que la demie de l’année derniere. Il y a toujours pourtant quelques Danois, qui font valoir les eaux de vie à 36 livres la barrique.

‘Nous attandons, bien impatientment, des nouvelles de nôtre flotte. Des gens arrivez icy ce matin de Brest dizem que partie de la flotte des ennemis a paru devant ce lieu là; et qu’on croioit la nôtre à 30 lieues au ouest, en mer. Quelle a pris d’une flotte de marchandz anglois qui alloient au Barbade (de 18 à 20 voilles) 6 d’entr’eux, et les deux convoys, l’un de 44 canons, qui s’est battu en furieux, et l’autre de 16. Le reste s’est sauvé. On dit qu’il y a beaucoup de poudre en ces navires pris. Un de nos vaisseaux de guerre a aussi pris un navire, richement chargé à Londres pour Lixboa.

‘Nous avons divers vaisseaux de guerre et des corsaires de Bayonne qui croizent depuis ce port la jusques au Cap de Finisterre le long de la côte. Donnez vous garde d’y négotier, car il est impossible que rien échappe, à moins qu’on n’envoye 6 ou 7 bonnes frégates pour les chasser. Ces navires là et ces corsaires n’ont que de mauvais equipages, les bons matelotz estant avec la grande armée.

‘Tous les navires de guerre qui valloient quelque chose du port de Rochefort en sont sortis.

‘Par les navires venus, depuis peu, d’Irlande icy on a débarqué nombre de François et Danois, deserteurs de l’armée du Prince d’Orange, qui dizem qu’ilz manquoient de paye, et étoient mal nourris. Ils dizem que les Irlandois sont des coquins et des lâches. Il en a passé plus de 400 de ces Irlandois sur les vaisseaux arrivéz à Nantes, avec nombre de femmes, qu’y [*sic*] dizem que St. Ruth brûle tout ce qu’il ne peut garder pour s’embarquer en suite, et abandonner les Irlandois aux soldatz du Prince d’Orange.

'On se propoze a la cour, selon ce que j'entens parler, d'envoyer apres le desarmement de l'armée navale un grand secours aux Isles de l'Amerique, de munitions, navires et hommes, et pour cét effet on bârit à Rochefort des galiottes a jetter des bombes, et des barques propre à-faire dessente. On fait un nombre incroyable de biscuit a La Rochelle et à Rochefort, pour le dessein des Isles.

'On attend icy de jour en jour d'apprendre quelque bataille ou par mer ou par terre; elle coutéra cher á celuy qui perdra, et ce sera un grand carnage. Dieu veuille épargner l'effusion du sang humain.

'J'estois hier avec des officiers de nôtre garnison, qui disoient que nos affaires alloient fort mal en Piémont, où le Duc de Savoye réçoit tous les jours du secours d'Allemagne, que la maladie est grande dans nôtre armée, et qu'on craint qu'apres l'arrivée du Duc de Bavière ilz ne chassent Monsieur Cattinat du Piémont! que l'on n'entre, ainsy, dans le Dauphiné, et qu'on fortifie Grenoble.

'La mort de Monsieur de Louvois ne laissera pas d'apporter du retardement aux affaires, quoy que le Roy y travaille luy-même avec une grande application.

'Voicy cy joint les nouvelles que j'ay receues de la Gardeloupe par un vaisseau qui s'est échappé des Anglois le 2e. juin. On ne sait encore quelle résolution aura pris la flotte angloize. Il s'attand tous les jours un nombre de vaisseaux de ces isles qui nous en dirront quelque chose.

'Ilz ont ruiné toute la Basseterre de la Gardeloupe, bruslé plus de 250 habitations et 80 sucreries avec le bourg principal de l'isle. Ilz se sont amusez a piller, au lieu de prendre le fort, et faire ensuite le pillage à leur aise; ces gens la manquent de bonnes têtes pour leurs expéditions. Leur General Codrington n'est pas aimé. On dit qu'ilz ont fait pendre 30 habitans de Marie-Galante sans qu'on sache le sujet.'

P.S. 'Si les 20 navires anglois qui sont venus devant Brest fussent venus avec pavillon blanc, ilz prenoient une flotte entière de navires et 3 navires de guerre qui les convoioient en ces rades! Mais ilz sont venus avec leurs pavillons anglois arboréz, de sorte que nos navires rentrèrent tous, et les 3 convoys aussy; l'un de ces convoy[s] étoit si pres d'eux (c'est Monsieur de la Clocheterie) qu'un coup de canon luy jetta bas son mats de hune, mais il étoit si prés de terre qu'il rentra. Ilz pouvoient s'interpozer entr'eux et la terre aisement, car nos navires les prénoient pour un détachement de nôtre armée navale.'

4pp. *French.*

Enclosing:

K4(1). 1691, May [20/] 30. Gardeloupe. 'Quand les derniers navires partirent d'icy, les Anglois estois a Marigalante, ou ils ce sont assemblé au nombre de 42 voilles, savoir 10 gros navire et 12 autre de diverces grandur en guerre, et 20 caché barque

et brigantins. Ils ont demuré 15 jours a Marigalante. Apres l'avoir prisee et pillée, en suite sont venus en nostre rade de la Basseterre, a la portée dun pistolet de terre, ou ils ont tiré 8 a 900 coups de canons avant d'oser mettre pié a terre. Que deux jours apres entre lancé a la barque et les agaiaux, ou ils nous fut impossible de defendre la dessantes par la difficulté du terrain. Ainsy ils l'ont faittes avec facilitté, et la mesme route quil faisoient par terre, leurs navire la faisoient par mer, quy leur a facilitté de ce rendre maistre de la Basseterre, attandus que nous avions la plus grande partié de nostre monde dans les forteresses et faisant leur marche.

'Ils ont brulle generalmente par tout. Nous avons mis 300 hommes dans le fort, et le reste gardoit la campagne. Ils ont canonnez et bombardé nostre fort et un caullier [cavalier] que nous avions au pres pandan 3 semaines consecutives de nos canons, mesme de 18 livres de balle, quil ont transporté en un lieu comode a demy portées de fusil du fort et cavallier, de maniere quil ont destruit entierement nostre cavallier, et mis hors destat de tenir.

'Mais comme nous avons avis de l'arrivée de Monsieur du Casse a la Martinique, et que Monsieur Dairagny promettoit de nous secourir, cela nous donnoit du courages, de sortes que Monsieur le General est arrivé en cette ville aveq un cecours [secours] de 700 hommes. Comme les Englois en ont heu cognoissance ils ce sont tous rembarques dans une nuit et aveq tant de precipittation quil ont laissé leur mortier et bonnes partie de leur buttin. Ils ont entierement ruiné depuis lislet a Gouiabec jusque a la riviere du Galions, la ville de la Basseterre entierement brullée. Monsieur le General est venus en personne et a mouillé a la Grandeterre a lislet a Gousier [Gosier].

'Comme il la seu avant destre rendu a la Basseterre que les Englois avoist levé le siege, il cest rembarqué pour retourner a la Martinique. Il est party y a 30 hures, et l'armée engloise cest trouve a 4 lieux avaux le vent de luy, et mesme on donne cache [chasse], au porteur de la presante quy sen alloit prendre convoy a la Martinique, et l'ont poursuivy jusques dans les caies de Ste. Marie. Nous aprehandons que quelqu'un de nos navires aiant tombé entre leurs mains, attendus qua la pointe du jour nous entendus nombre de coups de canons. Lennemy a continué de gagner le vent, cepandans nous navons point veu de tout le jour nostre flotte. Nous esperons quil auront doublé au vent la Dominique et quil lauront passé.

'La missere est grande icy, naiant aucuns vivres. Ceux quy avoist caches leurs effets en terre les ont presque tous perdu, les ennemy les ai[a]nt tro[u]vé.

'Nous avons 30 hommes tues et autant de blesses, et nous avons tué a lennemys environ 150 hommes et autant de blesses, et ils ont perdu a la prise de Marigalante 27 hommes. Les Englois sont encore devant la Basseterre, quy empeschent ce porteur de sortir. Il ont canonné le *Victorieux Joseph* de Nantes, qui estoit eschoué dan[s] les Saintes, ou lon travaille a le tirer sans domages.'

1½ pp. *French.*

K5. 1691, Aug. [16/] 26. 'On prepare toujours, comme je vous ay dit par ma derniere, un grand secours pour les Isles de l'Amerique, tant de provizons de bouche que munitions de guerre. Tous les boullangers de La Rochelle et de Rochefort sont generalement occupéz a faire du biscuit pour en r'emplir 2 a 3,000 barriques. On veut faire autant de barrilz de farines, autant de boeuf et lards, et 1,000 barrilz de poudre de 100 livres piece des canons, des bouletz, et des bombes, avec divers navires de guerre, dont on ne

sait pas encore le nombre, ny les forces. Il y en a déjà deux de 40 pieces de canon qui n'ont jamais été à la mer, et on fait demeurer tous les navires marchands qui étoient dans nôtre rade et de Chef de Baye, pretz à partir pour les Isles, afin de n'aller qu'avec le convoi. On a donné le rendez-vous au 10e. septembre, mais cela ira bien jusques à la fin. Je croi même qu'on attendra que nôtre armée navalle soit r'entrée en nos portz.

'Nous eûmes avis jeudy de Brest quelle arrivà en Camaret le 16e. de ce mois, quelle prend des rafraichissemens et de l'eau pour se mettre en mer. On mande aussy que la vôtre a fait son possible pour gagner le vent sur la nôtre, mais que nos gens ont si bien manœuvré qu'il leur a été impossible! Et un Suédois arrivé icy d'hier dit avoir laissé vôtre flotte il y a 4 jours devant Plimouth, d'environ 135 navires, faisant voile vers Torbay ou Portland. Nous saurons bien tôt si elle a quelque dessein. Je ne croi pas que la nôtre s'éloigne de Brest.

'Il nous est arrivé depuis 8 jours huit navires de la Martinique qui confirment que les Anglois se sont retirez de la Guadeloupe en hâte, sans attendre d'être attaquez, voiant arriver Monsieur d'Eragny avec 8 méchans navires dont 4 étoient marchands. Le commandant des navires anglois est ou un traître, ou un coquin, car sans aucune risque il auroit détruit Monsieur d'Eragny et sa flotte s'il l'eût attaqué, d'autant plus que le plus fort des navires du Roy n'avoit que 40 canons, et les equipages de deux d'entreux si malades et hors de service que la pluspart ont servi de curée [quarry] aux poissons.

'Vous aurez appriz aussy qu'il nous est arrivé 6 navires des Indes Orientales au Port Louis, richement chargéz, et sans rien r'encontrer. Vos vaisseaux ne sont pas si heureux! Voila deux frégates de St. Malo qui ont pris encore 3 navires de ceux de la flotte des Barbados, échappéz à nôtre armée navalle, qu'ilz ont mené à St. Malo, chargez de provisions et autres choses propres pour l'Amerique! Et une petite cache allant de Boston à Lixbone.

'On prend icy et aux environs les enfans de divers particuliers qu'on envoie par force aux Jesuistes à Poitiers, appuyéz de l'intendant, ou on leur fait payer de grosses pensions, qu'ilz taxent eux-mêmes. On desole les peres et les meres par ce cruel procédé.'

4pp. *French.*

K6. 1691, [Aug. 23/] Sept. 2. Rochefort. 'Je suis depuis peu venu en cette ville pour m'informer de ce qui s'y passoit. On y travaille jour et nuit a des galiottes a jeter des bombes, a construire nombre de chaloupes pour faire une dessente danz un besoin. On a ordonné a 12 navires de se detacher de l'armée et se rendre icy incessamment pour prendre leurs vivres, qu'on travaille journallement à La Rochelle à rendre prêts. On embarquera sur ces

vaisseaux 8 mortiers, 3,000 bombes, nombre de canons, un nombre infiny de grenades et bouletz à canon avec des bombardiers, cent milliers de poudre et quelques troupes. Le bruit court, et fort grand, que c'est pour bombarder la Barbade, et prendre tous les navires qu'on trouvera en rade. Il y a même deux bruslotz pour servir en cas de resistance de la part des navires de guerre anglois qui ont fait dessente à la Gardeloupe s'ilz demeurent la jusques a ce tens la.

'On mande de Brest qu'il y est arrivé un courrier de la cour qui fait injonction à Monsieur de Tourville de plus remettre en mer avec l'armée navalle mais de détacher 30 des navires les plus legers pour aller en Irlande. On ne sait si c'est pour y porter des vivres et des officiers, ou pour rapporter ceux qui y sont, avec tous les Irlandois qui voudront prendre party pour venir servir en France.

'25 a 30 des gros navires de l'armée doivent venir desarmer icy, et on prépare d'éja toutes les chattes et barques pour aller prendre leurs canons des qu'ils seront arrivéz à l'Isle d'Ays, et on a mandé tous les charpentiers des provinces voisines pour se rendre icy, pour travailler a mettre cez navires en état, des qu'ilz seront dans le port.

'Il y a deux navires neufs sur le chantier, de 80 canons chacun, qu'on veut rendre prêt a servir au mois de mars prochain.

'Il y a ordre de faire 160 canons neufs de 36 livres de balle et de réfondre pour cét effet tous les petis qui se trouverront sur les navires du Roy au desarmement jusques aux canons de 24 livres, parce qu'on fait des canons de fer jusques a ce calibre la pour garnir les hautz rangs.

'Il y a un nommé Aubert en Hollande qui est une créature du consul françois, Chabert, qui y residoit cy devant, lequel mande icy par chaque ordinaire tout ce qui se passe de plus secret dans les conseils à la Haye. On feroit bien d'y prendre garde. Je croy que cét homme la est d'Anvers.

'Il semble qu'on veuille faire de nouvelles peines aux nouveaux convertis, car outres les enfans qu'on enleve aux peres et aux meres d'autorité, et qu'on met dans des maisons Jesuitiques, il y a 3 scellerats à La Rochelle qui ont des archers a leur dévotion, qui font des violences inouyes à la campagne chez les particuliers nouveaux convertis, brizant et enfoncent [*sic*] les portes, et vollent tout sans que personne oze rien dire, parce qu'ilz sont protegez de Monsieur l'Intendant, qui est un bigot outré, quoi que d'ailleurs homme d'esprit.

'On travaille de nouveau aux fortifications de La Rochelle; 5 a 600 hommes y sont continuellement occupéz.

'Les rieurs de nos cantons qui appelloient le Prince d'Orange "nôtre Roy, nôtre Calvin" commencent de tenir un langage different. Les moines mêmes luy donnent de l'encens de le voir resister à la puissance de la France.

'On trouve d'êja que les affaires souffrent par la mort de Monsieur de Louvois. Mais Madame Maintenon console le Roy de tout, et le persuade qu'il viendra a bout de ses ennemis.'

3pp. *French.*

K7. [1691,] Sept. [14/] 24. 'On presse l'épée en les reins du côté de la cour pour mettre en état les navires qui sont destinéz pour les Isles de l'Amerique; et de 15 qui sont arrivéz de Brest du desarmement de l'armée, l'on n'en fait entrer que 7 en riviere. Les autres s'apprentent à l'Isle d'Ay sans les desarmer, ou on les accommode, et ou on leur porte tous les vivres et autre choses qui leur sont nécessaires. Ilz feront le voiage sans les carénner.

'Il doit venir du Port Louis et de Brest 4 gros navires pour se joindre à ces 8, dont le moindre de tous est de 50 canons, et 4 de 70 à 80 canons. Ilz sont munis de 4 à 5,000 bombes, et de gens experimentéz à tirer les bombes et autres machines. Tous les matelotz de cette escadre sont choisis entre ceux du desarmement de l'armée, dont on prend les plus braves et vigoureux, mais dés qu'ilz peuvent mettre pié à terre, on ne les voit plus; ilz gagnent le large, aimans mieux perdre leurs gages qu'aller aux Isles de l'Amerique, ou le monde meurt épais comme mouches, par une espece de peste.

'On embarque 1,200 soldatz choisis pour cette expédition dans toutes les troupes de la marine, avec nombre d'officiers et de volontaires! C'est, à ce qu'on assure, pour faire une dessente, ou plusieurs dessentes, dans les Isles angloizes de l'Amérique, pour les piller et brûler entierement, car nous sommes dans un dépit extrême de ce que vos gens ont fait à St. Christophle et Gardeloupe, quoi que d'ailleurs fort réjouis que Codrington n'a pas fait la dixieme partie du mal qu'il pouvoit faire.

'Cette escadre emmene aussi 4 flûtes de 4 a 500 tonneaux châcune, entierement chargées de vivres et de munitions de guerre, car la Martinique et la Gardeloupe manquent de tout, surtout la derniere, ou on y meurt de faim, n'y ayant pas un barril de farine, ny de viande. En general tous les navires de l'escadre seront pleins de barriques de biscuit.

'Voila donc 12 gros navires de guerre, et outre ceux la, on parle secretement d'un détachement de 5 gros vaisseaux de l'armée de Brest qui doivent prendre les autres à une hauteur sur la route.

'Quoi qu'on die que le Roy veut que cette escadre parte le 10e. d'octobre, mon sentiment est que ce sera bien la fin. Le dessein est grand et caché, mais je sais que les navires de guerre ont ordre, apres avoir mis les 4 flutes en vue de la Martinique, d'aller exécuter leur dessein! avec déffence à eux d'approcher la Martinique, n'y la Gardeloupe, à cause des maladies qui y regnent, et qui ont emporté plus de 1,000 de nos matelots cette année, quoi qu'en rade, de

sorte qu'il y reste des navires marchands qui n'ont que le maître et un garçon a bord de reste. Enfin cette escadre aura 4 bruslotz pour ses besoins, et on ne sauroit croire l'empressement qu'il y a à mettre ces 17 navires en état. Les bruslotz et les galliottes et chaloupes à bombes sont pretz.

'Il y a eu aussi ordre pressant donné à 35 navires qui sont à Brest de mettre à la voile du premier vent favorable. Ce n'est pas pour aller loin, car on ne leur a donné que pour un mois de vivres et rafraichissements. Plusieurs veulent que c'est pour aller secourir Limerick, à quelque prix que ce soit. Le tens nous en apprendra la verité.

'On continue à tourmenter les gens à la campagne aux environs de La Rochelle, ou les moines font du pis qu'ilz peuvent.'

Sept. [20/] 30. 'Comme nos dernieres nouvelles de l'Amerique sont du 19 juillet que les Anglois n'y paroissent plus, et qu'ilz se sont retiréz à la Barbados, je croi que ces nouvelles ont diminué l'armement qui se prepare icy pour les Isles de l'Amerique, car on fait désarmer actuellement 4 vaisseaux du désarmement de 70 a 80 canons qui étoient destinéz pour cette expédition. On ne parle plus maintenant que de 8 navires de guerre et 4 flottes chargées de provisions et munitions, ce qu'on juge assez suffisant pour chasser cette canaille d'Anglois des Isles s'ilz ozent se presenter devant eux, car la Gardeloupe est échappée a bon marché, parce quelle a eu affaire a des miserables, comme ilz sont presque tous a cette heure. Ilz y ont été 25 jours a terre et nont peu se rendre les maitres, aveq 2,500 hommes, de 600 habitans, qui ont essuyé leur feu 21 jours durant! Et avec 4 vaisseaux montés de 600 hommes de nos gens, nous avons chassé honteusement une escadre angloise de 10 navires de guerre, 8 navires marchands arméz en guerre, et 22 barques, qui s'en furent tour comme des coyons [couillons, poltroons] a la veue de ces 4 navires, dont 2 etoient marchands. Dites en ce quil vous plaira, mais les Anglois sont plus brave dans le coffee house qu'à la mer.

'On veut ce soir nous persuader que le siege de Limerik est levé. Cela seroit une bonne nouvelle; et aussi, sil est vray, que la cavalerie des pretendus Alliéz ait été bien batue en Flandres, par la maison du Roy ... rira bien qui rira le dernier.'

4pp. *Extracts. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 6 Oct. 1691.*

K8. [1691, Dec. 27/] [16] 91[-2], Jan. 6. 'Deux gros navires de guerre partent incessamment de Rochefort pour joindre cinq autres navires de guerre de Brest pour croizer tout cet hyver depuis le Cap Finisterre en déça, pour la seureté de nôtre négoce et pour atraper vos flottes. S'ilz les rencontrent, ilz s'en promettent bon marché.'

1p. *French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward on 15 Jan.*

K9. 1692, [Jan. 24/] Feb. 3. Substantial differences in the version at G1 are shown in square brackets. 'Arrivant à Rochefort aujourd'huy [Arivant icy dans ma barque], j'ay veu Messieurs de Nesmond et de La Galissoniere qui montent deux navires dautour 70 canons chacun, lesquels vont joindre 5 autres navires sortis de Brest a un rendezvous qu'ilz ont à la mer, pour croizer tout l'hyver sur vos flottes marchandes. S'ilz les rencontrent ilz leur feront passer mal leur temps, car ilz sont merveilleusement équippez.

'On a mis à l'eau a Rochefort un des navires neufs de 80 canons. L'autre va aussy s'y mettre; ilz seront en cors d'armée cet esté.

'On travaille a tous les navires du port de Rochefort avec une dilligence incroyable. Il y en a déjà 12 de prêts a recevoir les equipages! On galfatte les autres.

'Il sortira, de ce port la, 27 a 30 [26 a 30] gros navires depuis 50 canons et au dessus, lesquels se rendront à Brest les uns aprez les autres, à mesure qu'on trouverra des matelots à mettre dessus pour se rendre a Brest, ou sera le rendezvous general de l'armée.

'Il sortira aussy du Port Louis 2 navires neufs de 60 pieces de canon châcun, et autant du Havre de Grace.

'On ne veut plus construire de gros navires a Dunquerque depuis la peine qu'on a eue l'année passée a les en tirer.

'Tout les avis de Paris sont que l'armée sera de 80 navires de ligne, mais on craint de ne pas trouver suffisamment [mais le diable sera ou trouver] des matelotz pour les équiper, car on en a perdu plus de 8 mille l'année passée tant par maladie qu'autrement, outre que ceux qui ont échappé ont beaucoup de peine [assez de peine] à se rétablir pour estre en estat de servir. On fera comme l'année derniere; on prendra des saulniers des marais, des massons, ou des valetz [les saulniers des marais, leurs vallets, les massons] et autres gens de métier, avec tous les matelotz [malots] des rivières de Loire, Garonne et autres du royaume. On a fait, a Paris, une promotion de plus de 300 lieutenans, enseignes [sergent], et gardes de la marine pour fortifier les navires qui manqueront de bons matelotz. On n'a pas fait aucun capitaine.

'Je ne croi pas qu'on envoie d'avantage de navires aux Isles de l'Amérique! Il y en aura 12, quand le Comte de Blénac y sera arrivé, mais il ny a que deux de gros navires, les autres de 50 a 40 [30 a 40] canons.

'Les portz sont ferméz depuis deux jours, par l'ordre du Roy, et le seront jusquez a-ce que l'armée soit munie. On prendra touz les equipages des frégattes de St. Malo, a-mesure quelles arriveront de course. On a déjà pris ceux de 10 a 12 de ces frégattes qui estoient prestes à mettre en mer [... quelle arriveront. 10 a 12 preste a mettre a la voile depuis 10 jours ont este arestéé. On enleve tous leurs esquipage].

‘Deux frégattes sorties du Havre de Grace, qui convoioient divers navires marchands, ont rencontré proche de Guarnezey 2 fregattes angloizes avec qui elles se sont battues trois heures durant! L’un des convoys françois de 32 canons coulé à fons [a este coullé bas], a ce qui rapportent les gens des navires de cette flotte qui sont arrivéz en nos rades. Ilz croient que lautre convoy s’est sauvé dans Brest. Il manque 5 ou 6 de ces navires marchands [... nos rade, dont il manque pourtant cinq a six. On croit que lautre convoy cest sauvé a Brest quand ils furent au combat. Il firent si[g]nal au navire marchand de faire leur route].

‘Il est arrivé à La Rochelle un navire venant de la Martinique, ou les Anglois ne paroissent plus, s’estans retirez en Angletere. Il rapporte qu’on craint beaucoup les François à la Barbade, et qu’on sy fortifie jour et nuit [... Engleterre, et que au Barbade ils sonts en grande crainte. Nos navire ce fortifie jour et nuit].

‘On parle diversement sil y aura une grosse escadre dans la Meditteranée! Les uns écrivent de Paris quelle sera forte pour y faire quelque entreprize considerable! et dautres, quelle passera dans le Ponant avec 4 navires neufs de 80 canons et au dessus, pour joindre la grande armée a Brest.

‘On travaille à la fonderie de Rochefort à fondre les petis canons de fonte jusqu’à ceux de 18 de balle [calibre], pour en faire de 36 livres. On fait la même chose dans toutes les fonderies de fer pour faire des canons de fer de 36 livres [de 36, car dans tous nos ports il y en a assez de moindre]. On fait aussi une quantité incroyable de bombes et de grenades.

‘On parle fort qu’on enverra l’armée geuze du Roy Jaques [l’armée de geux venant d’Irlande] en Piemont [... Piemont. Le Roy les est allé voir en Bertaigne.] On commence a se lasser d’eux à Versailles! et la moitié des Anglois venuz d’Irlande voudroient n’en estre jamais sortis [n’en avoir jamais party]. Ils disent qu’on leur avoit promis même paye qu’au Suisses, mais qu’on s’est moqué d’eux. Au fons, ce sont de grandes canailles [... quon ce moque deux. Ce sont de grande canaille].

‘On est a bout de moyens pour faire des recrûes dans les provinces. On n’y trouve personne de bonne volonté; ainsy, on prend tout par la force ou par adresse. Il ny a que le regiment de marine qui fait 3,500 hommes [... le regiment de trois ou quatre mille homme de nos navire qui sont] de belles et bonnes troupes.

‘Les galeres de nouvelle fabrique [les galere de Marseille], qu’on a désarmées a Rouen [en la riviere de Rouen], ne serviront jamais plus qu’a porter du bois a Paris.

‘Toute la cavalerie qui estoit en ces provinces marche en Flandres. Ilz ont 40 jours de route à s’y rendre [prandre] pour y arriver en bon estat.

'On maltraite fort les capitaines de marine. On en a envoyé 3 de Rochefort en prison au Château Trompette a Bourdeaux il y a 15 jours. Il y en a 3 autres dans le Château de Brest, et tout pour une bagatelle [des bagatelles]. Le ministre ne pardonne rien.

'On fortifie fort et ferme la ville de St. Malo, et Bel-Isle aussy.

'Il n'est du tout point allé de soldatz aux Islez de l'Amérique sur les vaisseaux partis, mais bien une prodigieuse quantité de vivres et de munitions de guerre. On a a faire dez soldats ailleurs, au plus pressé.' [In G1 this paragraph follows 'a Paris': 'Lont a envoyé une prodigieuz cantité de vivre et de munision de guerre au Ille, car les navire marchand en sonts moittié chargé, mais point de soldats du tout. On en a affaire ailleurs.']

5½ pp. *French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham*: 'Received from Sir Patience Ward February 16 [16]91-2, and is the same with that inclosed in Jurieux letter which came to me February 14'.

K10. 1692, March [13/] 23. 'J'arrive de Rochefort; on y travaille avec une grande application à mettre les navires de guerre en estat. On y fait travailler 4,500 personnes, charpentiers, manoeuvres, galfateurs et autres gens! Il y a déjà 11 navires de 60 canons et audessus toutz pretz et qui sont descendus à la rade de l'Isle d'Ay pour recevoir là leurs canons et leurs vivres. Ces navires là partent pour Brest à mesurent [*sic*] quilz auront leurs equipages, ce qui ne se fera pas sans beaucoup de peine, car les matelotz sont bien rares. Monsieur de Vilette sait qu'en dire! Il est à Rochefort pour monter un navire neuf de 100 pièces de canon, mais il ne peut trouver de matelotz, ce qui l'a obligé d'envoyer ses officiers dans le gouvernement pour en chercher, et où on ne les trouve pas chez eux on y met garnison! On en enleve tous les meubles que les soldatz vendent pour vivre; mais pour tout cela, n'en ont ilz pas le quart de ce qu'il leur en faut pour tous les navires. J'entens de veritables matelotz! Car on prend indifferemment les batéliers des rivieres depuis Montauban jusques à Nantes, même des saulniers, laboureurs, vigneron et autres sortes de journaliers, ce qui desesperes les capitaines des vaisseaux et leur fait dire tres hautement qu'avec ces equipages là il leur faudra fuir toujours de devant l'enemy des que les vedettes les decouvriront, et faire route d'un autre costé!

'Il y a des lettres de Brest qui disent qu'il y a 18 navires de pretz à prendre leurs equipages.

'Les navires de Rochefort s'en vont à Brest à mesure qu'ilz se trouvent pretz, et sans s'attendre; on juge plus à propos de les risquer de la sorte, car on craint que les ennemis ne vinssent s'interposer à Bel-Isle avec quelque forte escadre pour empêcher la jonction.

‘Les officiers ne croient pas qu’il y ait ordre de se battre cette campagne, seulement d’observer les mouvemens des ennemis, et leur faire consumer leur armement sans fruit. On est persuadé à la cour que cette démarche vaudra mieux, les Anglois et Hollandois ayant tant de peines à avoir de l’argent des peuples pour les frais de l’équipement, ces peuples estans lassés d’en donner! Et qu’en France, au contraire, on en aura toujours assez, ou de gré ou de force, car on sy sert indifferement pour cela, et des coups de bâton, et de la voye des garnisons chez les particuliers, de qui on devore ainsy toute la substance.

‘Il en sera toûjours ainsi, tant que les ennemis n’aurent aucun avantage sur nous, mais s’ilz nous gagnent une ou deux batailles d’importance, qu’on verra d’étranges mouvemens dans les provinces, tant on y a le coeur à la révolte, si les peuples trouvent un chef suffisant pour les soutenir. Les Papistes sont encore plus d’humeur à se soulever que les autres qu’on appelle nouveaux convertis, quoi que ceux cy souffrent beaucoup plus que les Negres dans l’Amerique, car on a encore depuis peu envoyé de Paris en cette province et en celle de Poittou cinq scelleratz de Jesuites déguisez, qui les harcellent horriblement. Ces cruels vont à la campagne surprendre ces pauvres gens dans leurs maisons; s’ilz y trouvent quelque livre qui ne leur plaise pas, ilz en prennent un prétexte d’y mettre garnison, se saizissant d’abord de tout leur argent, des papiers, etc., et mettent ainsy tout le monde au desesper. Ces furieux sont envoyéz par le vénérable clergé, a qui le Roy donne tout pouvoir de faire ce qu’il leur plaît, parce qu’ilz luy fournissent de l’argent. On a fait poster des troupes par cy par là dans les provinces pour faire obeir les peuples.

‘On ne voit journellement que de nouvelles taxes pour avoir de l’argent, qui commence à manquer, car on paye fort mal les choses que l’on fournit à la marine et aux magazins du Roy.

‘On fait un amas incroyable de provisions dont on veut envoyer beaucoup en Canada, pour lequel endroit on équipe 5 navires de guerre et 10 à 12 navires marchands.

‘Nous n’avons eu aucune nouvelle pozitive des Isles de l’Amerique depuis prés de 3 mois. Nous ne savons si le Comte de Blenac y sera arrivé avec son escadre. Nos navires qui sont aux Isles batront assurément les Anglois, car ilz sont bien équippez et les Anglois ne savent plus se battre.

‘Il vient de tens en tens icy des navires d’Ecosse et d’Irlande; en voila deux qu’on dit arrivéz en Ré venant d’Ecosse avec du charbon et du plon. Il y en a un à La Rochelle avec du haran qu’il espere descharger nonobstant les deffences. On ne fait que faire et défaire en France à présent. Il y a de nouveau un arrêt qui permet l’entrée des fromages etrangers en payant 6%, un autre pour l’entrée du saumon, avec un gros droit dessus. On dit qu’on l’en donnera aussi un pour la molue, mais pour le haran la Picardie et la Normandie s’y opposeront à cause de leur pesche.

'On conte toujours que nôtre armée de mer sera de 80 navires de ligne, outre plusieurs frégates legeres et les bruslotz.'

4pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 30 March. See also no. G2.*

K11. 1692, March 30. London. J.B. to Sir Patience Ward. 'The gentlemen I have relation with beyond sea begins [*sic*] to be weary of this kind of correspondencie for almost eighteen months without any gratuity as yet, and shall have much to do with them to keep it any longer on foot unless some speedy consideration be made them; neither shall I be able to dissuade them from believing I have made here a great interest and cheated them of it, considering how often I have assured them that I was promiss'd a large recompense. Therefore humbly pray your Honor to see the lords whom [*sic*] have order'd this kind of correspondence, and to desire them to be mindful of their promisses.'

1p. *Probably enclosing no. K10.*

K12. 1692, April 4/14. Rochefort. 'Monsieur mon cousin, je vous ay écrit de Bourdeaux, d'ou je suis arrivé icy depuis 8 jours pour m'embarquer sur l'un des navires du Roy qui s'apprestent en ce port, lesquelz sont hors de la riviere, à la reserve de 4 qui sont prêtz aussi à sortir cette semaine. Il y en a onze à l'Isle d'Ay, dont le moindre est de 60 canons et un neuf de 104 canons, outre un autre de même force qui est encore en ce port. Outre ces 11 il y en a 4 autres à La Rochelle de même force. Je les croy tous partis pour se rendre a Brest incessamment, suivant les ordres pressantz que la cour y a envoyéz, de sorte qu'on peut régarder l'escadre de ce port comme une petite armée. C'est Monsieur de Vilette qui nous commande jusques à Brest.

'Nous avons avis de Brest qu'il y a la 40 gros navires tous prêtz à nous joindre, pour (à ce qu'on dit icy) aller à l'Isle de Wight, ou à La Hogue, qui est vis à vis, faire nôtre gros pour empêcher la jonction de l'armée d'Angleterre avec celle d'Hollande.

'On m'a assuré ce matin que 60 navires de St. Malo doivent aller se rendre au Havre de Grace avec un gros convoy de navires de guerre pour y charger des canons, des bombes, et d'autre munitions de guerre, et les remplir de troupes pour venir avec nous pour quelque grand dessein que le tems nous apprendra, la province de Normandie estant remplie de troupes.

'Nous ne mettons icy sur nos navires que les soldatz ordinaires du régiment des vaisseaux, qui sont d'aussy bonnes troupes qu'il y en aye en France. Je ne say pas si à Brest ou le Havre de Grace on nous en donnera davantage, pour [ce que] nos equipages sont d'aussi méchans matelotz que j'en aye encore

veus depuis le commencement de la guerre. Nous en avons un grand nombre qui sont de Bourdeaux et de toute cette riviere la en haut qui n'ont jamais estez à la mer; et l'on fait servir nos soldatz de matelotz à l'occasion.

'On assure fortement tous nos capitaines icy que nôtre armée navale sera assurément et au moins de 75 gros navires de ligne, au dessus de 50 canons, sans conter les frégates de 40 pièces, et audessous! Outre un bon nombre de bruslotz.

'On travaille icy à la construction d'une machine de l'invention de Monsieur de Gennes, celui qui fut l'année derniere en Angleterre et en Hollande, laquelle doit nous venir joindre; elle a deux gouvernailz! Elle portera 2 canons, chacun de cent livres de balle, et ira avec des rames à couvert. On nous assûre aussy que nous devons joindre au Havre de Grace 15 de nos galeres nouvellement accommodées et haussées de bord pour faire la campagne avec nous.

'Je ne sai pas encore sur quel navire on me mettra, ce qui fait que je ne vous le marque pas.

'Nos generaux et nos capitaines se sont fiers de nos forces. Ilz esperent que les ennemis n'ozeront paroître devant nôtre flote. Il est vray aussi que nos navires sont tous bien fournis de grosse artillerie, la plus part de 36 livres de balle. Ils semblent être tous resolut d'aborder les Anglois pendant que l'on canonera les Hollandois! Et nous esperons, un chacun de nous, que chaque navire en enlèvera un des Anglois, car nous les tenons pour peu braves; nous attendons beaucoup plus de resistance des Hollandois.

'Jespere que nous serons a Brest avant la fin de ce mois, d'ou je me propose de vous écrire mon arrivée et sur quel navire je seray étably. J'ay laissé vôtre bonhomme de pere en bonne santé; il voudroit bien estre à Londres avec vous, car on ne laisse de têmes à autre de nous chicaner sur nos dévotions particulieres, et si cela ne cesse, bon nombre de gens se retireront où ils pourront.'

P.S. 'On escrit de St. Malo que tous leurs navires sont retenus pour le service! Mais qu'il en reste encore à la mer pour faire du mal assez.

'Il y a des lettres des Isles de l'Amerique du 15e. janvier qui disent que les François étoient partis de la Martinique avec dix navires de guerre, et autres, sur lesquels on a embarqué 3,000 hommes pour aller faire quelque[s] entreprises a la Barbade (ou Barboudes) et prendre et ravager tous les navires qui seront en la rade.'

3½ pp. *French. Signed: Noël Bertrand. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 28 April.*

K13. 1692, April [17/] 27. Rochefort. 'Je vous ay écrit de Bourdeaux depuis 12 jours. Je me suis depuis transporté en ce lieu pour m'y embarquer sur les navires quy y restent à partir pour aller joindre l'armée à Brest. Je

m'embarque avec Monsieur de Ste. Hermine, qui est mouillé à l'Isle d'Ay avec 5 ou 6 autres navires, du nombre desquelz est Monsieur le Marquis de la Porte, qui a un vaisseau de 104 canons. Je suis occupé, icy, à faire embarquer quelques choses qui nous manquent, et demain j'iray coucher à bord; ainsy je ne vous écriray plus que de Brest, ou l'on nous attend avec beaucoup d'impatience. Nos navires partent à mesure qu'ilz sont prêts. Monsieur de Vilette, qui a aussi un navire de 104 canons, partit vendredy avec 3 autres navires, et hier il en partit encore deux; nous ne sommes plus que 5 ou 6 navires restés dans ces rades de tout le port de Rochefort, et nous devons partir cette semaine.

'Il y a un grand dessein sur le tapis en apparence. Tous les navires iront dans la Manche, à ce qu'on assure.

'Monsieur de Nesmond est party de Brest avec 8 navires du Roy pour aller à St. Malo, prendre 60 navires et les conduire au Havre de Grace, où est le rendezvous general de 250 navires de charge; desquelz on oste tout le canon et les armes, pour les charger de munitions de guerre et de bouche, et d'armes, et y embarquer 25,000 hommes de troupes choisies et 15,000 paizans pour remuer la terre, avec tous les instrumens nécessaires. Le Roy Jaques qui est party de St. Germain pour Normandie va s'embarquer sur cette flote, quand elle sera preste. Le Roy luy a donné 800 gardes, et beaucoup d'argent, pour l'embarquer avec luy. Enfin! Toute la France est imbeue qu'on la réproclame Roy en Ecosse, qu'on l'y attend avec impatience! que le Prince George de Danemarc s'est saizy de la Tour de Londres; que la Princesse sa femme a esté arrestée, se voulant sauver en France. Le Colonel Canon et les autres lords ecossois arrivés à Paris y chantent hautement "Victoire" des que le Roy Jaques sera arrivé en Ecosse; que l'Angleterre en fera autant, des qu'on y aura avis de sa dessente; que tous les Episcopaux sont pour luy; que le Prince d'Orange sera bien heureux s'il peut se conserver la charge de Stadthouder en Hollande; que des que tous nos navires se seront jointz, ilz doivent entrer en la Manche, ou on ne craint rien pour eux, parce qu'on est assuré de la meilleure partie des capitaines de la flotte angloize; enfin, que le Roy Jaques sera maître de l'Angleterre à la St. Jean, et tout cela se dit et se publie partout avec beaucoup de confidence et positivement.

'Nous aurons dans le 20 de may 80 navires capitaux en corps, sans conter l'escadre de Toulon que le Comte d'Estree amène à Brest. Pour moy je ne voy rien en tout cela, mais je me persuade quil y a un grand dessein dans lequel le Roy Jaques doit être de partie.

'Tous nos portz sont generalement fermés par tout le royaume et rien ne sort. On taxe tous les mestiers pour faire de l'argent. On demande 14 millions au clergé. Enfin c'est une conduite admirable que la nôtre.'

3pp. *French. Signed: Osée Benoît. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 3 May.*

K14. 1692, [May 29/] June 8. [Rochefort heavily deleted.] 'Vous auréz peut être appris que Monsieur de Tourville partit de Brest le 12 may avec 38 navires de ligne et 20 brûlotz pour se rendre à La Hogue, prendre 300 navires de charge quy y sont, et le Roy Jaques, avec 25,000 hommes, tant infanterie que cavalerie, pour aller exécuter le grand dessein de ce Roy, qui est de le rétablir en son royaume sans qu'il en coûte la vie a un seul homme, par les bonnes intelligences qu'il s'est faittes en Angleterre.

'Que l'ouvoyant [louvoyant, beating to windward] depuis ce tens la, bord sur bord à l'entrée de la Manche par vens contraires (ou Monsieur de Vilette avec un navire de 104 canons et 5 autres navires le joignirent) jusques au 27 may, que le vent luy estant venu favorable il poursuivit sa route, et vint le 29 en vue de la flotte angloise et holandoize composée de 90 navires. Il prit la resolution de les attaquer, quoy qu'inferieur en nombre de plus de la moitié. Le combat commença à 11 heures du matin et dura jusques a 9 heures du soir, fort opiniâtre, les nôtres ayant poussé et enfoncé par deux fois l'avant-garde des Anglois (même on dit, coulé deux à fons).

'La nuit fit mouiller les 2 armées. Le lendemain elles recommencerent à se canonner à portée de mousquet, et si prés qu'on se tiroit l'un sur l'autre, mais finalement il falut que nos gens pliassent sous le grand nombre, et prirent la resolution de se retirer en deux bandes. L'une de 21 navires se sauva vers St. Malo, ou ilz sont en seureté, quoi que les Anglois les poursuivirent jusques dans la rade. Monsieur Gabaret voulant y entrer avec son escadre fut coupé par les Anglois, ce qui l'obligea a courir vers la côte d'Angleterre, ou une partie de l'armée angloise le suit. L'autre partie de nos gens suit nôtre amiral, que l'on croit coulé a fons, car on n'en a aucunes nouvelles, non plus que de Monsieur de Vilette et autres lieutenans generaux et chefs d'escadre, faisant en tout 23 navires de ligne, lesquelz doivent être apparamment vers La Hogue, et les Anglois à leurs trousses [on their heels], de sorte qu'étans 90 navires contr'eux, ilz ne peuvent pas résister, ainsy ilz donneront à la côte de France, ou ilz se brûleront, car ilz ne se laissent pas prendre. Si cela arrive ce sera une grande victoire aux Anglois. L'on ne sait pas encore quel nombre d'hommes nous avons perdus; on parle pourtant de 60 officiers tuéz ou estropié.

'Monsieur d'Estrées est arrivé a Brest venant de Toulon avec 14 navires et 4 brûlotz le 29 may, ou il prend des vivres avec 20 autres navires quy y sont, commandéz par Monsieur Châteaurenaud, et 4 qui sont partis aujourd'huy de l'Isle d'Ay pour se rendre à Brest avec la machine* de Monsieur de Gennes dont je vous ay parlé cy devant! et ainsi feront une belle armée, surtout si les 21 navires qui se sont retiréz à St. Malo les peuvent joindre (a moins que les Anglois ne les en empêchent) pour faire ainsi une campagne par mer complete. Nous ne savons encore d'autres particularitéz du combat! Cela viendra avec le tens.'

*[Footnote in another contemporary hand:] 'C'étoit autrefois une fort belle frégate de 36 pièces de canon, qu'on a resserrée et fortifiée de bois en dedans, d'une si étrange sorte qu'il est impossible qu'un canon de 24 livres la puisse percer. Aussi faut-il quelle soit bien forte pour soutenir les effortz quelle doit faire. Elle a deux canons de 100 livres de balle, et 4 de 64 livres de fonte! avec 2 mortiers a jeter les bombes de 500 livres. Elle ramera avec 32 avirons, elle a 3 petis matz, sans matz de hunes, fort petis et legers. Si l'ingenieur reussit, il n'y a point de navire qui approche qu'il ne coule bas! Mais ce qu'il y a d'incommode c'est que les gens seront tout a decouvert sur le pont.

'On travaille avec empressement a construire une citadelle à l'Isle d'Ay pour couvrir la riviere de Charante.

'On a fait un fort à la pointe du Chapus, vis à vis celui d'Oleron. On fait aussi des fortresses en l'Isle de Ré, à la pointe de Sablanceau, au fort de La Prée, a St. Martin, au Martrais, et aux Portes.

'Il s'est perdu dans la male [malle, mail] qui fut jetée a la mer dernièrement par le maitre du paquet boate qui venoit d'Hollande une lettre du 10 may que l'on m'écritoit.'

3½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 12 June.*

K15. 1692, June [7/] 17. Rochefort. 'M'estant tombé entre les mains une relation du combat de nos armées navales, je vous l'envoie cy joint. Les B. dans la marge dessignent nos navires brûléz. Les brûlotz et les navires de transport brûlez à La Hague [*sic*] n'y sont pas compris. Cependant, nous aurons encore au premier bon vent 69 navires de ligne pretz a aller demander notre revenge aux Anglois, qui n'auront jamais plus une si belle occasion d'un grand avantage sur nous, car tous nos commendans estoient en desordre. Nous y perdons plus de 4,000 hommes, outre nombre d'officiers.

'On attend demain à La Rochelle Monsieur le Maréchal d'Estrées avec la cavalerie et de l'infanterie. On munit de troupes toutes les côtes. Il part un vaisseau de guerre pour les Isles de l'Amerique avec quelques navires marchands.

'On fait icy le negoce d'Irlande par le moyen d'Irlandois qu'on met sur les vaisseaux.'

½ p. *French.*

With (on the same sheet):

K15(1). 'Relation du combat de nôtre armée navale.' St Malo. 'Vous aurés sans doute appris, ma chere epouse, comme par de faux avis et par de fausses mezuress 44 de nos navires ont entré dans la Manche, croyant que les ennemis n'étoient encore n'y jointz n'y arméz, ou que quand ilz l'auroient esté, que nous serions superieure en nombre. C'est sous ces fausses mezuress que nous allâmes chercher les

ennemis, que nous apperceûmes le 29 may, a peu près et vis a vis ou nous les battîmes il y a 2 ans. C'est a dire au sud d'Arondel en Angleterre, mais plus pres de la coste de Normandie.

'Nous les trouvâmes en si bon ordre et en si grand nombre qu'ilz faisoient deux contre'un. Nous ne laissâmes d'arriver vent arriere sur eux, et on chargée si vigoureusement leur avant garde quelle fut obligée de plier, soit par la force de nos coups ou par ruze, tant que Monsieur le Marquis d'Amfréville, qui étoit Admiral Blanc et Bleu, et qui avoit nôtre avant-garde, fut obligé de mouiller, et le fit fort à-propos, car les Hollandois ausquels il avoit à faire n'ayant pas eu de connoissance de sa manoeuvre derriverent [drifted] assez pour ne le plus inquiéter. Sy ce cors de bataille, ou autres, luy eussent gagné le vent pour le mettre entre deux feux!

'Nôtre Escadre Blanche, commandée par Monsieur de Tourville, Général, combatit la division rouge, commandée par Monsieur Russell, qui se batit pour cette premiere fois aussi vigoureusement et sy long-tems contre plusieurs gros navires qu'il eut deux vergues et plusieurs mannoeuvres couppees! Outre plusieurs coups de canon à leau et dans le bois.

'Monsieur Gabarret, qui estoit Admiral Bleu, fut un des premiers entre deux feux, ou il combatit fort vigoureusement, et fit en cette occasion le devoir d'un tres exprimenté capitaine et d'un brave soldat.

'Monsieur de Panétier, nôtre Viceadmiral Bleu, qui par la pezenteur de son navire étoit de l'arriere avec 4 navires, mit tout en uzage pour joindre son pavillon, mais voyant que ses effortz étoient inutiles, et qu'il alloit être enveloppé de l'arrieregarde, il tint le vent! Ce qu'il fit si à-propos qu'il occupa pendant la durée de cette premiere action 29 vaisseaux de l'Escadre Blüe des ennemis. 8 de ces vaisseaux qui étoient meilleurs voiliers que les autres nous gagnerent le vent, et s'approcherent si près de nous qu'on les entendoit parler. Ilz nous auroient sans doute canonné s'ilz n'avoient crû que la conquête des 4 navires sous le vent a nous leur étoit infailible. Ceux qui étoient plus éloignéz que ceux cy nous tirent environ 20 coups de canon.

'Sur les 6 heures de soir, tous les ennemis de l'Escadre Blüe nous laisserent changer de bord et furent charger nôtre cors de bataille qu'ilz virent, apres la bruine, estre mouillé sous le vent a peu près ou ilz avoient combatu. Cependant nous fûmes mouiller avec Monsieur d'Amfréville. C'est au lieu que je viens de marquer que le combat ce réchauffa, et ou Messieurs de Tourville, de Gabarret, de Vilette, de Langeron, de Coyt-Logon, de Rélingues, et quelques uns de nos autres vaisseaux furent passéz par les armes. Cette seconde action commença sur les 7 heures du soir et ne finit qu'une heure avant minuit.

'Si les choses avoient demeuré en cet estat, la journée auroit esté plus glorieuse à la France qu'aux ennemis; une tres petite quantité de vaisseaux les étoit venus chercher ches eux, les avoient attaqué, et les avoient combattus avec tant de vigueur que les ennemis, malgré leur nombreuse armée, avoient plus perdus que nous. Jay dit que leur armée estoit nombreuse, puis-qu'il est vray qu'on leur a conté 88 navires de ligne, 40 brûlots, 150 chaloupes, sans les fregats et autres bâtimens. Le grand nombre des ennemis, et le mauvais estat ou nous étions, força nos généraux à songer à la retraite. Pour cela, chacun prit son party. Monsieur de Gabarret courut à la coste d'Angleterre, et gagna Brest. Monsieur de Nesmond gagna du coste de Duynkirke, à ce que l'on dit. Deux vaisseaux furent au Havre de Grace. Monsieur d'Amfréville avec Monsieur de Pannetier, le vendredy 30e., appareillerent pour joindre Monsieur de Tourville, que nous vismes devant nous poursuivis de l'armée ennemie! Et tous ensemble fumes mouiller devant Cherbourg, le vent étant au N.E. et ayant commencement de flot [flood tide].

'Le 31e. au commencement de jüzant [jusant, ebb tide] nous appareillâmes, mais dans l'obscurité de la nuit, ne voyant point la manoeuvre du général. Les uns coururent la bordée [tacked] au nord-ouest, et furent doubler les Casketts, afin de gagner la coste de Brétagne. Les autres, parmy lesquels étoit ce qui nous restoit de pavillons, donnerent dans le Ras Blanchard [Race of Alderney], ou ils mouillèrent. Cette manoeuvre avoit esté faite si à propos quelle nous mettoit a couvert de l'insulte de l'ennemy, mais le flot de la mer courut la avec tant d'impetuosité que tous nos officiers généraux à l'exception du Viceadmiral Bleu desraderent [were driven out to sea] et furent mouiller devant Cherbourg et La Hougue.

'Ce fut en ces lieux la ou la fortune nous abandonna, et ou les ennemis triomferent de nôtre desordre. Ils se préparèrent pendant deux jours à nous brûler, et pour cela, ils envoyerent sur nos [altered from nous] 15 navires, plusieurs bruslotz et 150 chaloupes, qui nous brûlerent. L'incendie fut grande — je veux dire pour ce qu'il y avoit la de vaisseaux, car la plus grande partie des equippages furent sauvéz, à l'excéption du *Soleil Royal*, qui à perdu prés de 600 hommes.

'Le Viceadmiral Bleu, qui avoit tenu dans le Ras avec quelques autres vaisseaux et ceux qui avoient couru à la bande du nord-ouest et doublé les Casketts, se sont randus icy, ou ilz attendent les ordres de la cour.'

3pp. *French.*

Enclosing (on a separate sheet):

K15(2). St. Malo. 'Liste de vaisseaux de France qui combattirent contre les Anglois et les Hollandois les 29 et 30 may 1692.' [As noted in the covering letter, ships marked B. were burned.]

DIVISIONS	CANONS	COMMANDANS MESSIEURS
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Blanc et Bleu. Avant garde.

B.	Le Bourbon	64	de Perrinet
	Le Monarque	90	de Nemont, Chef d'Escadre
	L'Aimable	70	de Real
B.	Le St. Louis	58	de la Roque Persin
	Le Diamant	58	de Feuquieres
B.	Le Gaillard	60	le Chevalier d'Amfreville
B.	Le Terrible	74	de Seppeville
B.	Le Merveilleux	96	d'Amfreville, Lieutenant-général
B.	Le Tonnant	74	de Septeme
	Le St. Michel	58	de Villars
	Le Sans Pareil	62	de Ferville
	Le Serieux	66	de Blénac
B.	Le Foudroyant	90	de Relingues, Chef d'Escadre
	Le Brillant	56	le Chevalier de Combes

Blanc. Cors de bataille.

B.	Le Fort	58	De la Rougere
	L'Henry	66	de la Roche Allard
B.	L'Ambitieux	102	de Vilette, Lieutenant-général
	La Couronne	76	de Montbront
	Le More	54	des Oyers
	Le Courageux	54	La Luserne
	La Perle	52	de Fourbin
	Le Glorieux	62	de Châteaumorant
	Le Conquerant	84	de Magnou
B.	Le Soleil Royal	110	de Tourville, Admiral

B.	Le St. Philippes	80	d'Infreville
B.	L'Admirable	90	de Beaujeu
	Le Constant	64	de Ste. Maure
	Le Souverain	80	Langeron, Chef d'Escadre
	L'Illustre	70	de Combes
	Le Modéré	56	d'Ivry
<i>Bleu. Arriere garde.</i>			
	L'Excellent	58	du Rivaux
	Le Prince	62	de Bagneux
B.	Le Magnifique	80	de Cologon, Chef d'Escadre
	Le Laurier	66	de Nerveux
	Le Brave	56	de Chalais
	L'Entendu	70	de Ricousse
B.	Le Triomfant	74	de Maschault
	L'Orgueilleux	90	de Gabarret, Lieutenant-général
	Le Fier	74	le Chevalier de Larteloire
	Le Fleuron	50	de Mongon
	Le Courtizan	64	de St. Mare
	Le Grand	82	de Pannetier, Chef d'Escadre
	Le St. Esprit	76	de la Gallissonniere
	La Serenne	66	du Quesne Guitton

1p. *French.*

K16. 1692, July [3/] 13. 'Je suis venu depuis 4 jours de La Hogue en ce lieu, ou j'ay eu ordre de me rendre, ainsy que les autres officiers des navires bruslez et attendant de l'employ, ce que je n'espere pas si tôt, puis qu'environ 60 navires de ligne qui nous restent tant à Brest qu'à St. Malo sont tous pourvus de leurs officiers.

'J'ay veu, à La Hogue, des relations envoyées d'Hollande et d'Angleterre de nôtre combat, qui sont fort esloignées de la vérité, et qui n'ont pas même presque de vray-semblance, estant constant que nous n'avons perdu que 3 navires à Cherbourg et à La Hogue 12, mais tous navires de ligne que les ennemis brûlerent apres que nous les eûmes échouéz. Il est vray qu'il y a 9 de nos plus gros navires et dans ces 15, six de nos pavillons, les 15 ensemble portant plus de 1,200 canons. Nous nous consolerons aisément de cette perte si nous pouvons sauver les canons; mais nous craignons d'avoir de la peine à y parvenir, a cause du voisinage des Anglois. On craint même qu'ils ne veuillent entreprendre de les pescher, car ils le peuvent faire aisement, avec des barques et quelques frégates legeres; et en ce cas cela nous incommoderoit beaucoup pour trouver des canons à mettre sur les vaisseaux que l'on fait construire à Rochefort et autres parts du royaume pour remplasser ceux qui sont brûléz. Nous avons laissé 1,500 hommes à La Hogue pour travailler à cette pêche. On craint que les Hollandois ou Anglois ne viennent les interrompre. Il y a plus de 700 canons de fonte dans ce qui est demeuré la.

'On attend à Rochefort 15 ou 16 navires de Nantes chargéz de bois pour

bâtir 2 navires de 90 a 100 canons qu'on a mis sur l'attelier, pour être prêt au printems prochain.

'On parle d'en faire faire 5 a 6 navires à Lisbonne, et d'en acheter autant des Roys de Suede et de Dannemarck. Enfin nous contons d'avoir une armée de 85 à 90 navires de ligne la campagne prochaine et dont le moindre sera de 60 canons. Le plus difficile, à cela, sera d'avoir suffizamment des matelotz pour les bien armer, car pour des soldats nous n'en manquerons pas. Il y a a craindre qu'ils seront encore équippez fort mal, comme cette année cy; vous avez veu, aussy, comme nous avons mal reussy. Si nous avions eu de bons brulotz comme nous en avions autrefois, les ennemis auroient eu peine a avoir de l'avantage sur nous, nonobstant la grande inégalité du nombre; et même sans les courans rapides du Ras Blanchard et les mauvaises mesures que nous prismes, nous n'aurions pas perdu un seul navire, car nous aurions gagné Brest avant que l'on nous eust peu atteindre. La moitié de nos navires n'a pas combatu en cette occasion; et ce sont ceux qui se sont jettéz à St. Malo, ou nous pouvions nous jeter comme eux, ou faire la mannoeuvre de Monsieur Gabarret, ranger la côte d'Angleterre.

'J'ay été a St. Malo voir les 21 navires qui sy sont retiréz. Ils se sont mis dans la Baye de Dinan au bas de la riviere du même nom, et la ils sont hors de l'insulte de vos navires.

'J'ay veu aussy ceux qui sont dans la Baye de Brest, et qui depuis mon depart se sont mis dans la Baye de Landernau. On assure à present qu'ils ont ordre de la cour de r'entrer pour plus de securité dans le port de Brest. Ce qu'il y a de facheux, c'est que nos vaisseaux ne se peuvent joindre, car s'ils estoient ensemble nous ferions encore 65 bons navires au dessus de 50 canons, avec lesquels nous observerions vôtre flotte, et même irions l'attaquer, si elle vouloit entreprendre quelque chose. Aussy cela fait que nous sommes fort allarméz depuis Calais jusques à Bayonne le long des costes, que l'on munit de bonnes troupes autant qu'on le peut, avec d'asséz bonnes milices, particulièrement aux environs de La Rochelle et de Rochefort. On y fait venir 6,000 hommes des vieilles troupes, outre la noblesse de diverses provinces, qui est déjà partagée à Xaintes, Saint Jean d'Angély, Surgeres, Niort, Fontenay, Lusson, St. Benoît, et Les Ollonnes. On a posté des dragons à Charente et à Marans, de maniere qu'en 24 heures on peut faire un cors de 20,000 hommes. On fait un campement au Vergerou [marginal note in the same hand: 'C'est a une lieue de Rochefort, en allant vers la mer'] de 4 a 5,000 hommes, et en cet endroit la, on mettra de grosses chaines de fer au travers de la riviere, ausquelles on travaille jour et nuit à Rochefort. Enfin tout est en mouvement en cette province.

'Monsieur le Marêchal d'Estrée étoit à La Rochelle il y a 3 jours, et apres y avoir donné ses ordres, passa en Brouages, et de la fut visiter les fortresses

d'Oleron. Il fait son séjour à La Rochelle. On a mis cette semaine le canon sur les remparts de cette ville la, ou il y a plus de 1,500 hommes occupéz à faire de nouveaux travaux par l'ordre du dit Sieur Marêchal. On fait aussy un retranchement et une espece de redoute à la pointe de Chef de Baye [marginal note in the same hand: 'à une lieue de La Rochelle'] pour y former des batteryes. Il n'y a que l'Isle de Ré qu'on dirroit qu'on abandonne à l'ennemy, car il n'y a pas 1,000 hommes de troupes réglées dans la ville et cittadelle de St. Martin. On en a même depuis 15 jours tiré un bataillon qu'on a mis à La Rochelle.

'Nous craignons extremement que vos flottes viennent paroître en nos rades; non pas pour le mal quelles peuvent nous faire, car nous sommes en état a ne les apprehender pas, mais a cause des troupes quelles nous attireront, qui ruineront nos fruitz avant qu'on les aye coupéz.

'Il nous est arrivé cette semaine 4 de nos navires du Roy qui estoient aux Iles de l'Amerique. Le navire *Le Jerzey* (prize angloize) est du nombre. Il ne reste plus aux Isles que 4 navires qui sont à la Martinique, pour laquelle isle ainsy que pour la Gardeloupe nous craignons beaucoup cet esté, par les forces que ces capitaines qui nous en viennent nous dizem estre à la Barbados, ou on s'apprestoioit pour nous aller insulter.

'Les nouveaux convertis sont fort maltraitéz de la populace, et même de gens qui d'ailleurs sont assez raisonnables. On les assaille de paroles injurieuses sur les rues, et partout ailleurs, comme estant la cause de cette guerre. On les appelle des chiens, des bougres, d'Huguenotz, qu'il faudroit exterminer pour qu'il n'en fût jamais parlé; et tout cela est sussité par les Jesuites, qui sont eux seuls la veritable cause des miseres de nôtre France. Il arriveroit quelque chose de sinistre à ces pauvres Huguenotz s'il ny avoit pas grand nombre de troupes dans ces cantons pour retenir la canaille et les moines.'

3½ pp. *French. Signed: H. H. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 29 July.*

K17. 1692, Aug. [16/] 26. 'On sauve tous les jours les canons des navires brûléz à La Hogue, quoy qu'on craignît beaucoup que les Anglois et Hollandois ne vissent empecher les travailleurs avec quelques vaisseaux de guerre qu'ils auroient peu faire croiser devant cette coste la tout l'esté. On dit qu'on fera transporter une partie de ces canons de fonte verte a Rochefort par terre pour estre refondus à la fonderie de ce lieu la en piéces de 36 livres de balle, dont on veut à present faire toutes les bateries basses des vaisseaux de 80 canons et au dessus; car on a connu d'experiance que les gros canons détruisent les autres.

'Les 21 navires qui se sont refugiéz à St. Malo y sont encor. Ils ont ordre du

Roy, pour ne pas tant risquer à la fois, de sortir, navire apres navire, lors que le vent le permettra, et de se rendre à Brest. Cependant, on craint que les ennemis ne tiennent quelque escadre entre Ouessant et Brest à croizer pour les empêcher d'y entrer.

'Les fregates de St. Malo iront de même a Brest conduire leurs prises, par la peur qu'ils ont des Anglois. Monsieur de Nesmond en est sorty depuis quelques jours avec 6 gros navires de guerre, et 3 autres navires l'ont suivy pour l'aller joindre à un rendezvous donné; mais on ne sait ou il va. On soupçonne pourtant que c'est aux Isles de l'Amerique, parce qu'ils ont des vivres pour jusques à la fin de l'année, et que la Martinique a bien besoin de secours, plus de la moitié des equipages des navires du Roy quy y ont resté estant mortz, et le reste incapable de ramener les navires, 3 des capitaines y estans aussy mortz. Le vaisseau de guerre qui a aporté cette nouvelle a jetté 106 hommes à la mer. On luy fait aussi faire la carantaine.

'Au reste, on prépare a Rochefort 2 navires du Roy pour aller aux dites Isles y conduire les vaisseaux marchands chargés de toutes sortes de provisions, dont la Martinique manque beaucoup. Ils partiront dans le mois prochain.

'Le Roy ne veut plus mettre de vaisseaux en mer en cors d'armée jusques au printems, mais on est resolu de ruiner tout le negoce des Anglois et Hollandois par diverses petites escadres de 5 a 6 navires de guerre chascune, qui croizeront sur les hauteurs, et à la coste d'Espagne, a moins que les ennemis n'y donnent empeschement, soit en tenant 12 à 15 navires sur ces cotes la, que d'en avoir 5 a 6 de bas rang dans le passage vers St. Sebastien.

'Ceux de Bayonne, qui ont plus de 30 corsaires hors, apprehendent qu'on ne leur envoie des Anglois, etc., croizer sur leur coste pour en interrompre l'abord. Il y a tel de ces corsaires qui a 40 canons.

'Quoy que les ennemis, avec leur pretendue dessente, n'ayent rien exécuté de leur grands projetz, ils n'ont pas laissé de mettre l'épouvante depuis Dunquerque jusques a Baionne, et ont tenu plus de 80,000 hommes de guerre inutiles dans les provinces, pour les jeter dans les lieux ou il auroit esté de besoin; et qui cependant ruinent et mangent les pauvres peuples jusques aus os; et empeschent que les tailles ne se payent, car l'argent qu'on en retire ne sert qu'à employer aux fortifications qu'on fait par tout. On travaille plus que jamais à celles de La Rochelle, et on a repris celles de l'Isle d'Ay. On travaille aussy fortement à la pointe du Chapus, vers Marennnes, et en Oleron.

'On a mis sur les ateliers de Rochefort 2 navires neufs de 90 canons et une fregate de 60, qu'on dit seront prêtz au printems. On tire à present de Bayonne, pour Rochefort et pour Brest, tous les goildrons [goudron, tar], bray [brai, pitch], fer, et les bois quil faut pour la construction des navires. Il en est arrivé depuis 3 semaines 8 flottes toutes chargées à Rochefort sous

l'escorte d'un miserable convoy de 36 canons. Jugéz silz eussent trouvé quelques navires ennemis, ce quilz seroient devenues. Par bonheur les Anglois, etc., ne s'en mettent pas en app[a]rance, beaucoup en peine, car si on boûchoit cette source par quelque escadre à croizer, que ferions nous pour nos équipemens? Le même convoy en a aussi conduit 8 autres navires à Brest.

'Nous avons 2 camps proche de Rochefort, l'un a Vergerou, l'autre a Fourras, de 4 a 5,000 hommes, parmy lesquels est la noblesse de l'arriereban, gueze comme des miserables, car ilz n'ont pas de quoy se nourrir, ny leurs chevaux.

'3 de nos navires de guerre ont pris un vaisseau de guerre espagnol de 54 canons et 500 hommes qui s'est extremement bien deffendu, et qui a été desmasté. On l'ammena hier a l'Isle d'Ay. On peut mettre 64 canons sur ce navire la. Ces Espagnols sont des canailles. Ils étoient 4 vaisseaux pleins de monde, et 3 s'enfuirent apres un peu de combat. En verité nos gens se battent bien; têtmon en soit, encore, ce qui vient de se faire en Flandre, à Steenkerke. Il nous en a cousté à la verité 3,500 hommes, dont 500 estoient officiers et braves gens, et de qualite; nous en avons fait, pour tout cela, un feu de joye, car nous sommes demeurez maîtres du champ de bataille, et de quelques canons des ennemis, et obligé le Prince d'Orange à se retirer avec précipitation. Autant ce Prince est malheureux en ses expéditions, autant le Roy a de bonheur, car tout luy reussit, contre toute apparence.

'Il est vray que le Duc de Savoye est sur la frontiere du Daupiné et devant Ambrun, mais quoy que d'abord cela ait causé de la consternation, même fort grande, dans toute cette province la et jusques aux portes de Lion, il doit se presser de se couvrir, car la cour fait marcher des troupes qui l'attaqueront d'un costé, et Monsieur Catinat d'un autre. On croit que le Roy assiegera quelque ville en Flandres sur la fin de la campagne.

'Les habitans de l'Isle de Ré craignent fort une dessente. On a fait un fort a la pointe de Sablanceau avec des batteries, et d'autres vers Le Martray. Il y a environ 1,400 hommes en la ville et citadelle. Il ny a que 8 jours que jy estois, mais ce sont de mechantes troupes. On a basti un fort en l'Isle de Cazaux en la riviere de Bourdeaux, et un autre, tout proche, dans le pays de Medoc, pour obliger les navires a passer devant Blaye.

'Vous vous estonnés par quoy nous sommes si bien informéz de ce qui se passe en Hollande. C'est un nommé Jean Louis Aubert, d'Amsterdam, neveu du consul françois, Chabert, qui correspond avec nous et nous informe de tout. Adieu mon cher capitaine.'

5pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 15 Sept. and read to the Admiralty the same night. In the margin ink lines have been drawn against several passages in this letter, and a hand which points to Aubert in the final paragraph.*

K18. 1692, [Aug. 31/] Sept. 10. 'Nous avons été dans de grandes craintes le long de ces côtes et jusques à Bayonne, ou nous avions le gros de nos forces, croyans que la dessente se feroit au passage. Nous y aurions eu plus de 15,000 hommes à y opposer, tant cavalerie qu'infanterie, et les milices. Si la dessente se fut faite la, cela auroit pu faire faire quelque soulevemens dans la Navarre et le Bearn, mais nos allarmes sont finies depuis que nous avons appris que l'ennemy à débarqué ses troupes de dessente à Ostende, et nous esperons que la cour donnera bien tôt le congé à nos fainéans de gentilshommes de l'arriereban, qui sont en cette province d'Aulnix au nombre de plus de mille, de retourner chez eux. Entre nous, en verité, ilz ne valent pas le pain d'orge qu'ilz mangent, avec de la mesture, et quilz arrachent des mains des pauvres paizans, par faute d'argent pour en acheter de meilleur. Ilz ont si fort ruiné le pauvre peuple chez qui ilz sont logéz dans les bourgs et les villages qu'il est impossible qu'ilz puissent payer les tailles. Cette vertueuse noblesse a devoré tout jusques aux pommes, aux poires, et aux autres fruitz; chez ces miserables et d'ailleurs ils les ont si fort mal traitéz que cela a pensé faire des soulevemens. Si cela eût duré, ou que cela revienne encore, je ne sai ce qui en arrivera à la fin.

'Nos 2 camps du Vergerou et de Fourras n'en ont pas moins fait de leur costé; malheur à qui se trouve dans leur voisinage. C'est nôtre malheureuse destinée que la cour ne se fie pas sur les provinces, et qu'il faut pour s'en assurer quelle y tienne des troupes nombreuses, comme sur les frontieres du royaume, pour les tenir dans le devoir.

'Nous avons avis qu'il est sorti 5 navires du Roy du port de Brest, dont l'un, de 80 canons, a touché, en sortant, sur une roche, qui luy a emporté presque toute la quille. Les autres 4 ne l'abandonneront pas qu'ilz ne l'ayent escorté à Brest. [Marginal note in the same hand: 'Ilz n'ont de vivres que pour 6 semaines'.]

'Monsieur le Comte d'Estreez est en la rade de Brest avec 15 des plus gros navires de guerre, qui ont pris des vivres pour 4 mois. On tient qu'ilz passeront a Cadix, en allant au Destroit, et qu'ilz donneront une bourade a cette ville, si l'armée espagnole n'y est pas.

'Monsieur de Nesmond est toujours sur la coste d'Espagne avec 5 navires de 60 canons et au dessus.

'Les navires de St. Malo ont ordre de sortir a petit nombre et de gagner d'abord à la côte d'Angleterre, pour éviter les Anglois, etc., qui peuvent les guetter sur nos côtes, afin de gagner ainsy Brest sans risques.

'On batit à Rochefort 3 navires neufs qui s'avancent fort. On travaille de même dans les autres portz. Les 8 flottes chargées de bois pour bâtir, partiez de Bayonne, sont bien arriveés à Brest. On craignoit que les ennemis n'eussent quelques grosses escadres a croizer sur Bel-Isle et Ouessant, ce qui

nous auroit extrêmement incommodé, mais ilz nous font la grace de nous laisser faire comme nous le voulons. Cependant on ne veut pas avoir pour eux tant de reconnoissance que de les laisser aussy en repos, car nos petites escadrons particulieres dézoleront leurs negotians.

‘La prise d’Ambrun par le Duc de Savoye, etc., donne de l’inquiétude à la cour, par ce que c’est le foible endroit du royaume. On fait marcher ce qu’on peut des troupes de ce costé pour fortifier Monsieur Catinat. Nous venons aussi de recevoir un petit échec en Flandres, vers Namur.

‘Nous perdons peu a peu nos meilleurs officiers de mer. Messieurs le Chevalier de Flaccour et Monsieur Forent, chefs d’escadre, sont mortz depuis 10 jours; et Monsieur Panetier, aussi chef d’escadre, étoit a l’extremité.

‘Un navire arrivé de la Martinique à La Rochelle, party de la le 8e. juillet, rapporte que l’on continuoit à y mourir comme mouches; qu’ilz n’y voyoient plus de navires anglois; et que deux de ceux que nous y avons, desquels tous les officiers sont morts, étoient aléz croizer à la hauteur de la Barbados. On aprête a Rochefort 2 navires de 50 à 60 canons qui partiront dans tout ce mois pour porter du renfort à la Martinique.

‘La mer sera bientôt couverte de nos armateurs. Il y en a déjà plus de 60 hors, et on en aprête divers autres pour les suivre.

‘Les 5 navires de Monsieur de Nesmond dont je vous ay déjà parlé se doivent joindre a l’escadre de Monsieur le Comte d’Estreez pour le conduire avec ses 15 navires jusques vers Cadix, et puis s’en retourner desarmer à Rochefort.

‘Il y a des Turcs de 30 à 40 pièces de canon à croizer sur les côtes de Portugal.’

5pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 21 Sept., and in a later hand as French letters giving intelligence about 1692 and 1693.*

K19. [16]92, [Oct. 23/] Nov. 2. ‘Nouvelles du pays d’Aulnix et Xaintonge.’ ‘Je ne sai si vous êtes mort ou vivant. Il y a long-tens que je n’ay entendu parler de vous, quoy que je vous aye écrit diverses fois avant nôtre malheureuse aventure à La Hogue, à 15 des plus beaux navires du Roy.

‘Nous avons pourtant sauvé tous les canons de ces navires la. On les a fait siér [scier, saw up]. On les a fait porter à Nantes, d’ou nous les attendons tous les jours pour les fondre en pièces de 36 livres, dont on veut dresser toutes les bateries basses des vaisseaux du Roy, par l’avis des capitaines, qui ont reconnu que le gros canon faisoit un efét merveilleux contre celuy des ennemis. Pour cét efét, on travaille à la fonderie de Rochefort avec beaucoup d’empressement à faire les moules à couler les ditz canons des que les matières seront arrivées. Il y en a déjà bon nombre de pretz. Ce sont des barques qui les apporteront de Nantes à Rochefort, lesquelles ont pour

escorte seulement une ou deux frégattes de 30 a 36 canons, tant on se m'efie peu de trouver des Anglois vers l'Isle Dieu. Cela épargne ainsy beaucoup de défence, et c'est de même aussi que les matières nécessaires pour les armemens vont de Bayonne à Brest, au Port Louis, et à Rochefort.

'On dit icy que l'Admiral Russel ne s'est pas servi de son avantage à La Hogue, comme il l'auroit pû faire! Et que s'il eût partagé son armée en deux, il eût détruit les 21 navires qui se sauverent à St. Malò, comme vous l'avez appris. Tous ces navires la sont maintenant à Brest et à Rochefort.

'Monsieur de Nesmond est sorty de Brest avec 11 navires de guerre pour croizer, comme on le dit, sur les flottes marchandes des ennemis, sur lesquelles les fregattes de St. Malo font bien du ravage. Il y en à 30 de celles de St. Malo dehors, et 30 de Bayonne et de Bordeaux, de 30 a 40 canons. Elles se tiennent sur la côte d'Espagne. Une des frégattes de Bayonne, de 40 canons, a pris a 4 lieues de Bilboa un navire hollandois qui y alloit, chargé de balles de draperie, etc., qu'on estime plus de 100,000 livres, quoi que l'Hollandois eût 30 canons et 60 hommes et se soit battu pendant 3 heures. Mais l'équipage abandonna le capitaine. Il avoit son pilote de terre a bord.

'On va mettre incessamment à l'eau à Rochefort 2 navires neufs de 80 pièces de canon châcun, et on en mettra aussi tôt deux autres sur les mêmes chantiers.

'Les navires qu'on construit à Bayonne, au Port Louis, et a Brest, et à Toulon, s'avancent de même, en sorte que vous devéz conter que l'armée du Roy sera de 80 navires de ligne cette campagne qui vient, et que le moindre vaisseau sera de 60 canons, la plus grande partie du premier et du second rang à 3 pontz.

'Tous les matelotz qui sont à la mer sur les vaisseaux marchandes, aux Isles et ailleurs, ont ordre de se rendre pour tout le mois de mars, sous de grosses peines.

'Il partit il y a 3 semaines des rades de La Rochelle pour les Isles de l'Amérique une flotte de vaisseaux sous lescorte de trois convoys, qui ont ordre de ramener ces vaisseaux la.

'Il est party cette semaine de la riviere de Rochefort un navire de 40 canons seul, sans qu'on sache ou il vâ, et on travaille encore à l'équipement de 2 autres, sans qu'on sache le dessein de la cour. Les capitaines mêmes ne le savent pas en s'embarquent [*sic*], tant les choses sont tenües secrètes.

'L'argent ne manque pas plus à Rochefort que l'eau dans la riviere! ce qui estonne tout le monde, veu la grande misere qui est parmy le peuple, car la pluspart de ce peuple n'a pas de pain, estant cher plus qu'on ne l'a vû il y a long-tens.

'Les vins ne vallent rien cette année, car de memoire d'homme on n'a vû de

semblables vendanges. Valent en Xaintonge 200 livres le tonn[e]au des petis rouges, qui s'y vendoit ordinairement 30 a 40 livres. L'eau de vie y vaut 120 livres le barique.

'Tous les canons de fer qu'on a ordonnés de faire dans les forges sont de 36 livres. On y fait aussi des bombes d'une grosseur effroiable, et on en fait un amas extraordinaire. On fait aussi des mortiers de fer par faute de cuivre, lesquels feront aussi bien leur effet, quoi quilz pesent 8,000 livres.

'Nous croyions icy qu'on prendroit Charles Roy [Charleroi], qu'on avoit assiégé, mais l'on dit que l'on garde cela pour le printens, et qu'on s'est contenté de le bombarder.

'On leve des gens de tous côtéz, ou de gré, ou par adresse, plus que de bonne volonté, car tout est permis aux capitaines dans la nécessité ou ilz sont de rendre leurs compagnies complètes.

'On publie la mort du Duc de Savoye, et l'on conte que l'on fera la paix avec cét estat-la pour jeter les troupes de Piedmont en Allemagne l'esté prochain pour obliger les Alliéés a demander la paix au Roy.

'Je ne sai point encore quelle sera ma destinée pour la campagne prochaine. On fait des appretz inconcevables de vivres, nonobstant la cherté de toutes sortes de munitions de guerre.

'On fait courir le bruit que les 3 navires de guerre sortis de Brest sont aléz au devant des navires qu'on attend de Canada, qui sont tres importants.

'On travaille à La Rochelle a faire un magasin de poudres outre celuy quy y est, afin que tout ne soit pas dans un lieu en cas d'accident, car il y a dans cette ville la 600 milliers de poudre en un endroit.

'Tous les amis de La Tramlade se portent bien. Il ny a que huit jours que j'y estois. Elle semble a un desert a present; on n'y voit plus de matalotz comme autrefois.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 7 Nov.*

K20. 1693, [Jan. 24/] Feb. 3. 'Les navires qui sont à Rochefort et qu'on y apprête en sortiront à mesure qu'ils seront en etat. Ils iront à l'Isle Day prendre leurs canons et vivres, et de la à Brest, deux a deux, ou trois à trois de compagnie afin que l'ennemi n'empesche nôtre jonction.

'Tous les navires de ce port sont déjà galéfettéz, et la pluspart même carennéz. On y travaille à mettre les oeuvres mortes en etat, et pour avoir des matelotz, qui est ce qui nous retiendra le plus.

'On a fermé depuis 8 jours tous les portz depuis Baionne jusques à Dunquerque.

‘Les matelotz sont dautant plus rares que de tous ceux qu’on a envoié aux Isles, il n’en revient pas la moitié, la maladie continuant à la Martinique. Châcun des derniers navires qui en sont venus depuis un mois à perdu 100 hommes. On attend pour tout le mois de mars tous les navires du Roy qui y sont restéz, crainte qu’on a qu’ilz ne soient encore pis, et que les Anglois n’y envoient des forces suffizentes pour nous y accabler. On abandonnerà ces isles là cét esté à se soûtenir d’elles-même comme elles pourront, ainsi si les Anglois y envoient des troupes et un bon commandant nous contons quelle[s] sont perdues pour nous, et elles le seroient des les années précédentes si le Capitaine Codrington eût fait son devoir, et celuy qui fut à Québec de même.

‘L’estat de l’armement est réglé de 86 à 90 navires de ligne, mais il est a douter qu’on trouve des matelotz pour les armer, quand bien même on prendroit, comme on est résolu de le faire, tous les matelotz des rivières de Bourdeaux, de la Loire et de la Seine, qui sont si rebutté du feu qu’ilz virent l’année dernière des 15 navires qui furent brûléz à La Hogue qu’ilz vont se cacher jusques dans les bois. On en est venu de ce côté icy, à leur égard, aux extremitéz, et on a brûlé des maisons à La Tramlade, et tué des gens qui fuyoient, parce qu’on les vouloit presser pour le service. On fera servir, pour la mannoeuvre basse des navires, les soldatz du regiment des vaisseaux qui s’accoûtumeront insensiblement au matelotage.

‘Les trois navires neufs qu’on a bâtit en ce port sont à l’eau. Les quatre autres qu’on a bâtis à Brest y sont de même. Je les y ay laissé en cét etat.

‘On écrit icy de Toulon que l’escadre de 21 navires des plus gros qui soient en ce port la s’en vont être en état d’en partir au commencement de mars, pour venir joindre les autres à Brest, à moins que les Anglois ne les empêchent, car ilz ont beau jeu. 20 ou 30 de leurs plus gros navires venant de bonne heure croizer incessamment depuis Bel-Isle jusques à Brest feront laffaire, et empêcheront ainsi au moins ceux de Rochefort d’entrer à Brest, et encore plus facilement les navires de munitions et de provisions, car ces provisions, etc., s’envoient toutes d’icy, de Bourdeaux et de La Rochelle à Brest.

‘On réfond actuellement tous nos canons de fonte, sauvéz des navires brûléz à La Hogue, et pour vray, on en fait de tres belles pièces de 24 et de 36 de balle.

‘Il doit aussi venir de Dunquerque et du Havre des navires de guerre à Brest, au moins si on voit jour à les faire sortir sans risques.

‘Le Roy à freté des navires pour envoyer nombre de provizions et munitions en Canada.

‘On est en peine de savoir quelles troupes sont sorties d’Angleterre pour aller aux Isles.

'Il court un bruit que le Maréchal d'Estrées doit retourner vers le mois d'avril à La Rochelle pour y commander. Il y amenera sans doute des troupes dont la province se passeroit bien, car elle est assés àbimée d'ailleurs.

'Ce qui surprend tout le monde, c'est que l'argent ne manque non plus que l'argent* à la mer, et que tous les officiers et les troupes de terre et de mer n'ont jamais été mieux payéz.

'Vous savéz sans doute déjà qu'on a fait un lieutenant général, 4 chéfs d'escadre, 38 capitaines, et plus de 120 lieutenans et enseignes de marine, et nombre de gardes de marine, d'enfans de qualité dont on remplit les vaisseaux, car ils en font la force et la deffence.

'Les navires de guerre qui viendront de Toulon seront fortz de monde, parce qu'ilz apporteront avec eux nombre de matelotz pour les navires de Brest.

'On a des peines incroyables à faire des récréües pour les troupes de terre. On se sert indifferement pour cela de la ruse et de la force. Autrement on n'en auroit pas un.

'On parle icy de mettre sur l'âtelier 2 navires de 100 canons et 2 de 60 à 70 canons.

'On a lancé à leau à Toullon *Le Soleil Royal* de 112 pièces de canons pour remplasser celui qui est brûlé; les gens qui l'ont veu assurent que c'est le plus beau navire qui ait jamais esté à la mer.

'On travaille icy à un nombre incroyable de bombes et de grénades.

'Il est sorty de St. Malo depuis 12 jours 20 frégattes de course, toutes fortes.

'On travaille toûjours aux fortifications de Rochefort, crainte d'une dessente. On parle den faire de même à La Rochelle. On a de nouveau deffendu aux nouveaux convertis d'avoir ny armes n'y poudre chez eux.

'Les corsaires de Bayonne sont toûjours sur les côtes d'Espagne, ou ilz prennent presque autant de navires anglois qu'il y en vient de Terre Neuve. Ilz en ont pris 12 ou 15 depuis 2 mois, et en voila tout recemment 2 autres pris. 5 ou 6 de vos frégattes, qui peuvent fort bien hyverner dans les havres d'Espagne, chasseroient aisement tous ces brigands si vous vouliés agir tout de bon.'

P.S. 'Monsieur l'Intendant vient de recevoir un ordre de la cour d'armer en dilligence dix gros navires, et les faire sortir la riviere sans qu'on sache à quel dessein; ny les noms des capitaines qui les doivent commander.'

3¼ pp. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 14 Feb.

**Sic*, presumably an error for 'Teau' as in no. K19.

K21. [1693,] [Feb. 28/] March 10. 'Il ny a rien de nouveau aux affaires que vous savéz depuis ce que je vous en ay écrit depuis peu. Tout se dispose comme je vous l'ay dit.

'Vos navires arrivéz à Lisbonne sont bien heureux de n'avoir pas été rencontréz par Monsieur de Nesmond, qui les attendoit au passage, et se prometoit qu'il n'en échapperoit pas un; car il avoit 12 gros vaisseaux de guerre et 15 ou 20 corsaires de St. Malo et d'ailleurs.

'Le bruit court à La Rochelle depuis deux jours que les Anglois ont pris la Gardeloupe; cependant nous n'avons encore pas de navires de ces isles la depuis un tens. Ceux du Roy n'ont pas encore paru.

'Nous attendons de jour en jour deux convois du nord avec la flotte de leurs marchands, mais je ne sai de quoi ils pourront charger, les sels estant chers et les eaux de vie et vins fort rares; ce qui na pas empesché qu'a légard des eau de vie elles ne soient tombées a Nantes de 50 livres par barrique et à La Rochelle de 30 livres. Le Roy a fait faire défanse a Nantes d'en faire plus de sucres, comme on avoit commencé, et sans doute que l'on le defendra de même a La Rochelle, ou l'on a établi des chaudières pour en faire.

'Les bléz qui sont en terre ont une belle apparence. Cela en a fait un peu diminuer le prix en ce pais.

'Il est arrivé cette semaine au Sieur Makerel de La Rochelle un navire chargé de beurres, de suifs, de cuirs, et de laines qui vient de Limerick, et ou je croy quil le renvoyera apres sa dècharge.

'Dautres lettres de plus fraîche date disent que les convoy [*sic*] et la flotte du nord sont arrivéz en l'Isle de Ré.'

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *French. Endorsed as received from Sir Patience Ward 28 March 1693.*

K22. 1693, [March 28/] April 7. 'Je viens de faire un tour à Rochefort. Il y a 12 navires de guerre dèja prêt et qui sont mouilléz à l'Isle d'Ay, lesquels doivent partir du premier bon vent pour aller à Brest, sous le commandement de Monsieur de Bel-Isle de La Rochelle, qui n'est pas un de nos moindres capitaines. Ilz convoieront 18 a 20 navires chargéz de munitions de guerre, de canons, et de toutes sortes de provisions pour les navires du Roy qui sont à Brest. Ces 12 navires qui sont à l'Isle d'Ay prennent à bord leurs provisions et munitions qu'on a envoyées de Bourdeaux, sans quoy ilz seroient d'èja partis.

'On travaille à mettre en état de sortir les autres vaisseaux de guerre qui restent dans Rochefort, mais ilz ne pourront pourtant pas sortir qu'ilz n'ayent des matelotz, qui sont bien rares. Il y en est pourtant arrivé quelques uns, qui sont venus depuis 15 jours des Isles de l'Amérique, et ausquelz ont fait faire quarantaine parce quilz étoient dans 3 vaisseaux du Roy qui ont jetté les deux

tiers de leurs equipages à la mer, mortz de la maladie des Isles, qui ravage non seulement les equipages au bord des vaisseaux mais aussi les habitans à terre. Si les forces parties d'Angleterre pour la Barbade vont à la Martinique des quilz seront arrivéz, et avant que la maladie se mette parmy eux, on ne doute nullement quilz ne l'enlevent, les habitans et les esclaves de l'isle estant accabléz des travaux qu'on y a fait faire pour se mettre en estat de deffence. Ilz sont si maltraitéz du Comte de Blenac, leur general, que si c'estoit les Hollandois qui les attaquassent comme les Anglois, ils se rendroient a eux dès quilz parôitroient, et leur livreroient le Comte avec l'isle, car il les ruine et les abisme par les brigandages quil commet.

'On avoit resolu d'envoyer un navire du Roy escorter quelques navires marchands pour les Isles, mais lordre est revoqué.

'Ce qui reste de vaisseaux à Rochefort ont ordre de partir à mesure quilz seront prêtz sans attendre les autres, pour se rendre à Brest avant que les ennemis puissent se mettre entre deux pour les empêcher, car, entre nous, il ny a rien de si facile à faire avec une escadre de 30 ou 40 navires à croiser depuis Belle Isle jusques à Brest. Les navires qu'on équipe au Port Louis ont aussi les mêmes ordres à mesure quilz seront prest. Si on détruizoit sez [*sic*] 12 navires de guerre qui sont à l'Isle d'Ay, et les 20 vaisseaux de provisions dont je vous ay déjà parlé, nous n'ozerions paroître de toute lannée en mer.

'On avoit arrêté de mettre sur les chantiers de Rochefort deux grands navires de 80 et 100 canons afin quilz fussent prêtz pour lannée prochaine; mais cet ordre à esté revoqué; on a congedié tous les charpentiers des environs qu'on avoit fait venir à Rochefort pour cet effét, et on retient seulement ceux du lieu même, qu'on occupe au travail des vieux vaisseaux. Cela marque que largent manque dans la marine.

'Il y a plus de miserables laboureurs, saulniers, paisans, maçons et autres gens de travail que de veritables matelotz sur les 12 vaisseaux de guerre qui sont sortis de ce port pour se rendre à Brest; aussi conte-t'on plus sur les soldatz des regiment[s] de la marine qu'on y a mis, et sur les gardes de la marine même, que sur ces sortes de nouveaux matelotz. Il y a 12 a 15 gardes de la marine sur chaque vaisseau avec 2 capitaines et autres officiers pour les soldatz, et comme tout le monde le sait, tous ces gens la sont fort braves, chacun deux ayant de l'emulation pour s'avancer.

'Le bruit est grand que l'armée ennemie sera composée de 150 navires et plus.

'Monsieur le Comte d'Estrées est party de Toulon avec 20 navires; on dit quil va faire quelque expedition pour ensuite venir à Brest.

'Il doit venir 7 a 8,000 hommes de troupes reglées en Aulnix. Il en est déjà arrivé 1,000 hommes à La Rochelle, de fort mechanz soldatz. Si les autres ne sont pas meilleurs ilz ne feront pas grand mal aux enemis.

'Le bruit court a La Rochelle que Monsieur le Maréchal d'Estrées ny viendra point commander les troupes comme on lavoit crû. La cour a changé de sentiment et en enverra un autre.

'Les fortifications de l'Isle d'Ay se continuent. La folie va même jusques à y vouloir bâtir une ville. On ne sait comment dépenser l'argent du Roy, car cette forteresse empêchera l'entrée aux navires dans la riviere de Charante, comme si elle étoit faite à Londres. On a en veüe dy décharger tous les canons des navires du Roy aux desarmemens.'

P.S. 'Il étoit venu un courrier il y a 12 jours portant ordre à Monsieur Gabarret de sortir avec le premier navire quil trouveroit prêt pour exécuter quelque dessein, mais comme le vent len a empêché, il est venu depuis un autre ordre.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 13 April.*

K23. [16]93, April [2/] 12. 'Il est party depuis quatre jours de nos rades [marginal note: de Rochefort] 10 navires de guerre de 80 à 60 canons sous le commandement de Monsieur de Bel Isle, sans qu'on sache ou ilz vont, ayant ses ordres dans un paquet cacheté a ouvrir lors quil sera hors les pertuis. Les uns croient qu'ilz vont croizer à la coste d'Espagne, d'autres qu'ilz vont au devant de Monsieur le Comte d'Estrées, et d'autres qu'ilz vont a Brest; mais je ne croy pas le dernier. Un peu de tens nous rendra plus savans.'

1p. *French. Endorsed as received 19 April.*

K24. [16]93, May [14/] 24. 'Je suis arrivé de St. Malo en ce lieu depuis huit jours! J'ay veu à La Rochelle Monsieur le Maréchal d'Estrées, qui est venu commander en ces provinces, quoy que l'on eût cy devant publié du contraire. Il fait sa résidence ordinaire à La Rochelle. Il est allé voir le port de Rochefort, et ce quil y auroit a y faire pour empêcher les ennemis d'y entreprendre rien.

'On dit que l'on va faire un camp au Vergerou (comme l'an passé) de parties des troupes qui doivent dessendre en cette province d'Aulnix. Monsieur le Marechal dit quil y doit venir 16,000 hommes de pié, 3,000 chevaux et 1,200 gentilhommes; mais le loup en mangera beaucoup par le chemin avant quilz y soient randus; et la pauvreté de tout le monde ne permet pas que l'on y puisse avoir tant de troupes. Ce sont des bruitz que le Maréchal fait en apparence courir exprés pour intimider l'ennemy, car l'épouvante est grande par tous ces environs, ou l'on croit que l'on en veut à La Rochelle ou à la riviere de Bourdeaux, quoy que de St. Malo quand j'en suis party, ilz y étoient dans une crainte effroiable pour eux, et plusieurs en tiroient leurs

meilleurs effectz. Ilz sy fortifient le mieux qu'ilz peuvent, mais 2,000 hommes les reduiroient en 4 jours. Toutes leurs frégates, excepté 3 ou 4, sont de retour, qui leur cauzent un million de perte.

'J'ay passé à Brest, en retournant de St. Malo. Jay veu qu'on y travaille aussi fortement à sy fortifier. Il y avoit alors environ 35 navires de ligne de prest. Il y en a à present 55, Monsieur Gabaret y étant arrivé avec l'escadre de Rochefort et les navires des portz de Dunquerque et du Havre de Grace. Ces derniers ont passé la Manche sans rien rencontrer. On craignoit beaucoup que quelque forte escadre des ennemis n'empêchât cette jonction, ce que nous estimions estre fort facile a faire.

'On travaille à fortifier Brest d'une étrange maniere. Surtout on fait de fort grosses batteries à Landernau [*recte* Landevennec] au bas de la riviere de Châteaulain qui se dégorge dans la Baye de Brest, au lieu ou nos vaisseaux se mirent à labry l'année passée, apres la desroute; mais il n'est pas difficile de les y aller brûler, ou de les faire au moins échoüer, car c'est le dessein de Monsieur de Tourville de s'y réfugier s'il y est forcé par les ennemis. On dit qu'on y fait venir 8 à 10,000 hommes, et autant pour St. Malo.

'Il ny a encore nulles troupes dans le Poitou, n'y en Guyenne. Il ny en a pas non plus à Rochefort. Il y a 800 hommes à Brouage, autant en Oleron; 1,500 en Lisle de Ré tout au plus, tant dans la ville que dans la citadelle; et à La Rochelle 4 bataillons, qui font 2,500 hommes d'infanterie.

'On se propose aussi de faire un camp en Aunis, outre celuy du Vergerou cy dessus mentionné; c'est dans les plaines entre Villedoux et St. Cendre, à 2 lieues de La Rochelle. On a enlevé pour le service tous les hommes de La Tramlade et de la Xaintonge, avec tous ceux de la riviere de Bourdeaux jusques à Blaye, et ceux du Medoc, ou il ny a personne. Blaye n'a que sa garnison ordinaire. Il y a quelque peu de milices du costé de Bayonne, mais en general, ce quil y a de vray c'est que toutes les troupes qui sont partout ces lieux sont les plus méchantes du monde, car les 4 bataillons de La Rochelle ne vallent pas 500 bons hommes des vieux cors; celles des Isles de Ré, Oleron, et Brouage vallent un peu mieux.

'Monsieur le Maréchal d'Estrées donne tous les ordres, et commande tout ce qui est entre Nantes et Bourdeaux. Il a avec luy un maréchal de camp et deux brigadiers sous luy.

'Monsieur de Marcognet, qui soutint assés mal le siege de Keyser waert la premiere année de la guerre, avec les mêmes lieutenant de Roy et major, est gouverneur de La Rochelle.

'Nous n'avons plus de navires de guerre à Rochefort qui ne soient au dessous de 44 canons. Nous en avons perdu un tout neuf de 50 pièces, en sortant la riviere de Bayonne, ou on l'avoit bâti.

‘Nous croyons les Isles de l’Amerique perdues, car nous n’y avons que deux navires de guerre, *Le Jerzey* qu’on avoit pris sur les Anglois et un autre. Il y a peu de troupes dans le fort de la Martinique. Les habitans sont fort mal contens du gouverneur, le Comte de Blenac, parce quil les pille et vole journellement.

‘On envoie des troupes en Canada, et il en est party, il y a 3 semaines, avec un tres grand nombre de munitions de guerre et de bouche sous l’escorte de 3 petis navires du Roy.

‘On n’a pas encore icy avis pozitif du depart de Monsieur le Comte d’Estréez avec son escadre de Toulon, mais on a avis de Brest par ce dernier courier que tous les vaisseaux quy y sont le devoient joindre, et metre hors en mer avec Monsieur Gabarret le 21 de ce mois pour aller, ainsi que les officiers le croient, au devant dudit Comte d’Estréez; mais l’avis quilz auront receu depuis, que le dit Sieur Comte est derechef retourné aux Isles d’Hieres avec son escadre et 35 galleres par une seconde tourmente quil a rencontré à la mer qui la aussi endommagé, les fera attendre à un autre têns. On dit quil estoit destiné pour une expedition dans le Roussillon; quil devoit prendre la toutes les troupes que commande Monsieur le Duc de Noailles pour les porter a Rozes, pour en faire le siege et la prendre avant que les Espagnols la pussent secourir.

‘Nous ne savons pas encore quelz mouvemens fera l’armée navalle ennemie n’y si la nostre osera paroître. On veut qu’a la fin de ce mois elle sera de 70 navires de ligne, sans conter l’escadre de Monsieur d’Estréez. On dit que si nous paroissions en mer, ce ne sera au moins que quand cette escadre aura joint le gros de la flotte.

‘On croit que le Roy fera faire le siege de Mayence ou de Rhinfeldz.

‘Nous recevons presentement des lettres de la Martinique du 16 mars, d’ou l’on marque que tout estoit en bon estar, mais qu’on n’y avoit encore aucune nouvelle de vôtre flotte qui est allée à la Barbade.

‘Les Irlandois qui sont à La Rochelle font charger beaucoup deau de vie pour l’Irlande. Il y à presentement là (La Rochelle) 10 a 12 navires prêts a en partir pour Limerik, Cork, Dublin, et autres portz d’Irlande, avec des passeportz du Roy; ce qui leur fait faire un bon negoce tandis que les autres s’abyment.

‘La flotte du nord n’attend que le bon vent pour partir.’

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 30 May.*

K25. [16]93, [May 30/] June 9. Rochefort. ‘Je me suis randu en ce lieu. On travaille avec beaucoup de pionniers à faire des retranchemens à l’entrée

de la riviere, et aussi des bateryes, pour empescher les ennemis d'y entrer en cas qu'ilz le voulussent tenter.

'On commence à connoître que la forteresse de l'Isle d'Ayx est plus contre nous que pour nous, et que tous les canons qu'on y pourroit mettre n'empescheront pas les ennemis d'entrer dans nôtre riviere quand ils le voudront. On croit aussi qu'à la fin on la demolira, de même que la ville qu'on bâtit.

'Tous les paizans de la province sont commandéz pour venir avec toutes sortes d'instrumens à remuer la terre.

'La noblesse commence de venir à St. Maixant, Niort, Fontenay, Lusson, St. Jean d'Angely, Xaintes; et toutes les autres villes et gros bourgs à 10 ou 12 lieues autour de La Rochelle en seront garnis. Il y a même déjà à Xaintes 25 a 30 compagnies de cavalerie et dragons.

'On fera 2 campemens, ou peutestre trois, dans la province d'Aulnix, un au Vergerou, et vers Fourras, l'autre vers La Rochelle, et l'autre vers la riviere de Marans.

'Il se doit tenir un conseil cette semaine à La Rochelle, ou nôtre intendant et celui de Poitou se doivent rendre demain pour conférer avec Monsieur le Mareschal d'Estrées qui y est. Monsieur le Marquis de Verac, Lieutenant de Roy en Poitou, doit aussi sy rendre, et il y a des marêchaux de camp et des brigadiers d'armée déjà rendus.

'Je ne say si c'est un jeu ou une crainte veritable, mais l'on témoigne beaucoup d'apprehension des ennemis à La Rochelle et icy; mais moy je m'en moque. On n'y fut jamais si alarmé qu'on y est; on y croit à toute heure voir arriver les Anglois, et si La Rochelle n'étoit fortifiée comme elle l'est, le clergé auroit déjà laissé le terrain vide. Il faut que le commencement de juillet nous rende savans sil y aura une dessente ou non; à mon égard je regarde cela comme une ruze du Prince d'Orange pour faire une diversion de nos troupes.

'Nous avons eu avis que Monsieur le Marêchal de Tourville estoit sorty de Brest le 26 may avec 70 navires de ligne et 20 brûlo[t]s sans que personne penetre ou il a son dessein. Les uns veulent quil va dans la Manche surprendre vostre flotte, que l'on assure n'estre pas encore jointe; les autres, qu'il va au devant de Monsieur d'Estrées jusques à Cadix, pour y détruire une flotte de 400 navires anglois et hollandois que l'on dit y estre, avec 20 navires de guerre. Mais au fons on n'en sait rien de positif.

'On na encore pas de nouvelle certaine icy de l'état des flottes ennemies, n'y ou elles sont.

'Il est arrivé dimanche dernier a l'Isle d'Ay 2 navires échapéz en hâte de la Martinique à l'approche de 50 navires anglois le 14 avril dernier. Ilz disent que les Anglois avoient déjà mis des gens à terre d'un côté de l'Isle pour enlever des

bestiaux, et quilz se preparoient à mettre leurs troupes à terre d'un autre. Tout se preparoit aussi dans l'Isle à faire une vigoureuse resistance. Il y avoit alors en la rade deux navires de guerre qui, des quilz ont veu venir l'armée angloise, se sont retirés au Cul de Sac. Le navire *Le Jerzey* pris sur les Anglois en est un, et *L'Emerillon* l'autre. Mais vous savez peut être bien mieux que nous à present ce qui sest passé en cette expédition. Le general anglois peut sassurer, sil manque ce coup, quil ny aura plus jamais si belle occasion, car les habitans de cette isle la sont si fatiguéz de travaux qu'on leur a fait faire qu'ilz ne savent ou ilz en sont.

'Monsieur, frere du Roy est en Anjou comme general de toutes les troupes qui sont en ces provinces, et pour envoyer des renforts ou il sera nécessaire.

'Le Roy est à Mons comme vous savez, sans qu'on sache a quelle ville il en veut, et s'il ne se tournera point tout d'un coup vers l'Alemagne pour soutenir les entreprises du Turc en Hongrie, et empêcher la paix des deux Empereurs.

'La flotte des Suedois et Danois qui est partie depuis 12 jours avec 2 convoys pour les pais du nord à emporté 5 a 600 nouveaux convertis de divers endroitz, nombre de Marennes et de La Tramlade, et de l'Isle de Ré.'

P.S. [16]93, June [3/] 13. La Rochelle. 'Nous avons avis que les Anglois ont esté battus et chasséz de la Martinique, et qu'ilz y ont perdu 5 à 600 hommes. C'est un brigantin qui en apporte la nouvelle, et qui est party de la le 6e. may.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed as received 18 June.*

K26. 1693, [June 25/] July 5. Rochefort. 'Mon cousin, avec le tens je vous donneray contentement aveq patience sur vôtre curiosité de savoir quels vieux navires nous avons encore dans nos portz, leurs noms, leur force, etc., avec une pareille liste des neufs. Jay pour cét effet écrit en divers portz pour cela; cependant je vous diray pour le present quil ne nous reste plus aucun navire de guerre qui puisse aller à la mer. Il n'y a que quelques navires de 30 à 40 canons dans les radoubz, et on en vâ mettre de 40 canons dans la forme, quoy-que presque incapables de pouvoir remettre en mer apres le radoub qu'on y fera.

'Nous avons a présent sur l'attelier un beau navire de 100 canons, mais qui ne sera prêt que pour la campagne prochaine. On amasse du bois pour en construire 2 autres de cette force, et on en fait de même dans tous les autres portz de Toulon, de Brest, du Port Louis, du Havre de Grace et de Dunquerque. Ainsy desfaités vous de la mechante opinion que vous avez, que nous manquons de navires et de matelotz, car pour des navires il y a encore des foretz en France, et l'on coupe tout, même les avenues des belles maisons qui sont proches des rivieres sans considerer à qui elles sont, et pour les matelotz, on en fait avec des laboureurs et autres gens de métier.

'Je vous ay envoyé par ma dernière les nouvelles de la Martinique, venues par un petit brigantin envoyé exprès par le Comte de Blenac. [Marginal note in the same hand: 'Ces nouvelles étoient dans le *Vyne*, paquet boate qui a été coulé à fonds la semaine dernière.'] Nous avons depuis des navires de la Gardeloupe avec des lettres du 12^e. may qui disent ne savoir de quoy est devenu tout ce grand appareil de navires anglois qui estoient devant la Martinique au nombre de 70 voiles.

'Une fregate de Zeelande a pris deux de ces navires en retour de la Gardeloupe, l'un destiné pour Nantes, l'autre pour Bourdeaux. Ce corsaire peut conter de faire 250 a 300,000 livres de ses prises en sucres, indigo, etc.

'Nous attendons une galere a 30 ou 40 rames, et bien des gens de plus pour chasser les corsaires qui infectent nos côtes.

'Vôtre dessente en France sera comme à l'ordinaire une menace sans effet. Il y auroit plus lieu de croire que nos gens en feront une en Angleterre.

'Vous avés appris le depart de Monsieur de Tourville de Brest et son arrivée le 4 juin à Lagos en les Algarves; c'est une belle traversée pour une armée en 9 jours. On écrit de Lago du 12 juin que tout étoit en bon ordre dans la flotte, et point de malades; qu'on y atendoit Monsieur le Comte d'Estrées avec 23 navires de ligne, des brûlotz et autres bâtimens, et quilz iroient possible [*sic*] le joindre à l'embouchûre du Destroit et en retournant donner une camisade à Cadix. Nôtre intendant a même déjà des lettres que Monsieur de Tourville est devant cette ville la avec son armée, que Cadix et tous les navires marchands qui sont dans la baye sont dans une consternation effroyable, pendant que vôtre flotte se promeine dans la Manche. Si votre escadre qu'on a détachée pour Turquie avec seulement 25 navires de guerre, comme on dit, donne dans cette armée de Monsieur de Tourville, comme il y a bien de l'apparence, ils sont tous perdus. On dit icy que si on s'étudioit à faire mal les choses chez vous, on ne pourroit pas mieux reussir, et que si vôtre armée avoit suivy la nôtre sur les côtes d'Espagne ou de Portugal quelle pouvoit se prometre de la détruire, étant le tiers plus nombreuse et plus forte; au lieu que maintenant que nos navires sont jointz ils iront chercher vostre flôte jusques dans ses portz. Vous le verréz peut-etre avant quil soit un mois.

'On craint si peu la dessente en ce pays icy, que toutes les troupes qui y devoient venir sont contremandées.

'La Rochelle n'a que sa garnison ordinaire de 3,000 hommes, et seulement 12 a 1500 gentilshommes postés à Xaintes, à Charante, vers St. Jean d'Angely, à Niort, à Fontenay, à St. Maixant et jusques vers Les Sables d'Olonne, lesquelz peuvent tous se joindre dans un jour avec 12 ou 18 compagnies de cavalerie qui y ont leurs quartiers.'

1½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Sir Patience Ward 8 July.*

K27. 1693, [July 25/] Aug. 4. Rochefort. 'Voicy la rélation de ce quy s'est passé à la dispersion de vôtre flotte marchande pour Smirne; on me l'envoye du bord du vaisseau du Roy le *St. Esprit* (par le courier que le Roy a reçu). Vous pouvez y ajoûter foy, car la personne qui l'a écrite n'est pas homme à dire des sornéttes. Assurement vos gens ont fait une grande beuve, car on devoit savoir nôtre flotte en mer, et quand Rooke se seroit ingéré de venir attaquer nôtre flotte auroit il pû mieux réussir. Monsieur d'Estréez n'étoit pas encore joint a la grande armée au depart du courier [*in margin*: le 12 juillet]; elle étoit encore sous Lagos. Je croy qu'il y a des ordres secretz pour elle, et pour que Monsieur d'Estréez ne passe point le Détroit. Le bruit de cette jonction ne sera qu'un leurre. On ne peut concévoir le manège de vôtre armée navale dont on n'entend non plus parler que si elle estoit fondue: elle avoit beau jeu d'aller avec la flotte de Smirne attaquer la nôtre. La dessente prétendue enfante aussi à son ordinaire des mouches.

'Nous n'avons nulle nouvelles de l'Amérique depuis le 12 may, ce qui nous fait craindre que les Anglois n'ayent répris courage et soient retournéz à la Martinique, ou alléz à la Gardeloupe, et envoyé quelques frégattes à St. Domingo, car nous en attendonz de la 5 à 6 vaisseaux dés le mois passé, qui ne paroissent point.'

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *French.*

With (on the same sheet):

K27(1). 1693, [June 23/] July 3. 'Du bord du vaisseau le *St. Esprit*.' Had the enemy known that the French fleet was out they would surely not have exposed over 300 merchant ships to the risk of meeting it, especially with their own fleet having left them only thirty leagues to sea beyond the Channel. 'Cette confiance trop légère les a fait tomber dans un piège que l'armée du Roy leur tendoit sous le Cap de St. Vincent ou elle étoit mouillée à 2 fins, l'une pour attrapper cette flotte, et l'autre pour la jonction des 20 navires de Monsieur le Comte d'Estréez. Et comme il étoit vraisemblable que les ennemis avec toutes leurs forces de mer viendroient aussy nous y surprendre, ou excorter leurs navires marchands, Monsieur de Tourville rénoit au loin à leur rencontre plusieurs navires légers pour l'avertir par des signaux. Une partie de leur armée ou flotte eut le bonheur d'éviter sa ruine absolue par un vent frais et favorable qui la fit tomber tout d'un coup souz le Cap St. Vincent sans avoir fait rencontre de nos premiers chasseurs, et par la détention d'une de nos frégates, assiégée à la coste par deux navires saltins [of Salee], laquelle venoit donner avis de l'arrivée prochaine de cette flotte, dont elle avoit fait une prise d'un petit bâtiment.

'Le navire le *St. Esprit* étoit alors en garde sous le Cap St. Vincent avec 6 autres navires en distance, pour donner avis à nôtre general. Ainsy, le 26 juin la flotte angloise parut sur un grand front de 150 voilles venant vent arrière et montrant le bout, ce qui les rendit plus difficiles à conôître; la contenance d'ailleurs, et la vitesse de leur route persuadoit que c'estoit l'armée ennemie. Leurs chasseurs en vinrent aux canons avec les nôtres, qui firent alors les signaux d'une armée, lesquels passerent par les autres navires en garde jusques à Monsieur de Tourville, qui aussitôt fit mettre son armée sous voile pour s'élever de la côte, dans lequel têns les ennemis faisoient force de voile la nuit pour venir prendre le mouillage que les nôtres venoient de quitter.

'Nôtre général ayant laissé derrière luy quelques navires pour presser ceux de charge et les faire partir, ilz se trouverent au point du jour présqués mêléz en cette flotte. Ilz en prirent deux navires richement chargéz, ausquels on fit mettre le feu. Il n'y eut plus alors d'incertitude que c'estoit la flotte de 22 navires de guerre escortant les marchands. Les nôtres qui sen séparèrent en vinrent donner avis au général, mais Monsieur de Tourville, ayant connu de loin avant d'être averty que le mouvement des enemis n'étoit point de leurs navires de guerre, fit les signaux à son admiral bleu, suivy d'une grosse escorte, de forcér de voile pour les approcher. Le *St. Esprit* avec d'autres navires avoit déjà fait même manœuvre, et se trouvoit presque à la portée du canon des pavillons de la flotte. Alors les enemis connurent leur erreur, et firent tous leurs efforz pour se conserver le vent et se rétirer au large, faisant une longue ligne de leurs plus gros navires marchands de guerre. L'admiral bleu et son vice admiral approchoient cépendant avec toute leur escadre. Le vaisseau *l'Ardent* étant le plus près fut aux canons avec un Hollandois de 64 piéces, vers leur arrièregarde, et nôtre vice-admiral bleu avec un autre se cannonèrent. Son admiral en fut aussy, de sorte que les 2 Hollandois furent obligéz de changer de bord pour se tirér d'une si grosse artillerie et coururent vers la terre. Ce mouvement pour se sauver les fit prendre plutôt, mais ce fut aussy le salut du reste de leur flotte, parce que nos pavillons ayant réviré apres eux et ensuite toute l'escadre, esperants de régagner le vent, ilz ne peurent plus réjoindre le gros de la flotte enemie qui couroit en mer. Le *St. Esprit* et le *Conquérant* furent les seuls qui les suivirent, se tenant à leur tête sous le vent à portée du canon pendant toute la nuit pour les tenir en echec et les empêcher de faire fausse route, ayant lieu d'esperer que pendant la nuit nos autres navires reviendroient les trouver pour cét effét. Ilz tirerent pendant la nuit du gros canon pour les avérir de leur marche, mais cela ne reussit point, car le matin venu, ilz se trouverent seuls fort au large, et fort près de 50 navires tant de guerre que marchands. Les nôtres ayant eu sans doute quelque bonne raison pour ne point aller après eux, car deux navires ne laisserent pas de faire bonne contenance, et même le *St. Esprit* comme le plus au vent ayant réviré sur la ligne enemie, il la rengéa de si près que l'admiral et contradmiral anglois avec deux autres navires luy envoyèrent châcun une bordée en passant; auxquelles il ne daigna pas répondre d'un seul coup, apres quoy le *Conquérant* et luy tâchèrent d'atirer les enemis, et allèrent prendre tout près d'eux 9 navires que les enemis leur laissèrent emmener aussi tranquillement qu'ilz les avoient souffert auprés d'eux toute la nuit et toute la [sic] matin.

'Monsieur de Tourville de son côté avoit bien pris sa route afin de les approcher si le vent luy eût servy. Il fit dailleurs divers d'êchemens utiles, car plusieurs de nos navires prirent ou firent brûler bon nombre de navires marchands, dont quelquesuns se déffendirent avec vigueur. Ainsy la perte des ennemis ne laisse pas d'estre considerable, puisqu'il se trouve près de 70 navires pris ou brûléz. Il y en a deux fort beaux de pris de 64 et 68 piéces de canon tout neufs, et quelquesuns de marchands propres à servir en guérre, de maniere que l'on fait monter la perte des enemis à plus de 15 millions, sans conter le préjudice au reste de leur flotte marchande. Il peut encore revenir quelque profit de plusieurs détachemens que Monsieur de Tourville a envoyé à la poursuite des autres fuyards. Ainsi, voila le miserable reste de l'incendie de La Hogue, qui n'ozoit plus paroître sur mer au rapport de la gazette estrangere qui vient de leur donner sur les doitz, et leur faire plus de tort que dans la perte d'une bataille. Ilz pourroient bien encore en recevoir davantage si Monsieur le Comte d'Estrées péut assez tôt nous joindre.'

3 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 12 Aug.

L. REPORTS FROM PETER FONTAINES

L1. [1691–2.] ‘A true description of the cruelties I have suffered in France since my misfortune in being taken on board their Majesties shipp the *Lively* comanded by Captain Tichbourne’ [by Peter Fontaines].

‘Having been presented to and examined by Mr Pierce, Surgeon Generall, and no other vacancy for an employ presenting at that time but a small frigate, I rather chose to accept of that in hopes of a better hereafter then to be idle, and thereupon had a comission to go on board the *Lively* dated the 7th of August 1689.

‘Being arrived at Portsmouth I waited upon my captain, to whom I had the honour to be knowne, and he was pleased to show his satisfaction in haveing me for his surgeon, and I might doubtlesse have been very happy if had escaped the being taken by the French.

‘Two months passed with mutual satisfaction during which time we were comanded to cruise of[f] the Lizard, where we met a privateer of St. Malo called the *Senelay*, carrying 36 gunns and 250 men, the captain whereof hath since confest to me he was about to yeild to us, when Captain John Guy who comanded the *Foresight* gave us a gun and made a sign for us to give over the chase after we had pursued it 25 or 30 leagues and were ever ready to board the privateer.

‘*October 4th 1689*. But the said comadore did not so when we met 13 French men of warr, for he comanded us to approach them, tho he saw their colours and knew no English could be there, we haveing left the fleet at Torbay but three days before.

‘The 4th of October we discovered the abovesaid 13 French shipp about 3 leagues to leward of us. They were comanded by Monsieur Gabaret and Monsieur Pantier and the least of 60 guns. Our comadore gave us a sign to beare downe upon them as also did the *Mordant* who was in our company, and the French environing us (being but a bad sayler) we endured severall shot and at last one of the biggest shipp called *Le Ferme* came amongst our side as if she would have laide us on board, but did only give us a whole broadside, and we answered with our upper tire (the sea being so high we could not use the lower). However our shot cut his maineyard which fell upon the deck, and what with its fall and our other shott, seven men were killed besides the wounded, whereas we lost not a man, our captain onely wounded with a splinter.

‘The comadore and the *Mordant* escaped with great difficulty, and we might have done so likewise, had we had a signall to keepe the wind at first. Certainly temerity can never pass for bravery, and three small frigatts

approaching 13 great shippes deserved to be taken or suncke. However the two escapeing may praise their good fortune.

‘We defended ourselves an hour and halfe; at last seing no hopes to escape we yeilded to the *Bourbon*, comanded by Monsieur Pentier, one of the best captains the French have. Monsieur Pentier sent his longboate and first lieutenant on board, who afterwarde comanded the prize, and we were all put on board his shipp, where we remained three dayes in bad weather before we were dispersed on board the other shippes.

‘Our captain was sent on board Monsieur Gabaret. The lieutenant and I and about ten more continued on board the *Bourbon*, where it was my misfortune to discover my selfe to the surgeon of the shipp, which I had no sooner done but he tooke me into his cabin [and] stript me quite naked, takeing away my very shirt, altho he had formerly been my servant as he had been footboy to my eldest brother, who in regard his father was his coachman, put him out apprentice and afterwards sent him to me at Marseilles, where I employed [him] in an hospitall under my direction.

‘His stripping me was not all my mishap, for declaring me a Frenchman, I was presently clapt in irons and guarded with a centinell day and night. Here I lost all hopes of life, and these shippes staying some tyme at Bel Isle notice was given to Paris of my being taken, and thence an order was sent to Brest before [I] arrived there that the judges should condemne me according to the utmost rigour of the law.

‘Being arrived at Brest I was sent ashore chained hands and feet under the guard of a lieutenant, a sergeant and six soldiers, who carried me before Monsieur Desclouseaux, Intendant of Brest, who without haveing any regard to humanity, which forbids the ill treating of prisoners, fell upon me with his cane and beate me till he raised pittie in my guards, leaveing me halfe dead upon the place, so that they were forced to carry me by four men into prison.

‘The goaler put me into a darke dungeon and fastened me with a chaine about the middle to a ring in the wall, leaving my feet chained when he tooke away my manacles, so that I had onely liberty to approach the wickett of the doore to take in the bread and water which was all that was allowed me for maintenance.

‘No body was suffered to speake with me here. My whole comfort was in some English that were prisoners in a chamber next me who by meanes of a hole in the wall and a pype now and then gave me some wine or brandy, pouring it into the head of the pype whilst I had the end in my mouth.

‘After some time the judges came into the prison and I was cal’d into court where they sat, but being sick to death they could not get many words from me. I told them I had formerly served the Turks for mony without being

blamed, and by consequence it was more just to serve a prince who not onely gave me a maintenance but protected me in the use of my religion, which was the onely pretext the French used to seize my estate, being forced to quitt that kingdome to escape the cruelties which many suffered, makeing at that time use of the direction of St. Paul, "If you be persecuted in one place, fly to another".

'Upon which they told me that every man that bore armes against his prince and was of any other religion deserved to be burnt. They comanded me to prison, and about one month after sent for me againe and without more questions condemned me to death the day following. The griffier came and read to me (and one John Denys, another Frenchman taken in the *Portsmouth*, Captain St. Loo comander) our sentence and asked us if we would appeale therefrom to the Parliament of Brittany, which we did, and haveing signed our appeal the next day I was taken out of prison and sent on board severall men of warr then lying in the roade with a paper fix'd upon my back and brest whereon was written, *Behold a Renegado against God and his King*. They used all endeavours to make me take a lighted torch in my hand, but I as often cast it on the ground as they offered it me, so that one of the soldiers that guarded me was ordered to carry it, and thus manacled and with chaines on my leggs I was carried on board 7 or 8 great shippes for a show to the men.

'I beleived this would end a tragedy by my being put to death, but I was conducted to the Intendants house, where were the Jesuits I had so often disputed with about religion.

'These Jesuits had the impudence to tell the Intendant it was necessary I should adore the crucifix they had put into the hands of a marble statue which they cal'd the Virgin Mary, to which I answered with the 17 and 18 verses of the 3rd chapter of Daniell, and thereupon they proposed to force me to do it and would have done so if a captain there present who knew me had not interposed and told them it would be a reproach to their religion to use such meanes of conversion, and that they had better let me remaine as I was. So then I was sent to prison, where I remained untill the Sunday following, when they fetcht me out to carry me to Rennes, where the Parliament of Brittany met.

'Being mounted on horseback my hands were manacled and my feet fastened with a chaine under horses belly in such a manner that I could not move, and poor John Denys was served the same sauce.

'It is 50 leagues from Brest to Rennes and at every place where we lay at night I was first set for an houre in the pillory and then cast into a dungeon of the prison where we remained untill the messenger cal'd us away the next morning, and all our allowance was bread and water.

'This treatment had wrought so great a change upon me that meeting at our second nights lodging one Charles Scors, who had been taken with me in the same shipp and remained there sick in his way from Brest to Rochefort, he scarce could know me after an houres being with him. It was very cold and I had only a pittypfull coate and a pair of old breeches which a poor Protestant seaman had given me when I was stript on board the shipp that tooke us.

'In this pickle I arrived at Rennes and some dayes after was called before the Parliament in order to condemnation, but it was concluded to send me back to the judges of the admiralty at Brest, whither I was reconducted after the same manner as I was brought, save only that I was not pillory'd as before.

'Being returned to Brest I was put into my former prison, and eight dayes after was condemned by the Admiralty to the gallyes during life. I appealed from their sentence to the Parliament, and thither I was sent againe, and being there in prison was left at quiet for 10 months, save the persecution I suffered from the goaler and the Jesuits, more especially when they had any newes of the advantages their armies gained, and notwithstanding the miserable low condition I was reduced to by liveing on bread and water onely, I answered them boldly and told them their supposed advantages by land and sea were false, that I knew the strength of both parties better then they, that God Almighty had raised up King William to protect all those that serve him according to the Gospell and observe his commandements in not worshipping idolls, and that it was impossible but idolaters without repentance must perish.

'The Jesuits used all imaginable endeavours to prevaile with the President of the Parliament to inflict some severe punishment upon me, but without any successe to satisfie their diabolically passions, yet they persuaded the goaler to make me fast so that often in two or three days I had no bread, which cost him deare at last. For being desperate with hunger I agreed with the rest of the prisoners to breake prison by night. But to our great disappointment, 5 robbers that were appointed to guard the goalers doore that he should not come out of his chamber wanted courage (when he appeared) to stopp him, and so we were prevented, and the 5 robbers were hanged two dayes after, their process haveing been made beforehand. When I was brought upon examination about this matter I begged of the President and Commissioners that the goaler might be called before I gave my answer, which request they granted me, and he being come I told before him that this was the 4th day that I had neither had bread nor water, whereupon the goaler was sent to prison, and for this and some other faults comitted before and which were forgiven him, he was condemned to the gallyes for life, so I had the pleasure to see him fastened to the chaine with the rest that were sent to Marseilles.

'About the 10th of September 1690 I was call'd before the court of justice

where they were for condemning me that very day, but my good fortune had prevailed with severall of the admiralls and sea captains (with whom I had been severall summers at sea) to write to court for a letter of cachett which was sent to the Procurator of the Parliament, who proved to be my great freind, having formerly received great favours from my relations, who before the persecution had great interest in the Parliament of Normandie. He was so kind as to send me copy of this letter of cachett which forbad the execution of any sentence against me before I was called before the judges, with instructions to plead it, which I did accordingly, and besides it I claimed the priviledge of a nobleman to chuse in what court I would be tryed, provided a man is not accused of theft; and they could not refuse it me, in regard that I prooved my father had been above 30 yeares one of the King's Counsellours, which enobled him and his children, therefore I was not obliged to answeare in this court, which ordinarily was too severe in its proceedings, few causes except those for theft or murther comeing before them; and furthermore prooveing that the office of King's Counsellour was at that day exercised by my eldest brother, who is the King's Lieutenant Generall in the land of Cauxs in Normandie, I was permitted to chuse the great court of justice to be tryed as a nobleman and prisoner of state. Eight days after I was brought before the great court of Parliament to acknowledge my judges, and the president appointed being (to my good happ) my particular freind with whom I had studied many yeares, I was remanded to prison without discussing my cause.

'The 10th of October I was brought before the great court, where I was interrogated with my feet in chaines, and in short condemned to serve the French King aboard his fleet at my owne expense for the space of 5 yeares in the same quality I had served before, vizt. master surgeon. Hereupon I was ordered to be carried to Brest, whence by the same sentence I was not to depart upon paine of death without leave from the Intendant or some comander in cheife of the marine. The same day I made request for a copy of my sentence, which was granted me, and I have brought it and the copy of the letter of cachet from court along with me.

'The 16th of November I begun my journey for Brest, and now I was treated better, for I did eate and drinke with those that conducted me, also lodged in the innes, onely had a chaine at my foot.

'The 21th I arrived at Brest, and being brought before the Intendant I found him kinder then at the first time. He comanded my chaine to be taken away and sent me prisoner into a roome where onely English officers were.

'At last by the intercession of severall sea captaines, and upon caution given, the towne was granted for prison and so I had the liberty of it.

'I had almost forgot to mention a favourable adventure which happened to

me the day I was released out of the prison at Rennes. A gentleman in very good habit and who seemed to be of some quality demanded to speake with me early in the morning, and drawing me aside asked me if I was the person that was taken in King William's service. I answered yes, whereupon he tooke a paper out of his pocket and clapt it into my hand saying only, "God in mercy grant we may all be in his service in a little time". Perceiueing there was some gold or sylver in the paper he had given me I begged to know his name, but he made no other answeare then that God was propitious to us, and so went his way without leaveing me any meanes to know who he was. Having opened the paper I found six louis d'ors, and these words writ in English, "God blesse and protect for ever King William and his Queen Mary".

'Having had the liberty of the towne for some tyme, I desired leave to goe into Normandie to visit my freinds, which was granted me for three months by the meanes of my giving sufficient baile. I went on board a small vessell laden for the King, and here I was in hopes of recovering my liberty, for there were 30 vessells taken by the English and Dutch out of a fleet of 100 as we sayled between the Casquetts and Guernsey, and if they had minded their opportunity the whole fleet might have been destroyed, for there were onely two small convoyes of 24 or 30 gunns with them.

'After a fortnights stay in Normandie those that were in possession of my lands found meanes to gett me sent away againe least I should get possession (which I intended) and then to sell them and with the money make my escape to Holland, but the Intendant of Havre de Grace sent for me and made me be put on board a man of warr that carryed me to Brest, whither being returned I awaited on the Intendant, who gave me a commission in writeing (which have here with me) to embarque on board one of the hospitall shippes for the fleet as master surgeon. I disposed all things accordingly and went on board.

'The 23th of June 1691 comeing into Berteauve Roade the Marquis of Angeron Vice Admirall of the Blew being indisposed sent for me on board, and being there he told me he would have me stay with him. I answered that I was not at my owne disposall, to which he replied he would get an order to that purpose, and sending on board the Admirall Monsieur Tourville and to Monsieur Girardin, Intendant Generall of the Fleet, the next day the Surgeon Generall came on board the hospitall shipp and tooke me into his boate, telling me I must goe on board the Admirall to receive his commands, where was given me written under the cobby of my sentence an order to go along with the Marquis of Angeron untill there were wounded men on board the hospitall. With him I remained all the summer, and at our returne tooke charge of the hospitall shipp againe. There were also at the

returne of the fleet severall men sent ashore and committed to my care, so that I had an opportunity to discharge my baile. But happening to quarrell with the surgeon's brother that stript me and now treated me as a renegado we fought, and having wounded and disarmed him I was taken and clapt into prison in order to be tryed by a Councill of Warr, and being advertised that they intended to condemne me, the night before I was to be tryed I made my escape and got to St. Malo, where I stayed some dayes, and one night tooke a boate to go to Guernsey, but the wind was so contrary and the sea so high that was forced back and the next day was seized at St. Malo, whither as along the coast they had sent a discription of me with orders to send me back to Brest alive or dead. The Governour sent me first to prison, and afterwards put me on board a privateer with comand to the captaine upon paine of death to land me safe at Brest, but by good fortune when we were within 4 leagues of it the *Deptford* and *Chester* two English men of warr came up with the privateer and tooke her, by which meanes I recovered my liberty when I expected nothing but death.

'Now there remains nothing for me to wish in this world but that your Excellence would be pleased to take me into your protection and comand from me all the services I am able to performe, by which meanes I may make it appeare that the hardships I have undergone cannot affrighten me from doeing my duty in spending my life in their Majesties service, all which I humbly submit to your wisdom.'

7pp. *Unsigned. In the same hand as no. L9.*

L2. 1691–2, Jan. 22. Londres. Detailed description by Peter Fontaines of the defences of Brest and how they may be attacked. A shorter version is at L3.

'Touchant la maniere dont Brest est fortifié dants lentre de sa rade depuis Berteauime jusques dants lentre de son havre, tant du costé du nort que du costé du sud-sues.'

'1. Depuis ladicte grande rade de Berteauime jusques au Fort Mingant il ny a qu[u]ne petite terrasse ou il y a quatre ou cinq pieces [L3: '2 pieces'] de canon.

'3 [*sic*]. A un mille de la est un fort apellé Mingant quy nest autre chose qu[u]ne plateforme en forme de fer a cheval sur laquelle il y a 30 [L3: 'pres de 36'] pieces de canon avec des embraseures denviron 12 pieds despaisseur. Il faut observer que on nen peut recevoir en passant que deux coups [L3: '3 ou 4 pour le plus'] a la fois, a cause de sa figure, et que les plus gros vesseaux en passent si proche que de leur bord ils peuvent faire abandonner la ditte batterie avec des grenades ou pots a feu [L3: 'faire abandonner ce poste en y

jestant des grenades de dedants leur hune ou mesme de dessus leur pouppé'], attendu quil ny a aucun retranchement que a couvert des intervalles des embrasures. La ditte forteresse est presque a ras deau, dants une grand[e] mer. Il y a toujours un grand courant, ce quy favorise l'entree. Ainsy il ny a que la premiere descharge a endurer, pourveu que les vesseaux quy passent ensuite fassent leur debvoir. Il y a ordinairement 50 ou 60 hommes de garde, quy est un destachement de la garnison de Brest.

'4. Au coin de la ditte forteresse du costé de Brest, il y a une petite entree pour de grands bateaux, et audessus en débarquant dans cet endroit est un corps de garde aucunement fort, et aussy quelque petit bastiment ou lon tue ordinairement la viande pour les malades de l'armee navale.

'5. La ditte batterie est au bas dune montagne, et pour aller en haut le tout va par degres, ou il y a de petits chemins tout a decouvert. Il y a environ 2 ou 3 cents pas a monter; estant en haut, vous trouves lapartement de la garnison et un magasin a poudre faict en forme de pavillon de jardin sans aucune deffense. [L3: battery has 9 guns; 90 steps above it is a small powder magazine, not yet completed last September.]

'6. A un quart de lieu de la, vous trouves le long de la coste en allant a Brest une petite terrasse ou il y a quelques embrasures avec sept [L3: 'cinq'] pieces de canon sans aucun corps de garde, sinon une meschante cahutte quy est la auproche ou les paysans vont faire la garde, asses mal armes.

'7. Demye lieue par de la il y a encore une autre terrasse ou il y a quelque[s] embrasseures avec environ 3 ou 4 [L3: 'trois'] pieces de canon, et qui nest pas ordinairement gardee, mais quand elle le seroit, elle ne peut rien, veu que les vesseaux en passent trop loin, amoins quil ne voulessent en approcher expres, car quand ils sont une fois a ce travers la, ils ont toutte la baye de la rade a courir, de quel tempts que ce soit.

'8. Environ a une portee de mousquet de Brest le long de la coste il y a une plateforme sur la quelle il y a dix [L3: 'dix ou douse'] pieces de canon asses mal montees avec quelques embrassures de terrasses et gason, et elle ne peut battre que sur les vesseaux quy sont mouilles proche d'elle, ce que lon apelle la petite rade, quy est dordinaire lanfrage des petits bastiments.

'Touchant le chemin quil faust prendre pour aller a Brest et pour semparer de toutes les batteries dont jay faict mention cy devant, lesquelles ne peuvent battre que en entrant dants la rade de Brest, et desquelles on se peut rendre maistre le long du chemin dont je vay faire la description.'

'1. Conquest est un petit havre quy nest fort que par deux batteries quy sont une de chaque costé dudit port, sur deus pointes a l'entree, mais on les peut aisement eviter en mettant pied a terre a demye lieue de la plus haut, ce que lon apelle Blanc Sablon, ou il y a une fort belle descente tout a decouvert,

et de la de mesme pour venir au Conquest, quy nest nullement fort, sinon par quelques compagnies de milice quy y sont dordinaire en garnison dants le tempts que la festte est dehors, et il ny a jamais plus de cinq ou six compagnies. Il ny reste pas cinquante habitants, car ce sont tous matelots que lon force daller sur la flotte.

'2. Pour venir du Conquest a Brest il faust passer a une abbaye de religieuses benedictins [L3: 'abaye St. Mathieu'] quy est fort riche et toujours munie de quantité de provisions de bouche. Elle nest daucune resistance. Cest un endroit tout a decouvert.

'3. De laditte abbaye il faust aller a un chasteau dun gentilhomme la tout proche toujours a un demy mille le long de la coste. Ce chasteau nest autre chose qune asses jolie maison de campagne, ou demeure un gentilhomme qui ny areste gueres. Il y a deux ou trois petites maisons de paisant, dont lune est un cabaret. Il ny a la aucune resistance.

'4. Au partir de la il faut reprendre un peu sur la gauche, jusques a ce que on sort a une autre maison de noblesse quy nest esloignee que environ demye lieue, car sur le bord de la mer cest comme un pays desert. Le chemin est fort commode pour des troupes a venir a ceste ditte maison. La ditte maison nest nullement forte pour resister a 20 hommes. Entre la ditte maison et la mer il y a un moulin a vent quy sert de marque dancrage, et il y a une eglise avec quelques pauvres maisons de pescheurs dela. Vous reprenes un peu sur la droite un mille jusqua ce que vous trouviez un petit vilage. On peut marcher toujours un bataillon de front jusques en cet endroit.

'5. De la il faust reprendre sur la gauche et aller droit au dessus du Fort Mingant. Vous rencontres en chemin quelques maisons escartees, entrautre[s] celle ou demeuroit lingenieur quy a faict le dit fort. Vous descouvres dune portee de mousquet une maniere de pavillon de jardin. Il faust venir la de front. Le pays va en descendant, vous descouvres le dit fort quy est en bas par le chemin den haut que je vous descrits. Il ny a point de resistance. Il y a une muraille fort foible quy entoure depuis le haut jusques en bas, jusques audit fort de costé, et dautre le milieu en descendant va par montee de degres, et sur ceste hauteur est le magasin aux poudre du dit fort.

'Il faust faire 2 [altered from 'une'] copie de cecy en francois, lune pour la terre et lautre pour le long de la marine in English, et une generale en francois. [Marginal note: 'And the same thing of the city of St. Malo en trois differemment'.]

'6. Apres sestre rendus maistres dudit fort, il faut continuer quasy tout le long de la mer afin de semparer dune autre terrasse quy nest pas loing dela, quy bat aussy sur lentree de la rade. Comme jen ay desia parlé, elle na aucune deffense du costé de terre. Le chemin en est asses aisé.

'7. De la il faust aller droit a St. Pierre. Il y a ceneaumoins entre la derniere place et celle cy encore une petite batterie de canon quy bat sur lantree de la ditte rade, mais de sy peu de deffense que le moindre destachement sen peut rendre maistre du costé de ceste route la.

'8. Dants ceste marche pour aller a St. Pierre il faust prendre un peu sur la gauche pour y ariver. Cest un endroit ou il y a tres beau chemin, sinon en quelques endroits que lon passe au travers de quelque[s] pieces de genet et de jonmarins [jonc marin, gorse].

'9. Le vilage de St. Pierre est asses aisé a aprocher. Cest lendroit ou lon met ordinairement la plus grande partie des malades au retour de larmee navalle. On y a mesme basty quelques logements expres. Il ny a point aucun poste dants le dit vilage quy se puisse opposer a en aprocher. En y entrant on trouve quelque[s] fosses quy ne sont pas de plus de quatre pieds despaisseur, ce que lon apelle des hayes en francois. On y peut trouver quantité de rafraichissements quy sont destines pour le retour de la flotte, cest a dire pour les malades.

'Chemin de St. Pierre a Brest.'

'1. Il faust aller le long dun grand chemin quy est bordé des deux costes de fosses ou hayes, mais on peut passer aisement. Aussy des hommes de chaque costé des dits fosses ayant quelques besches [bêches, spades] ou houes pour en abatre la largeur de quatre pieds de chaque costé a lentrete des bouts des dits fosses, et ainsy marcher aisement en bataille. Ce grand chemin est de demye lieue, apres quoy vous decouvres les murailles de Brest.

'2. Estant a ceste distance de Brest, vous entres dans plein chemin decouvert jusques a la ville, et toujours en descendant a une portee de mousquet vous decouvres une plateforme sur laquelle il y a environ neuf ou dix pieces de canon avec des embraseures de terrasses, mais laquelle na aucune force du costé que vous laproches, car elle ne sert que pour battre les vesseauxs quy sont mouilles vis a vis, ce que lon apelle la petite rade. Ainsy on se peut aisement saisir des dits canons et en battre ensuite la ville.

'Ample description des fortifications de la ville de Brest.'

'1. Brest [est] une vaste place muraillee. Son port la divise en deux. En entrant a la gauche est la ville que lon apelle Recouvrance, ou il y a en y entrant dants le port une grande plateforme avec environ dix pieces de gros canon de fonte dont la moitié battent en rade et le reste deffendent lentrete du dit port.

'2. Au dessus de ceste plateforme est un maniere de bastion quy nest pas encore achevé, et ou lon a envie de mettre une batterie de canon, tant pour battre en rade que pour deffendre lentrete du dit port.

'3. Au dessus de ce bastion est le magasin general des poudres, seulement

environné d'une simple muraille en forme carree, et gardee par un corps de garde quy est en dedans la ditte muraille. La ditte cour na pas plus de cent pas en carré, et le dit magasin est quasy au milieu. Il y a ordinairement 30 hommes quy y montent tous les jours la garde. Ce sont des destachements de la garnison militienne en esté quy garde ce poste, et en hyver ce sont des soldarts [*sic*] de la marine, avec un lieutenant et deux sergents.

'4. Plus haut de ce magasin est un endroit ou il y a une plateforme de bois et baricadee de planches, sur laquelle il y a quelque[s] pieces de canon de chasse pour exercer les canoniers a tirer au blanc, quy est une marque le long de la mer, et pour cela il y a 2 prix la semaine.

'5. Au dessous de tout cela sont les magasins aux vivre de larmee, tout du long dune partie de ce costé la, et au bout un peu plus loing de ce mesme costé sont tous les grands arsenaux de la marine, tant des canons que affuts [gun carriages] que mesmes armes et leur attirail.

'6. Au bout de cet arsenal [*sic*] allant le long du port du mesme costé de Recouvrance tiennent et joignent les magasins aux cables. Ensuite sont les magasins aux chanvres [hemp] et aux poulies, et ou lon faict les pompes. Il faust observer que audessus des dits derniers est un moulin a vent extremement relevé, dou lon peut fort aisement battre le chasteau et ruyner tout le port.

'7. Redescendants du dit moulin au port est un maniere de clouestre ou sont renfermes des putains que lon faict travailler journellement a blanchir pour les hospitaux, comme aussy a faire des matelats [matelas, mattresses] de mesche [mèche, wick] ou de stoupe [étoupe, tow] tant pour les dits hospitaux que pour les vesseaux.

'8. En sortant de cet endroit sont les magasins aux futailles [casks] pour les eaux des vesseaux et puis apres est la prison joignante, devant la quelle il y a une belle fontaine ou quatre chaloupes peuvent faire de leau a la fois et charger en peu de temps.

'9. Il y a aussy joignant aux derniers bastiments les magasins ou travaillent les seuteurs [? saleurs = salters, dry-curers] et menuisiers, devant le quel on bastit aussy toutes les chaloupes et canots des vesseaux, et un peu plus loing on y bastit des navires tant grands que petits. Au bout de cela sont tous les mats. Ce que il y a de plus est une petite plateforme ou il y a quelque pieces de canon quy regardent sur le port. Elle nest que de planches; elle ne sert ny ne peut servir qua faire lexercice. Cest la que finit le havre, excepté quelque[s] petits navires quy vont un peu plus haut.

'Description des fortifications du costé de la ville de Brest.'

'1. A lentre de costé de Brest est le chasteau, quy est situé sur un rocher. Il y a quelques batteries des dehors dudit chasteau quy deffendent lentre dudit port tout a lemboucheure.

‘Ce chasteau na que deux bastions quy soient de deffense pour ainsy dire, car celuy du costé de la rade tombe de luy mesme, et mesme il en a falu abattre beacoup dernièrement dun donjon pour le reparer. Les costes les plus forts dudit chasteau cest le costé quy bat sur lentrée de la riviere de Landerneau, quy faict une partie de la rade, et lautre que lon a restably quy bat sur Recouvrance et sur la ville. Encore est il commandé de plusieurs endroits. Ses fosses ne sont ny noyes ny contremines. Il y a des palisades en quelques endroits, comme du costé des carmes. On luy a mesme racommodé un glassis de ce costé, le quy va environ cinquante pas loing, mais aussy est il commandé a demie portee de mousquet dela de devants la ville mesme. [L3: ‘Il ny a de ce costé la rien a craindre’.]

‘2. On y a faict quelques chemins couvers dans ses fosses et contrescarpes. Il y a une premiere et seconde bariere pour y entrer, ensuite deux ponts levis dessus son pont levis en entrant dants le chasteau. Il y a un grand dongeon. Le bas sert de prison aux bourgeois, et le second estage aux gardes marine, et le troisieme aux officiers anglois. Il y a un corps de garde en entrant a la droite, et quelque maison y tenant, comme celle du major. [L3: ‘Lingenieur quy est dants le dits chasteau detenu prisonnier ma juré que si il estoit une fois maistre des 2 distes batteries du costé de Recouvrance quy sont celles que je viens de dire estre sy aysé a semparer, que il voudroit dans 6 heures renverser tout le chasteau parceque il tomboit bas de luy mesme, et que on ny a commencé a y travailler que lesté passé, et que ce quon y a faict na encor aucune stabilité’.]

‘3. La place est fort petite. Les ramparts ne sont pas encor bien en ordre. Il n’y avoit pas dants le mois septembre dernier 30 pieces de canon quy fussent en estat. Le plus fort du dedants est une asses jolie plateforme quy a esté retablie depuis le haut du donjeon jusques au bout des secondes casernes des soldats. Il y a un magasin. La garnison est ordinairement de sept ou neuf compagnies au plus [L3: ‘5 ou 6 compagnies’].

‘4. Fin du chasteau. Pour revenir a ce quy depend de la ville du costé de Brest, elle a une porte avec deux corps de garde, dont l’avancé nestoit pas encor achevé quand jen suis sorty en octobre [altered from ‘septembre’] dernier. Il ny a aucune fortification sur les ramparts de la ville, sinon un commencement de terrasse sur laquelle je croy on avoit envie de faire une terrasse.

‘La bourgeoisie ne scauroit fournir deux mil hommes en hyver, par consequent pas douse cents en esté, car la pluspart sont sur la flotte, ou bien se sont des marchands quy sen retournent a leur emplette apres que larmee est sortie.

‘Le havre est asses beau et bon. Les plus gros vesseaux y sont toujours a sept brasses deau de mer basse. Il y a environ 30 de trois ponts et pres de ving de

deuxs ponts et demy, comptant fregattes audessus de 24 pieces de canon quy despendent du dit port [L3: 'et peut estre dix de deux ponts et demy sans compter les brulots quy y arment et desarment et les vivandiers et hospitaux'].

'La place lesté passé nestoit gardee que par un regiment [L3: 'bataillon'] de milice de Normandie denviron 850 hommes pendant tout le tempts que larmee a esté dehors. [L3 adds that together with the companies in the castle garrison, the total strength in summer would not be more than 1,200 to 1,500 men.]

'Il y a une chaine un peu en dedants du dit port avec plusieurs mats quy traversent et ferment le port de nuict et quelquefois de jour.

'Voyla toutes les particularites que homme du monde vous en puisse donner, et que je soutiens au peril de ma vie, nen estant sorty que a la fin doctobre dernier.'

10½ pp. *Holograph. French. Signed.*

L3. [1692.] Shorter version of L2, with some substantial differences, mainly noted at L2. It is less of a comprehensive description and more of a plan of attack, overland from Le Conquet. It begins 'Brest est fortifié a son entree depuis la rade de Bertaume par un petit retranchement' and ends 'Vous poves bastre le chasteau de tout costes, estant toujours a couvert, excepté du costé de la rade, veu quil est commandé de partout du costé de terre'.

4pp. *French. Holograph. Unsigned. With faint pencilled marginal annotation in English about a coffee-house rendezvous.*

L4. [1692.] Version of L5, which is slightly fuller so has been chosen for transcription. Another copy is at L6. Substantial differences between the three versions are noted at L5.

6pp. *French. Holograph. Signed.*

L5. [1692.] Report by Peter Fontaines. [Other versions of this report are at L4 and L6. The main differences are noted below. A few errors of transcription made only in L5 have been silently corrected, but in general this is the fullest and most accurate version.] 'Description de toutes les villes, bourgs et vilages quy sont sur la route de Brest a St. Malo, presque tout le long de la coste, par laquelle vous y verres le fort et le foyble des dites places, et l'utilité que lon en peut tirer, avec le moyen dy ariver sans grand opposition. 'Premierement [marginal headings are here given in italic:] *Brest. Le chemin*

de Brest a Landerneau est tres facile pour marcher un escadron de front, ou du moins aux endroits les plus estroits; on y peut marcher 10 a 12 chevaliers de front. Il y a seulement un petit bois mais tout a decouvert dun costé du chemin de l'espace environ demye lieue. Il ny a aucun lieu de retranchement le long dudict bois du costé dudict grand chemin.

'Landerneau 4 lieues. Landerneau est une asses jolye petite ville, fort riche tant a cause de son port que de son teritoire, outre que lon passe par cet endroit de toutes parts pour venir a Brest. Elle est situee dants une asses belle vallee environnee de costaux. Elle na aucune resistance; cinq cents hommes sen peuvent aisement rendre maistres. Cest elle quy faict subsister Brest de vivres. Elle est fort peulee; on y met en hyver des troupes de la marine en cartier, mais en esté il ny a aucune garnison. On la peut prendre par mer et par terre le long de sa riviere, ou il ny a aucun fort ny retranchement pour empescher.

'Landiviseau 4 lieues. Landiviseau [Landivisiau] est un bourg ouvert quy na aucune force; le chemin est tres beau de Landerneau en ce lieu. Le dit bourg est composé denviron 500 maisons, dont la plus part sont presque tous cabarets a cause de la route de Brest. Le chemin de cet endroit a Morlaix est fort commode pour des troupes.

'Morlaix 3 lieues. Morlaix [Morlaix] est un port de mer fort riche, situé entre deus montagnes dants une vallee. Il y a a l'entree de la mer un chateau, mais il est a deus lieues de la ville. Laditte ville a quelque meschantes tours sans canon. Elle est fort peulee. Il ny a aucune forteresse considerable, ainsy elle se rendroit au premier coup de canon. Les habitants y aiment fort les Anglois a cause de leur grand trafic de toyles, quilz faisoient ensemble avant la guerre [last three words in L5 only]. Il y a un gouverneur mais sans aucune garnison, sinon en hyver quelques compaignyes de la marine ['compagnies des vesseaux' in L4 and 6] qui y sont en cartier, et en esté il y a quelquefois trois ou quatre compaignyes de nouvelle milice; on parloit dy assembler ceste annee l'ariereban de Bretagne, mais quoy qu'ils y fussent, on ne laisseroit pas de prendre la place, car je scay de bon part que Monsieur de Pommereuil, Intendant de Bretagne [last three words in L5 only] les a tellement fatigues et chagrines que j'ay entendu dire a plus de cinquantes deus quy venoient voir leurs camerades dants la prison de Rennes que ils ne demanderoient pas mieux que d'avoir un chef pour lever le masque, et se delivrer de la tyrannie du Roy de France. Il est tres aisé dy faire marcher de l'artillerye; on peut mesme sur ceste route trouver de bons chevaux pour la ditte artillerye. Le chemin est tres beau de la au Pontou.

'Pontou 4 lieues. Pontou [Le Ponthou] est un petit village dants une vallee entre deux costes. Il ny a pas cent maisons; il ny a aucune resistance. Le chemin est tres beau de la a Bellile. Environ lieue et demye de Bellile il y a

un pont sur une riviere, mais quand il seroit rompu, il y a tout proche asses de bons arbres pour en faire un autre aussy tost.

'Bellile 3 lieues. Bellile [Belle-Isle-en-Terre] est un petit bourg denviron 200 maisons situé dants un fond de vallee entre deux costes. Il na aucune resistance. Le chemin est tres bon de la a la ville de Guingand.

'Guingand 4 lieues. Guingand [Guingamp] est une asses jolye petite ville. Il y a un vieux chasteau; elle est environné de vieuilles murailles qui tombent d'elles mesmes. Elle est commandee de toutes parts. Il y a un gouverneur appellé le Marquis de la Coste, beaupere du Marquis de Langeron, contre admiral Bleu [L6: 'contre Amirall de Bleu' written above the deleted phrase 'Rere Admiral of the Bleu'], avec lequel j'estois la campagne passee. Il y a quelques compagnies de milice en esté, au nombre environ quatre ou cinq; il y a environ 1,000 maisons. Elle est fort riche par son trafik. Il y a beau chemin de la a la ville de St. Brieu.

'St. Brieu 6 lieues. St. Brieu ville [St. Brieuc] est un port de mer, ville asses jolye. Il y a un esvesché, dont Monsieur de Cottlogon est esvesque, frere du Chevalier de Cottlogon, chef d'escadre. D'un costé elle est elevee, et de lautre dants un fonds. Elle n'a aucune forteresse quy la deffendent, ny mesme je ny ay jamais veu de canon. Elle a ceneaumois un gouverneur; il y a quelques compagnies de milice pour garnison en esté ainsy que dants la precedente. Le chemin est tres beau de la a Lamballe.

'Lamballe 6 lieues. Lamballe est une petite ville quy a son port de mer. Elle est fort riche en toyles, ou il y en a de grands magasins. Elle na aucune fortifications, elle est comme une ville champestre neaumoins sa richesse. Il y a tres beau chemin de la a Matignon.

'Matignon 2 lieues. Matignon est un bourg ouvert dants une pleine, composé d'environ 500 maisons. Il y a a deus lieues une riviere quy na point de pont [L4 and 6: 'sans ponts'] mais que l'on peut passer aisement de mer basse, ny ayant pour lors de l'eau qu'a la hauteur du genouil. De la a Dinart [L6: 'Dinard'] le chemin est tres beau.

'Dinart 4 lieues. Dinart [Dinard] est un petit endroit a une lieue de St. Malo. Il nen est separé que par la riviere de Dinant. Il y a peuestre dants cet endroit 50 maisons. Vous voyes de cet endroit St. Malo a decouvert. Il faust que vous observies quil y a asses de provisions sur la ditte routte tant pour hommes que pour chevaux, particulièrement en esté.

'Routte de Brest a Rennes, ville capitale de Bretagne, avec le nom des villes, bourgs et vilages [L4 and 6: 'villes et bourgs'] quy sont sur le dit chemin, leur fort et leur foyble, et leur situation pour en faciliter l'aproche.

'Brest a Landerneau 4 lieues. Ayant desia faict asses mention par la precedente du chemin de Brest a Landerneau, avec la description de la ditte ville de

Landerneau, ainsy je me contenteray a present de nommer lendroit quil faut passer pour lautre route de Rennes de laquelle il est a present question.

'La Feuillée 4 lieues. La Feuillée [La Feuillée] est un meschant village dants de pleines montagnes. Le dit village est denviron 50 maisons sans y avoir aucun lieu de retranchement ny a lentrée ny a la sortie. Le chemin est tres aisé tant pour pied que pour chevaux, sinon en un endroit ou il y a un peu de marecage, mais fort ferme en esté. De la a Carhé le chemin est fort beau.

'Carhé 6 lieues. Carhé [Carhaix] est une petite ville non muraillee. Cest lendroit dun grand trafic de toyles. Il ny a aucune forteresse ny retranchements, sinon un pont quil faust passer a lautre bout de la ville. Il y a environ 1,000 maisons. Il ny a ordinairement aucune garnison ny en hyver ny en esté, a cause quelle est dants le terrain environ 7 ou 8 lieues. Environ cinq lieues de la est un grand bourg [L4 and 6: 'un bourg asses grand'] sans aucune resistance.

'Pontivy 12 lieues. Pontivy est une petite ville non muraillee sans aucune forteresse. Cest le lieu ou lon faict de tres belles toyles, ce quy faict que il y a deus marches la semaine que lon apelle les grands marches de fil. Le chemin est fort facile pour des troupes de la a Shogny.

'Shogny 5 lieues. Shogny [Josselin] est un grand bourg aussy dants le terrain environ 7 ou 8 lieues, lequel est dants un fond de costeau. Il y avoit autrefois quelques forteresses, car on y voit encore quelques terrasses et reliques de vieuilles tours qui tombent apresent delles mesmes.* Il y a environ 7 ou 800 maisons. Le chemin est asses aisé [L4 and 6: 'nest pas difficile'] de la a Plermuel [L6: 'Pleumel'] pour des troupes [last 3 words in L4 and 6 only].

'Plermuel [L6: 'Pleumell'] 6 lieues. Plermuel [Ploërmel] est une petite ville sur une hauteur. Elle a des fosses fort profonds. Elle est muraillee, et ses portes ferment. Elle estoit autrefois bien forte, mais il ny a aucun canon ny garnison. Elle est mesme commandee du costé que vous l'aproches. Il y a environ 6 ou 700 maisons contant ses fauxbourgs, le long duquels lon passe circulant une partie de la ville sans y entrer dedans [last ten words replaced in L4 and 6 by: 'tout le long des fosses sans entrer dans la ville']. Le chemin de la au Pont est fort meschant en hyver, mais fort beau en esté.

'Le Pont 6 lieues. Le Pont [? Paimpont] n'est qu'un petit village, ainsy apellé a cause dun pont de bois quy est a son entrée, sur une [L4 and 6: 'par dessus lequel on passe une'] petite riviere. Il ny a pas plus de 50 maisons sans aucune place de retranchement. Le chemin de la a Rennes dants l'esté est tres beau pour des troupes et artillerye, mais tres meschant en hyver.

'Rennes 4 lieues. Rennes est une grande ville laquelle a quelques fosses entre

*This confirms the identification as Josselin, the only substantial town on the route. The towers had been partly demolished in 1629 on the orders of Richelieu and were then much decayed, as were the terraces, since restored.

elle et ses fauxbourgs, mais sans aucune fortification que ses murailles. Elle est fort peuplee, estant la capitale et lieu de parlement [L6: 'parliament'] de la province de Bretagne. Il y a un chasteau avec une compagnie de garnison, mais le dit chasteau est commandé de toutes parts et on peut aisement y mettre le feu. Les habitans sont fort mutins et sont fort mescontents du gouvernement present a cause des grands impots et subsides que lon leur impose, lequy les a desja obliges une fois a se revolter contre le Roy de France [last nineteen words in L5 only].

'Il y a des provisions en abondance sur la ditte route, tant pour hommes que pour chevaux, pour autant de [L4 and 6: last nine words replaced by 'pour les'] troupes que lon y peut envoyer, et quatre mille hommes peuvent aller le long de ceste routte ruiner, bruller ou tirer contributions et desoler [L4 and 6: 'et ruiner et brusler toutes ces places et'] leurs grains et fourages, en se retirant a nostre armee, et par la empescher tout secours, ce qui fairoit indubitablement que la Bretagne se revolteroit [L4 and 6: 'ce que estant, la Bretagne se revolteroit infailliblement'] contre le Roy de France, les peuples y estants desja fort mescontents, aussy bien que toute la noblesse [last six words not in L4].

'Je vous diray de plus, que sy vous voules enlever les toyles et marchandises [last two words not in L4] qui sont dants des magasins des places tant de la premiere routte que la derniere, je vous en donneray l'intrigue a loysir et les noms des maisons ches qui il y en a de plus, la valleur desquelles se monteroit a des sommes immenses, et le tout est ceneaumoins fort aisé, pourveu que le general qui commandera soit de cet avis. Il nen cousteroit pas un homme au Roy Guillaume, davantage ny aucun sold [= sol or sou, from 'solidus', misunderstood by the copyist of L6, who has written '? force' above 'soldat' deleted], et cela le pouroit rembourser de son armement. Car je suis seur que tout son armement ne peut pas couster la somme que lon peut tirer de ces places susdittes, tant en contributions, argent content que en marchandises. Cest ce que je laisse [L6: 'cede'] au general a considerer et a son conseil, mais je mostre toutes fois et quantes de faire cognoistre la facilité de lexecution du contenu dants ces lignes, et ne me lasseray jamais de descouvrir ce quy sera en mon cognoissance pour linterest de leurs Majestés, estant de bon coeur resolu de sacrifier ma vie a leurs service tant quils me fairont lhonneur de my employer. Cest ce que jespere sous la protection de vos grandeurs.'

5½ pp. *French. Holograph. Signed.*

L6. [1692.] Another version of L4 and L5, apparently a copy made by an English speaker with a limited knowledge of French grammar. Although much closer to L4 than L5, it contains some phrases that are in L5 but not

L4, so is presumably derived from a fourth version. Substantial differences between these three are noted at L5.

6pp. *French. Copy, including copy of the signature of Peter Fontaines. Endorsed: 'Anglois et François'.*

L7. [c1692.] Report by Peter Fontaines. 'Description des forces du costé de Camaret et la maniere de sen emparer, comme aussy dentrer ensuite dants la rade de Brest sans autre oposition que celle des vesseaux de quy y pouroient estre pour lors. Ceste ditte description na point esté donnee a messieurs les admirauts, attendu quelle ne nestoit pas restee de lanee passee.'

'1. Camaret est un petit havre sans forces et quy na pas plus de vingt maisons sur le bord de la mer. Le dit port est asses comode pour les vesseaux de transport, les quels peuvent y entrer de pleine eau, et quand la mer est basse ils y seront a sec, auquel tempts ils peuvent descendre leur monde a terre sans chaloupe au sorty de leur bord.

'2. On ne peut trouver aucune resistance a lentrete duditt havre encores que lenemy en fust adverty, attendu que cest comme un banc de pierre que la mer elle mesme y forme, et un coup de canon dun vesseau sur le dit banc fairoit plus deffaict que nen feroi[e]nt cinquante ailleurs. Il ny a qu[u]ne petite chapelle sur la pointe en dedants dudit banc ou les enemys se pouroient retrancher, mais pas plus du nombre de 60 ou 80 hommes au plus. Laditte chapelle a 3 porte[s] dentree, mais il ny en a qu[u]ne quy ferme.

'3. Il faut remarquer quil y a deus places dants le dit havre ou lon peut faire descente a mesme tempts, desquelles je rendray conte a quy il me sera ordonné plus aisement que je ne peux faire avec ma plume, et que lon trouvera plus aisee a concevoir.

'4. A une grande lieue de lentrete dudit port sur bas bord est une batterie de 9 canons quy bat sur le passage des vesseaux dudit Camaret au Goulet, quy est lentrete pour aller a Brest. Laditte batterie est gardee par un canonier et quelque 20 paisans quy y font la garde en esté. Elle est au bas dun costeau. Elle na aucun retranchements du costé de la terre.

'5. A demye lieu de celle la, tirant vers Brest, est une petite batterye au bas de la montagne, laquelle batt seulement du costé de la ditte entree. Elle na aucune force ny resistance du costé de terre, non plus que la precedente, et est gardee de mesme aussy.

'6. Environ un quart de lieue plus avant est une autre batterye de quatorze pieces de canon, laquelle batt et corespond au Fort Mingant, y estant directement opposite. Elle est aussy au pied dune montagne et na aucun retranchement que de ses embrasseures, quy sont faictes dune meschante muraille. Celle cy a un petit corps de garde en haut de la ditte montagne pour

garder son petit magasin a poudre. Cest elle quy en distribue en cas docasion auxs deus precedentes.

'7. Un peu plus advant est le fort apellé auxs Espagnols, situé sur la pointe de lentree du dedants la rade de Brest. Elle est composee dune terrasse quy entaict les embraseures. Je ny ay jamais veu garnison ny ayant aucun logement pour y en mestre, et elle est gardee par les paisans en esté et un canonier, lesquels pour tout logis ont une meschante cahutte, et il vont tous les jours par batteau a Brest ou a Mingant pour leurs provisions. Celle cy est la derniere batterye que vous trouves pour aller a la rade devant Brest.

'8. Il ny a dants toutes les dittes batteries que du canon de fer de 6, 8 et 12 livres de balle.

'9. Vostre Grandeur scaura que amoins que lon naye envie de prendre Brest, quil ne faut pas grand forces pour le ruyner. Car en faisant une fausse alarme du coste du Conquest, vous y attireres tout ce que lenemy pourra avoir de force de vers Brest, et a mesme tempts on peut faire la descente a Camaret et se rendre maistre des dittes batteries du costé de terre. Mesme il est fort aisé de sy retrancher en peu de tempts, le terrain de cet endroit a la rade de Brest estant quasy peninsulaire, ny ayant pas plus dun quart de mille de terrain du costé de Camaret a la rade de Brest, et sistant une fois emparé de cet endroit, mille homme[s] tout au plus sen peuvent rendre maistres et le garder, et se rendre maistres des dittes batteries quy empeschent lentree de ce costé la pour aller a Brest.

'10. Laditte execution estant une fois faicte, nos vesseaux peuvent entrer dants la rade de Brest sans y recevoir aucune oposition, y ayant asses de passage de ce costé la, et mesme estant le meilleur. Estant une fois entres dants la rade de Brest, messieurs les admiraux nont plus besoing dautre advis que de leur prudense a exequ[u]tter le dessein de leurs ordres.

'11. Quand aux forces que lon peut trouver pour soper a la descente que je viens de proposer, je vous diray, Monseigneur, que ce terrain la est fort nud et fort peu peuplé, et ce quil y a de peuples sont fort sauvages. Ils ne peuvent avoir aucun renfort que dune petite ville appelle Croyson a trois lieues de la quy peut en tout fournir 350 ou 400 hommes au plus, lesquels nont jamais esté dissiplines, estant la pluspart de pauvres pescheurs, lesquels sont sur la flotte en esté. Il ny a point dhomme quy sache un peu ce que cest que de la guerre, quy avec cent homme[s] avec luy ne fasse fuir 500 (cinq cents) de ces gents la; je lentreprindray moy mesme aussy tost, estant a terre, sy on me veut faire cest honneur que de me donner un party a commander. Je scay toutes les routtes de ces quartiers la; de mesme jentends leur langue bretonne.

'12. Ce quy est a observer dants ceste execution, cest que vous aves lentree de Brest libre, un terrain que vous poves garder, et sur tout, un endroit quy ne

peut estre secouru que longt tempts apres que vous en estes les maistres. Il vous sert mesme pour vostre retraitte en cas quilz fissent marcher une armee de ce costé la, ce quilz ne peuvent faire que par eau, y ayant un trop grand circuit par ter[r]re, et surtout a cause quil ny a aucune provision sur leur route. Quand a eux de nous y venir attaquer par eau, cest ce quilz ne sauroient non plus, ayant une fois nostre flotte dants la rade de Brest.

'13. Je ne veux pas oublier de dire a vostre Grandeur quil faust que chaque homme quy descendra a terre porte provision de bouche pour deux jours, ny en ayant pas dants cet endroit la.

'Il ne me reste plus rien a dire sinon que je supplie vostre Grandeur de croire que je ne fairay jamais plus grande gloire que de sacrifier ma vie pour le service de leurs Majesteys, suplyant aussy tres humblement vostre Grandeur davoit esgard a la misere ou je suis reduit par faute de payment, ce quy moblige a la prier de me vouloir faire doner quelque argent pour mayder a subsister en attendant que jaye esté payé, estant tout a fait reduit a lextremité, et je ne discontinuray de prier pour lheureuse prosperité de vostre Grandeur.'

4pp. *Holograph. French. Signed.*

L8. [c1692.] Report by Peter Fontaines. 'Observations de ce quy est du costé de Camaret.' 'De lautre costé de ce Fort Mingant dont nous avons parlé sont trois batteryes, une au commencement de lentree de 10 ou 12 canons, et en venant a lopositte du Fort Mingant il y en a un autre pareille quy deffent le passage et corespond a celle du Fort Mingant, et un peu plus loing est une autre petite batterie de cinq pieces de canon du mesme coste, mais jentreprends que avec 400 hommes je mettray pied a terre a Camaret ou auproche, et ne me rendray non seulement maistre des dittes trois batteryes, mais aussy de tout le pays amoins de six heures de temps. Cest tout ce qu'il y a de ce costé la.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Holograph. Unsigned.*

L9. 1691-2, Feb. 10. Report on French naval surgeons by Peter Fontaines. 'The manner of the establishment of the French surgeons and the easy methods of treating their sick aboard and a shore in giving them new bread, brothes and fresh victualls, without costing the French king one penny more then his ordinary allowance for refreshments.'

'*Surgeon general. Surgeon major.* A board the admirall goes the surgeon generall and aboard each flag a surgeon major who have the inspection over the surgeons of every particular shipp in their squadron which they frequently visit and enquire into the number and nature of the sicknesses, of which they make report unto their commander.

'Meetings for makeing experiments. Before the fleet puts to sea the surgeon generall and majors are carefull to call together all the surgeons of the severall shippes and goe along with them to the hospitalls where every one in his turne is obliged to make severall operations according to presenting occasions which those places affords them as well for sick as wounded.

'Meetings for decisions. After dinner they hold a conference where every man gives reasons for his operations.

'Surgeon generalls salary. The surgeon generall hath 800 dollars a yeare and two servants in pay.

'Of the surgeon major. The cheife surgeon of every flag hath 25 dollars per month and the costs of his chests and instruments, which is a great advantage above what the English have, many of which have not mony to furnish their chests and buy instruments, or at least are willing to take bad medicines for cheapness sake of the apothecaries who trust them and do not once know the properties of severall medicines they carry to sea with them.

'Abuses of the English surgeons and apothecary's. What is also remarkable, the surgeons of the French men of warr are expert and knowing, they haveing the oportunity of the schooles for surgery almost in every towne and the many hospitalls where there is daily worke to do. Whereas it is quite contrary aboard the English fleet, in regard most of the surgeons are but young men newly out of their apprenticeships, having been servants to men of noe very great practice and by consequence cannot have gained any great experience under them.

'Moreover there are apothecaries who sell their medicines to young barbers and apothecary's and by freindshipp or money get them pass for surgeons which I cann make appear if authorised to do it, and by comand from the admirall may be present at the examination of the surgeons of the Hall without divulging for what intent and then I will answeare with my life for those I shall approve of which will be much for their Majestyes service and safety of the men on board the fleet.

'All the master surgeons of French men of warr have 20 dollars per month as well at land as sea and at sea they have three allowances which they take in mony.

'The king provides all their chests and instruments without any charge to them, and to that end there are royal laboratoryes in every port towne.

'The surgeons duty on board the French fleet in regard of the sick. As soon as any seaman or soldier falls sick, his comrade gives the surgeon notice, who immediately sends his second to visit the indisposed person and bring him account, and if his sicknesse requires present help he goes himselfe to visit him then writes downe his name and his mess.

'Haveing done this he goes to the purser and tells him he must allow no meat for such a man of such a mess. The purser takes the sick mans name and retrenches his allowance till the surgeon restores him to his mess.

'You must know that every purser of a French man of warr is obliged to put on board refreshments for the sick without haveing other pay for them then their allowance when sick, which comes to him and not to the king or men.

'The refreshments for the sick are sheep, pullets, beefe, eggs, prunes, rice, sugarr, butter, and meal. To this end there is a cooke, and all utensills for a kitchin, also a baker and an iron oven to bake fresh bread every day according to the number of the sick.

'*Allowance for the sick.* In the morning a caudell or eggs or bread and butter as the surgeon shall direct, and wine to these if he thinke it proper.

'At noon every sick man has broth and a morsell of fresh meat and bread. Those without fever have wine, those that have a feaver ptisan [barley-water].

'At night some have fresh meat, some prunes and others caudells.

'The purser is also obliged to furnish the surgeon with wine for fomentations in scorbutick cases or wounds, for which the surgeon signes a weekly or monthly bill, and at the finishing the summer's expedition makes one generall accompt of it to be allowed the said purser in his reckoning for the wine put on board under his care.

'As for brandy, the King supplyes that, and is ordinarily comitted to the surgeon in quantity according to the number of the seamen, vizt. 10 quarts for 100 men for one campaigne.

'Old linnen for bandages and compresses and dressing the wounded is furnished out of the King's store.

'The King also furnishes 10 mattresses, as many coverletts, blancketts and paires of sheets for every 100 men on board, and the surgeon is charged with them and must restore them into the magazine at the returne of the shipp.

'When there begin to be sick men in a shipp the surgeon gives notice to a superiour officer to cleare two places betwixt decks, vizt. one at the starrboard, the other at the larrboard side, each the distance of two gunns to prevent infection, an[d] in these places the carpenter makes bedds, and hammocks are provided for the sick.

'If the fleet comes to engadge, those that are very sick are put into the hold, those indifferently sick are employed to carry cartridges.

'When refreshments for the sick are wanting aboard any shipp, the purser goes on board the admirall of the squadron to demaund them of a commissioner placed there on purpose to furnish the fleet, whereupon the said commissioner causes a signall to be made for all the surgeons and pursers

of his squadron to come on board, and having made diligent enquiry after the number and condition of the sick in each shipp, he sends on board the victualls that carry the refreshments and brings oxen, sheep, meal, pullets, eggs, etc., and makes a sutable distribution thereof.

'*Hospitall shipp*s. None but the wounded are put on board hospitall shipp.

'Last yeare there were only two shipp of burthen for hospitalls. Each might receive 200 wounded. But this yeare they intend one for every division, vizt. 9 in all.

'There are bedds made on board the hospitall shipp on purpose for the wounded, at one foot distance.

'The King furnishes bedds, coverletts, sheets, gownes, shirts and old linnen for dressing the wounded.

'On board each hospitall shipp there is a surgeon major at 100 livres per month and three allowances. With him are 4 mates and as many apprentices, with many voluntier surgeons that goe as supernumirarys ready to supply any vacancy in the fleet.

'The King furnishes this surgeon major with his chest of medicines, instruments, brandy and old linnen for dressing the wounded.

'As to the diet of the wounded here, it is the same [as] aboard the great shipp, only here you have a kitchin alone for them which you cannot have on board the other.

'The sick are not kept long on board here, but sent on shore to the hospitalls or tents, more especially those troubled with the scurvy, for they recover the soonest there.

'These tents are fitted a shoare and the same diet is allowed as I have said before. Each shipp sends a surgeon with his crue, and each of them are kept apart untill they are cured.

'If the fleet goe out againe, the healthfull men are put on board; if not, they take a certificate from the surgeon and present themselves to the pay table, where being paid they have leave to goe home till next yeare.

'These are the observations that I have made dureing the expeditions I had on board the French fleet as a surgeon, but more particularly the last summer when I served as surgeon major of the hospitall for the fleet, for which I have yet my comission.

'Made by the comand of the Right Honourable Admirall Russell this 10th of February 1691-2. Peter Fontaines.'

3½ pp. *In the same hand as L1. Signature copied.*

L10. [?1692, Feb.] Fontaines to Nottingham. 'Monseigneur, je suis icy pour recevoir vos ordres touchand les propositions dernieres que jay presentees a vostre Grandeur la derniere fois que jay eu lhonneur de vous parler.

'Monsieur Ladmirall Roussell ma renvoyé pardevant vous, me disant quil ne me peut payer sans un ordre de vostre Grandeur. Cest pourquoy je vous suplye tres humblement me la vouloir accorder, autrement je puis vous assurer quil mest impossible de subsister, et je continueray de prier pour la conservation et prosperité de vostre Grandeur.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. French. Signed. Endorsed:* 'To My Lord Notinham secrestary to Theyrs Majesty Withall'.

L11. [1692, before Oct. 21.] Proposal by Peter Fontaines. 'Moyen tres facile de scavoir generalement tout ce quy se passe dants tous les ports de France.' 'Un chacun scait asses quil ny a rien de plus naturel aux affligés que de se consoler les uns les autres, soit par les reflections quil se font entre euxs, chacun suivant locasion de leur mauvaise fortune, laquelle chose il ne se cellent [cèlent, conceal] nullement entre euxs, et je le scay par experience du tempts que jetois prisonnier en France, quil ny a point au monde plus grande franchise ny confiance que celle que ont les prisonniers parmy euxs.

'Cest, Monseigneur, ce quy me fait entreprendre la liberté de vous demander de me faire lexeuteur de ceste action.

'Vostre Grandeur tient en tout tempts asses de prisonniers francois en Angleterre, sy vous voules mordonner que je me rende dants quelque port ou il y en aye, et quand jy seray, il ny a qua envoyer un ordre au maire du lieu, quy ne scaura pas la chose, de marester comme espion et de me faire serrer de pres, mesme auxs chaines, parmy les prisonniers francois, les quels ne se peuvent douter ny deffier de moy ainsy. Je ne manqueray pas de mon costé pendant le jour de les faire asses parler, et que ensuite il soit ordonné au geolier de macorder du papier et de lencre comme sy cestoit pour escrire a mes amys, et faisant cela en deux ou trois endroits ou il y aura des prisonniers francois, surtout des derniers pris, jen gage ma vie de vous rapporter un aussy juste contes de tout ce quy sy passe que sy jallois en France.

'Vostre Grandeur scait qu'il ny a que Dunkerque, Calais, Dieppe et Le Havre de Grace dants le pays de coste quy ayent des corsaires, et il ny a pas un corsaire daucun de tous ces endroits la quy nayent des gents des autres endroits, outre que je cognois ces endroits la commes eux mesmes. Ainsy ils ne me scauroient persuader que la verité des choses. Quand du costé de la Basse Normandie, ils nont que Honfleur et Grantville quy arment en course. Je scay aussy tous ces endroits la. Quand en Bretagne, ils nont que St. Malo

pour les corsaires, le Port Louis et Brest pour vesseauxs de guerre. Il ny a pas le moindre bastiment de maison que je ne cognoisse dans tous ces quartiers là, amoins qu'ils n'ayent fait quelque augmentation depuis peu.

'Quand du costé de La Rochelle, Rochefort et autres lieux, je scay asses m'apercevoir si ce qu'ils me diront est substantiel ou non, ayant beaucoup hanté ces quartiers là.

'En cas que vostre Grandeur trouve la chose apropos, je lesseray [laisserai, shall leave] par escrit les endroits ou je logerois, afin qu'on m'y vint saisir de nuit, car de jour cela me pourroit faire des affaires parmy les gens qui ne scauroient pas le dessein. Bref, je me sacrifieray a tout pour le service de leurs Majestés, et pour donner a vostre Grandeur des preuve[s] de ma bonne intention.'

P.S. 'Outre tout cela, vostre Grandeur saura que j'ay icy un de mes parents qui est muet, qui fut prins [*sic*] sur un petit bastiment du Havre, duquel je me peux servir pour avoir des lettres de correspondance. Je l'instruiré de ce qu'il faut qu'il me mande de France. On ne se peut du tout deffier de luy, et cest un homme sur le quel je fieray ma vie. Je scay l'instruire par une regle que je luy donneray de laquelle personne ne se peut defier, et j'en auré des lettres aussi souvent que je voudray. Je laisse a vostre Grandeur a juger de la chose.'

2½ pp. *Holograph. French. Signed. Endorsed*: 'Advis for theyrs Majestés service'.

L12. 1692, Oct. 21. Londre[s]. Report by Peter Fontaines. 'Exacte declaration des examens que j'ay fait et tiré de plusieurs prisonniers françois, les quels ont esté prins depuis le commencement de la campagne dernière jusques a present.'

'1. Monsieur Cauvier [Canvier], provençal, capitaine du brulot de Monsieur Tourville: m'a déclaré ingenuement ayant creu estre prisonnier de guerre aussi bien que luy, ainsy que je luy faisois croire; m'a dit que Monsieur Tourville s'estoit trouvé trompé quand il a veu la flotte angloise se deffendre de la sorte, attendu qu'il avoit esté assuré du Roy son maistre que il y auroit plusieurs vesseaux englois qui se rendroient a luy en cas qu'il peust forcer ou battre l'escadre de l'amiral d'Angleterre, et m'a dit que cest dand ce dessein qu'il s'estoit droit venu jeter sur l'escadre de Monsieur l'Admirall Roussel, de quoy il avoit reçu beaucoup de damage, ayant dand la première descharge eu 70 hommes de tues sur son pont, et neuf canons de demontés, ce quoy avoit beaucoup estonné et fait peur a tout son esquipage.

'L'ayant interrogé pourquoy Monsieur de Tourville sortoit avec si peu de vesseaux: il m'a dit que le tempts pressoit de venir joindre les forces de leur descente pretendue, attendu que la court de France avoit eu des avis

d'Angleterre par les quels les amys du Roy Jasque[s] mandoient quilz avoient tout prest pour recevoir le Roy Jasques, mais quil falloit quil se despeschast, de peur que leur coup ne manquast, estant espies de fort prest jusques la que quelques seigneurs de la court d'Angleterre, les quels sestoient engages dants leur entreprise, commençant a craindre destre surprins, leur avoient desja tourné le dos.

'Interogé comment on pouvoit scavoir sitost des nouvelles d'Angleterre en France: il ma respondu quil ne se passoit rien dants le Conseil d'Angleterre quy ne fust aussy tost mandé en France, et le plus souvent on le scait en France par la mesme voye que la Reinne d'Angletere en donnoit advis au Roy Guillaume en Flandres.

'Il ma dit de plus que le Roy Jasques avoit plusieurs gentilhommes de son costé les quels demeurent proche la mer, les quels ont des batteaux quy vont dehors la nuict pour rencontrer des batteaux francois, les quels Francois leur font un signal quy leur est donné, et ainsy par ce moyent se faict le plus grand et signallé commerce de correspondance de part et dautres, outre que en Angletere il y a mesme, a ce quil ma dit, des endroits ou lon faict signal de nuict aux batteaux francois de venir pied a terre.

'Et voicy comment cela se faict.

'Dix ou douse Jacobittes font semblant de chasser, et chacun a son fusils. Ils tiennent corespondance par leur distance de lun a lautre de la portee dun mousquet, allant toujours le long de la coste, et ainsy occupent entre euxx deux ou trois milles, et apercevant quelque signal de dehors, ils y repondent, suivant la seureté ou le danger quil y a de saprocher a terre par des signaux de communication.

'Interogé sy les Francois avoient perdu quelque vesseau dants le combat: il ma dit que le soir du combat ils avoient veu bruller et sautter en lair deuxs gros vesseaux et un autre couler a fond, et que le bruit estoit que Monsieur Gabaret estoit sauté par le feu quy sestoit prins a ses poudres, et que lautre devoit estre un de ses camarades. Quand a celuy quilz avoient veu couler a found [*sic*], que cestoit un vesseau quy estoit fort delabré et brise de coups de canon, sans pouvoir scavoir quel vesseau cestoit.

'Interogé en quel endroit se devoit faire la descente en Angleterre: il ma dit quil y avoit deux endroits pour cet effect, dont il y en avoit un droit ou demouroit un seigneur anglois fort proche, et que le dit seigneur anglois avoit de sa famille aupres du Roy Jasques en France, et que le dit seigneur devoit segonder la ditte descente du Roy Jasques. Et que lautre endroit de descente ne se scavoit point, quoy que ceneaumoins la plus part des officiers croyoient que ce seroit a lIsle de With.

'Interogé combien de vesseaux de guere les Francois avoient dants le

combat: il ma respondu que ils estoient sortis trente neuf de Brest, et que ils avoient esté ensuite joints pas [*sic*] six autres quy venoient de Rochefort sous le commandement de Monsieur de Villette.

‘Interogé combien de vesseaux de guere estoient restes a Brest apres le despart de Monsieur de Tourville: il ma respondu que il y en avoient laissé trente, les quels nestoient pas prests, faulte dequipages, a la reserve de neuf quy pouvoient estre prests a sortir. Il comprenoit les vesseaux que Monsieur Destré devoit amener de Toulon, lesquels on y attendoit a tout moment, et cela faisoit le nombre des trente dont il parle.

‘Interogé un maistre du traversier de Monsieur Villette, comme toutes choses se passaient du costé de La Rochelle: il ma respondu que tout ce pays la ne faisoit que prier Dieu avec impatience pour que larmee dAngleterre fist la descente de ce costé la. Le dit maistre estoit de la religion Protestante, et ma dit mesme que quantité de Huguenots sestoient munis en cachette de plusieurs choses necessaires a y assister les Anglois en cas quil y vinsent, et quil ne douttoient pas quon ne reussist sy on entreprenoit quelque chose de ce costé la, et surtout sur l’lle de Rey et Oleron, ou il ny avoit pas grande garnison, et que la milice de ces endroits, aussy bien quaux environs de La Rochelle, lesquels estoient a chaque moment sous les armes, nestoit composee la plus part que de Catholiques a la dragonne. Le dit maistre avoit plusieurs de ses parents refugies quy estoient sur la Bretagne.

‘Interogé plusieurs autres de ce costé la, les quels mont dit la mesme chose: ils ont tous dit la mesme chose que le precedent.

‘Interogé dautres prisonniers, lesquels ont esté tout l’hyver a Brest: mont dit que on navoit fait aucune autre fortification a l’entree que celles dont jay par cy devant fait le raport a vostre Grandeur, sinon que lon achevoit la batterie commencee du costé gauche en entrant dans le port, entre le magasin a poudre et la plateforme denbas du mesme costé de Recouvrance.

‘Interogé dans la prison de Porsmus un soldat quy fut prins sur le navire de Monsieur Beaujeu: luy ayant demandé en le faisant boire de quelle compagnie il estoit, ma respondu quil estoit de la compagnie de Grolouere, le quel je conois, et luy ayant demandé ou il estoit en garnison cet hiver passé, ma respondu quil estoit a Brest, et quil a esté un mois avant de sembarquer destaché pour faire la garde au Fort Mingant, et que ils avoient esté releves par la milice, quy estoient pour lors deux regiments depuis St. Brieux jusques a Brest, me confessant ingenuement que les Francois ne se defioient pas de ce costé la, la coste, disent ils, estant trop difficile a aborder.

‘Interogé deux matelots de St. Malo prins sur un corsaire: lun des dits matelots estoit sur le *Soleil Royal* dans le combat dernier, et me verifia que ils avoi[en]t eu 70 hommes de tues et environ 9 pieces de canon sur leur pont demontes par la premiere descharge quil receurent de Monsieur lamiral

d'Angleterre, et qu'ils avoient eu pres de cinq cents hommes de tues et blesses dants le dit combat.

'Il ma de plus dit que quand on a brulé le *Soleil Royal*, quil y avoit pres de 300 hommes dedans, et il dit que peu auparavant que on y mist le feu, le capitaine du navire sestoit jetté a la nage, et qu'ils se seroient rendus, neust esté que un capitaine dinfanterye nommé Dugroloer voulut sopiniatrer avec ses soldats de faire feu sur les nostres, et que ainsy le dit capitaine fut brullé dedans aussy bien que le reste. Ledit capitaine estoit le premier capitaine du regiment de la marine.

'Interogé les deus dits matelots en quelle posture on estoit pour lors a St. Malo: ils mont dit que on y estoit en grande alarme, et que les 23 vesseaux de guere quy sy estoient sauves estoient la plus part fort endomages, et mesme que quelques uns couloient bas deau, nayant pour lors pas mesme asses de monde en sancté pour pomper, et que sy dix des nostres les avoient poursuivis comme ils le craignoient, ils avoient desia prins resolution deschouer a terre et bruller leurs navires.

'Ils mont dit de plus que les dits vesseaux furent quelques jours sous le Cap Frehel a consulter s'ils se risqueroient a entrer a St. Malo ou non, et ils eurent de la peine a trouver des pilottes quy voulessent se charger de les y faire entrer, et ils nen auroient pas trouvé aucun si on ne les avoit exemptes du danger auquel sont ordinairement exposes des pilottes en tel rencontre. Je scay moy mesme par experiense quil ny avoit jamais entré de vesseaux de guere de cinquante piece de canon auparavant.

'Quand aux fortifications de St. Malo, ils mont dit que on faisoit une batterye de canon du costé de la cité qu'on appelle le Fauxbourg St. Servant, et que lon avoit mis quelque cent hommes de renfort sur lisle St. Severe [Sauveur].

'Ils mont aussy dit que on avoit envoyé quelques ingenieurs a Cuncalle avec du monde pour y faire quelque[s] fortifications, attendu qu'ils avoient grand peur que l'armée angloise nallast descendre de ce costé la. Ils croyo[i]ent que nous avions au moins 30,000 pour descendre a terre, et que tout le monde de ces quartiers la avoient grand [?peur] mais n'osoient rien dire, et entre autres choses qu'ils ne se fioient pas trop a la noblesse de Bretagne.

'Interogé un prisonier que fut prins dans le port de La Hogue: luy ayant demandé quelles troupes le Roy Jacques avoit dans cet endroit, il ma respondu 1,800 hommes, les quels bruloient et ravagoient plus le pays que des enemys n'auoient peu faire.

'Il me dit quil y eut une grande conteste entre le Mareschal de Bellefonds et Monsieur Tourville, le dernier voulant que on fist rester le monde a bord des vesseaux afin de se deffendre, et le premier voulant avoir tous les esquipages

a terre, et dants le tempts quils se contestoient il vint un courier de Cherbourg quy leur aporta la nouvelle que on avoit brulé le *Soleil Royal* et ses deusx mattelots* et que la plus part du monde de leur esquipage avoient esté brulles dedants.

‘Ce que les equipages ayant une fois entendu, se sauverent tous a terre a la foulle, maugré les officiers, et ce fut a la verité un coup du ciel pour nous; car sils avoient resté a bord, ils nous auroient assurément tué beaucoup de monde avant que nous eussions aussy heureusement achevé nostre entreprise comme elle le fut.

‘Interogé des matelots du Havre prins sur la barque longue dun nomé Dubocage, les quels estoient Huguenots: leur ayant demandé de quoy estoit devenu un des vesseaux de Rochefort quy sestoit sauvé de ce costé la, ils mont dit que cestoit un vesseau de 66 canons quy estoit fort endomagé des coups de canon quil avoit receus dants le combat, et que il avoit eschoué a lentrete du havre pour se sauver des Anglois, des quels il avoit peur destre prins, et que nen ayant aperceu aucun, estant proche de terre il avoit eu le tempts de oster ses canons et son amonition, mais que on ne croyoit pas quil peust jamais remestre en mer, ayant cinq brasses de sa quille enportee[s].

‘Interogé plusieurs autres prisoniers de ce costé la: les quels mont dit que quand la verité fut cogneue de la defaite de leur flotte, quils ne scavoient ou ils en estoient, et quils avoient mesme peur de la descente de nostre armee de ce costé la, et que les pauvres paysans estoient forces de faire garde jour et nuict sur la coste.

‘Voila tout ce que jay peu apprendre de plus particulier dants ma campagne. Sy lon ne mavoit pas receu a grand coup de canon quand Monsieur lAdmirall Roussell menvoja dants sa barge a terre a La Hogue, jaurais peu decouvrir bien autre chose. Mais je laisse adieu de me procurer de nouveaux moyens sur ce subject a la campagne prochaine, et a vostre Grandeur de me faire sa grace de my faire employer afin que je puisse donner un jour des preuves de recognoissances a leurs Majesteys des biens quelles me font, et a vostre Grande[ur] un veritable remerciement de sa protection en mon endroit.’

6½ pp. *French. Holograph. Signed.*

L13. 1693, April 13. London. ‘Contenu des particularites de la lettre que j’ay receu de Brest.’

‘Premierement, le bruit est fort grand en France que le Roy Guillaume y doit faire une descente avec une grande armee cette campagne, ce quy alarme fort la court, et met les peuples les uns en grande consternation et les autres en grande esperance.

*Consorts. The *Admirable* and *Triomphant* were also burned at Cherbourg: see no. E32 above.

‘Quand a larmement de la flotte, on me mande que tout va fort lentement, et que lont craint fort que lescadre de Toulon ne puisse asses tost faire lexecution quelle va faire dants lltalye pour se joindre dants lOcean, outre que cest un bruit certain a Brest que il y a des vesseaux englois et holandois quy leur doivent couper le passage, et on y va pour ce sujet envoyer douze ou quinze vesseaux de Brest a leur rancontre; mais surtout que larmee de France ne peut sortir amoins amoins [*sic*] que ceux la nayent joint, et le tout estant ensemble ne faict que 80 vesseaux de ligne, sept ou huict petites fregattes et 25 brulots.

‘On me mande que on ne peut trouver des matelots pour esquiper la flotte, ce quy a obligé les Commissaires de Marine de prendre toutes sortes de gents par force pour servir sur la flotte.

‘On est en grande esperance en France que le Roy de Danemark et de Suede donneront un nombre denviron quarante vesseaux de guer[r]e, tous esquipés, au Roy de France cette campagne, jusque la mesme que le fils du Roy de Dannemark en a parlé en des termes a quelques officiers de marine alors quil estoit a Versailles, quy font asses cognoistre quil y a quelque aparence de lafaire.

‘Le bruit segret est a Brest que ces vesseaux estrangers joindront Monsieur Destré a quelque hauteur, et que ainsy ils passeront par le nort pour joindre les Francois.

‘On me mande aussy que tout [*sic*] les vesseaux que les Francois ont dants lOcean ne peuvent estre pre[t]s que a la fin de may, et que ainsy ils ne peuvent sortir que dants juin, mais ceneanmoins il y a une escadre de 12 ou 14 vesseaux du 3e. et 4e. rang quy garderont leur coste jusque a ce tempts la.

‘Quand a la descente que les Francois se proposoient sur quelqun des trois royaumes, tout cela sest evasnouy, et voicy les propres raisons que lon me mande sur ce sujet. Llrlande a desia trop cousté sans profit, lEscosse ne leur est pas commode pour cet effect, lAngleterre ne peut estre favorable pour eux a moins que ils nayent battu nostre flotte auparavant, ce quy nest pas leur entreprise pour ceste annee cy, mais seulement de garder leur costes.’

[Here a space indicates that Fontaines is no longer summarising the Brest letter but writing on his own account].

‘Monseigneur, il y a des prisonniers de France amenes a Plymouth. Sy vostre Grandeur me veut donner un ordre dy aller ainsy que je lay proposé, je pourrais decouvrir autre chose.

‘Vostre Grandeur scaura que la personne quy mescrit et quy soffre de me corespondre a tout me marque que il ne peut se risquer a tels dangers amoins que je ne luy fasse donner de largent pour subvenir aux frays et que cela

estant, il ne manquera de me faire scavoir tout ce que je voudray. Ainsy je suplye vostre Grandeur de me dire ce que vous voules que je fasse en ce cas la, afin que je ne paroisse en rien negligent dexecuter ma promesse.

'La personne quy mescrit a tant denvie de me servir que jusques la il me faict scavoir la mort de mon frere aisé, quy estoit lieutenant general de la Vicomté de Montiviller [Montivilliers], et me faict scavoir que le Roy sest emparé de son bien, attendu que je suis icy au service de leurs Majesteys et que il ny a point dautre heritier que moy de plus proche. Ce que je suplye vostre Grandeur de considerer que sy je mexpose a sacrifier ma vie, il me soit aumoins accordé le payment de ma pension.

'Je ne scaurois faire de response a Brest que jusques a ce que vostre Grandeur maye faict lhonneur de me dire ce que vous souhaitez que je fasse.

'La ditte lettre est escritte du dixiesme mars dernier.'

3½ pp. *French. Signed. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 13 April.*

M. REPORTS RECEIVED FROM JEAN PAYEN DE LA FOULERESSE

M1. 1692, April 15/25. Paris. 'Le dessein d'une descente en Angleterre fait le sujet de tous les raisonnements de la cour et de la ville, ceux qui ont crû jusques icy que ce pourroit estre un pur semblant et artifice pour donner de la jalousie et obliger le Roy Guillaume d'y retourner ou de partager ses forces, voyant les preparatifs effectifs que la France fait avec des despenses réelles et tres grandes pour effectuer une descente, ne pouvant plus douter que le dessein n'en soit formé, le quel on voudra exécuter avant que la flotte ennemie pourra estre preste et unie. C'est une chose declarée que le Roy Jacques est parti pour aller descendre en Angleterre avec 25,000 hommes, ayant le Mareschal de Bellefonds sous luy et 2 lieutenants generaux, le Conte de Choiseuil et le Conte de Tessay, qui la esté fait nouvellement; le Roy Tres Chrétien l'a dit auvertement luy meme, en declarant avanthier qu'il partiroit pour les Flandres le 10 de may. Le rendévous de la flotte est à Havre de Grace et quelque diligence qu'on avoue que les Anglois fassent pour mettre la leur promptement en mer, on espere d'estre pres d'un mois plustost prest qu'eux, et on conte que Tourville mettra en mer au commencement de may, comme aussi que l'Angleterre se trouvant denuées de troupes réglées, cela facilitera l'entreprise du Roy Jacques, mais il semble que la seule chose qui la pourroit rendre faisable et heureuse pour luy, c'est s'il y a des intelligences sûres, et la France, qui est accoustumée à ne rien hazarder, sinon à des bonnes enseignes, fournissant tout pour cette entreprise sans esgard aux frais immenses, il est à presumer que ces intelligences ne manquent point. Selon les derniers lettres de Brest 22 vaisseaux y estoient en rade. Le Chevalier de Nemond estoit parti avec 7 pour Havre de Grace, et ceux de la Mediterranée y estoient attendus au premier jour, et les autres seroient prest pour tout ce mois cy. Il campe 10,000 hommes aupres de Havre de Grace et 15,000 aupres de Hougue destines a estre embarques incessamment avec tous les attirails et choses necessaires, dont la provision a esté faite de longues mains avec une exactitude et des soins extraordinaires. Le Roy Tres Chrétien a embrassé, ce qui ne luy est pas ordinaire, les generaux qui sont parti pour cette expedition, en les assurant que leur fortune estoit faite et qu'il en auroit un soin particulier, s'ils feroient bien leur devoir, anisi qu'il s'y attendoit, ce qui est une marque particuliere combien il prend a coeur cet affaire.

'On vient d'apprendre par les lettres de Rouen que pres de deux milles basteaux plats ont été ramassés sur la riviere et qu'on les charge de toute sorte d'ammunitions et meme de materiaux propre pour bastir des forts, et que sur un courrier reçu le Roy Jacques, au lieu de donner quelque jours à ses devotions particuliers aupres des religieux de la Trappe, a poursuivi son

voyage, ayant eu avis que rien ne le pouvoit empescher de descendre en Angleterre, s'il l'entreprennoit presentement avec les vaisseaux que Tourville avoit prêts. Parmi une infinie de toute sorte de provisions on a fait remplir deux grandes caises de placards imprimés en anglois; et on scait cette circonstance par l'imprimeur meme, et de la maniere qu'on en parle icy, il n'est pas permis de douter qu'il n'y ait en Angleterre un grand party formé en faveur des interets du Roy Jacques, dont la joye est icy par avance generale et excessive.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham: 'La Fouleresse'.*

M2. 1692, [April 22/] May 2. Paris. 'On dit sur le sujet de la descente en Angleterre qu'on ne donne pas une armée au Roy Jacques pour conquerir ce royaume la, mais pour le mettre en estat de faire declarer et maintenir le party quil pretend y avoir pour soustenir son droit; la grandeur de ce dessein parle d'elle meme, et quand il ne reussiroit point, on peut dire qu'on n'a manqué à rien de tout ce qui depend de la diligence et de la precaution humaine pour une pareille entreprise, et que dans l'estat des choses le Roy Jacques ne sçauroit demander au Roy Tres Chrétien rien au de la de ce qu'il fait pour ses interets. On ne doute pas qu'il n'ait en Angleterre des intelligences considerables, quoy que d'autres veuillent, qui ne conte que sur les forces qu'il à mené, et sur la legereté de la nation, et du nombre de mescontants du gouvernement present. Les Anglois sont partis d'icy avec une si grande confiance qu'ils contoient aller tout droit a Londres, et un chaqu'un reprendre ses possessions paisiblement et sans difficulté; mais d'autres qui ne vont pas si viste jugent probablement que la moindre chose qui en puisse arriver, c'est une guerre civile en Angleterre, avens que le Roy Jacques y met pied a terre avec les forces qu'il à. Les ministres de cette cour parlent modestement du succès de cette entreprise, avouant neantmoins de n'avoir rien negligé de tout ce qui depend de la diligence et prudence humaine, mais que le vent et les autres incidents estant hors du pouvoir des hommes, il s'en faudra remettre a Dieu pour le succès. Et ce qu'on dit icy generalement, Tourville doit avoir fait tirer le coup de partance le 25 pour sortir de Brest avec la flotte destinée pour entrer dans la Manche et pour couvrir le transport de l'armée, qui est toute preste sur les costes de Normandie, et dont l'embarquement se pourra faire en 24 heures, a ce qu'on assure, suivant les mesures prises; mais d'autres avis disent que le dit Tourville ne pourra estre prest qu'au commencement de ce mois. On conte tousjours d'estre en mer pres d'un mois plustost que les Anglois, et d'avoir fait le transport devant que ceux cy seroient en estat de s'y opposer. On a déjà sçu que le Roy Jacques donna, le jour devant son depart de St. Germain, l'Ordre de la Jarretierre au Prince de Galles, mais on y adjoust presentement que c'estoit celuy du Roy Guillaume, lequel il a déclaré descheu de cet honneur en se reservant de faire

les formalités en son temps. On parle de faire la descente en trois endroits en Angleterre a la fois, et qu'on y employera une partie de la flotte, jusques à ce que le reste sera prest, ce qui ne tardera que 10 a 12 jours après, contant d'avoir toute la flotte ensemble au 15 de may, les vents favorisants. On n'avoit destiné que 2,500 chevaux pour l'armée du Roy Jacques, mais on vient d'augmenter ce nombre de mille, et on a préparé des pontons d'une nouvelle invention pour le transport plus aisé de cette cavallerie.'

2½ pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from La Foulereuse 3 May.*

N. LETTERS AND REPORTS RECEIVED FROM LORD GALWAY

N1. [? 1693, Jan.] Thursday morning. [? Desarres] to de Cramahé. 'J'étois hier de feste chez un amy, Monsieur. On ne me rendit votre billet qu'à minuit, et à cette heure que je pensois à vous envoyer mon garçon, votre valet me rend votre autre billet d'hier au soir. Puis que Mylord Galway veut que je die librement ma pensée sur l'affaire en question, j'estime, Monsieur, que quoy que la personne à quy j'ay affaire soit quelque chose dans le monde ou il est, que je le contenteray avec 50 ou 60 guinées pour la corespondance que je luy ai demandee sur votre memoire pendant tout le cours de la campagne prochaine, mais j'estime quil seroit a propos de luy en faire remettre la moitié d'avance pour luy faire connoistre quon agit de bonne foy, et que l'autre moistié luy sera donnée vers la fin de ce tems la. Cela peut vous sembler un depence et jen conviens avec vous, mais et vous et moy, Monsieur, voyons bien quelle ne peut en rien ballancer les risques dun tel commerce, et parer a divers petits debources quil faut faire icy et dedela pour les intelligences et les lettres, mesme pour de certaines petites corvees quil faut necessairement faire pour voir les choses par soi mesme. Aussi, Monsieur, estimerois je ce que je dis trop peu de chose sans que mon amy travaille plus pour l'honneur de la bonne cause que pour l'interest, et que ce que je propose de recompense est plus pour subvenir aux faus frais, etc., que pour grossir la bource. Il est assez genereux pour laisser à l'equite de Milord a luy en donner davantage sy Milord est content de ses memoires, comme je me flate quil le sera, car ce nest pas un homme ordinaire dont je me sers, mais un homme distingué par bien des endroi[t]s. Je seray bien aise de scavoir par vous, Monsieur, àquoy Milord se sera determiné avant son depart. Mon epouse vous fait ses complimens.'

P.S. 'Jay le plan de l'Isle d'Oleron et de l'entrée de Rochefort fait en 1627 lors des guerres d'alors.'

2½ pp. *French. Unsigned. Addressed to:* 'Monsieur de Cramahé, Aide de Camp de Milord Galway au quartier des Grecs a Londres.' *Seal of arms (a fess chequy between 3 mullets in chief and a crescent in base).*

N2. [? 1693, Jan.] Viscount Galway to [Nottingham]. 'Le Sieur Desarres, qui aura l'honneur de vous rendre ce billet, Mylord, est celuy dont je vous ay parlé depuis deus jours.'

¼ p. *Holograph. French. Signed. Endorsed by Nottingham:* 'Lord Galway de Desarres'.

N3. [? 1693, Jan.] [? Desarres to Cramahé.] 'Voicy, Monsieur dans ce papier ce que je puis dire de plus vray pour repondre au memoire que vous mavez laissé. Je ne manqueray pas de vous communiquer ce que l'on me mandera de ce pays la, ou jay escrit sur tout le contenu dudit memoire, et insinué aux amis qu'ils ne perdront pas leur peine, car sans cette condition je nen aurois rien de satisfaisant. Cest ce que vous ferez entendre sil vous plaist aux personnes interessees.

'Pour moy, Monsieur, je me tiens assez recompensé de l'occasion que vous me donnez de vous etre propre à quelque chose ou à vos amis.

'Je vous souhaite de la prosperité et des biens du ciel et de la terre, dans tout le cours de cette nouvelle année, et de plusieurs autres apres elle, plus que je ne men souhaite a moy mesme.'

P.S. 'Sy lon trouve que les profils dont je parle dans mon memoire puissent servir au dessein qu'on a, jen feray des copies, des qu'on me le fera scavoir qu'on le desire.'

2pp. *French. Unsigned. Nos. N3-6 are in the same hand as no. N1, whose writer may have copied them.*

N4. [? 1693, Jan.] 'Voicy ce que je scay de plus certainement vray pour satisfaire à ce que l'on desire de scavoir de l'etat des choses en Aulnix à l'egard de la guerre.

'On a basti deux navires a Rochefort qu'on devoit mettre a l'eau environ le 10e. de novembre dernier. Chacun de ces navires est de 80 canons.

'On en devoit mettre deux autres sur les mesmes chantiers, a peu pres de mesme force, des que ces deux la seroient lances a leau.

'On en bastit aussy a Bayonne, au Port Louis, a Brest, et a Toulon avec beaucoup de diligence.

'On pretend avoir en mer au printems une armée de 80 navires de ligne depuis 60 canons et au dessus; la plus part mesme navires du premier et second rang a trois ponts.

'On escrit de Rochefort que l'argent ny manque pas plus dans les affaires de la marine que l'eau à la riviere, a l'etonnement de tout le monde. Ce sont les termes de la lettre dun homme bien intentionné pour la cause juste.

'Les matelots du royaume au service des particuliers ont eu ordre de se rendre à leur departements suivant l'ordre des classes au mois de mars prochain sous de grosses peines.

'On travaille a Rochefort a fondre tous les canons de fonte, qui ont été péchez des 15 navires brulés a La Hogue, pour en faire des pieces de 36 livres de balle, dont on pretend garnir les batteries basses de tous les navires de

guerre; les capitaines ayant reconnu que le gros cannon fesoit un effet merveilleux sur l'ennemy.

'On y fait des mortiers de fer qui pesent 8 milliers, par manque de cuivre. Ces mortiers feront autant d'effet que ceux de cuivre, a ce qu'on croit.

'On y fait aussy des bombes d'une grosseur immense.

'On a ordonné dans les forges que tous les canons de fer qu'on y forge soient de 36 livres de balle.

'On fait des apprets inconcevable de vivres nonobstant la grande chereté, et de toutes sortes de munitions de guerre.

'La misere des peuples est extreme. La plupart n'ont pas du pain a manger. Il est plus cher qu'on ne l'ait veu de longtems.

'On laisse les nouveaux convertis assez en repos apresent, quand aus devotions.

'La Rochelle est toute renfermée. Les travaux qu'on y a faits sont presque partout de bons rempars de gazon avec un parapet et dans l'enceinte des anciennes fortifications. Les travaux d'entre la porte neuve et la lanterne se sont eboulez deux fois, mais on les a enfin r'affermiss par des pilotis. On y a fait 7 bastions du costé de la terre. Celuy de la mer conserve ses anciennes fortifications qui se demontrent a peu pres cette figure.

*Nota.** Jay les profils de La Rochelle du costé de la mer, de St. Martin et de sa citadelle, aussy du costé de la mer, avec le plan de l'un et de l'autre. Jay aussy les profils de Rochefort et de Brouage avec la vue de la tour de Fourras. Sy cela est de quelque utilité jen donneray des copies.

'On a fait quelques ouvrages avances a la porte de la digue, au lieu appellé la folie Mêlot. Il y a là une bonne batterie basse sur la mer pour deffendre l'approche du havre.

'On a aussy elevé quelques ouvrages vers les portes dites du Landas et celle de Coigne. On a abatu quantité de maisons et de vergers aux environs de la ville, depuis St. Maurice, la Fons St. Eloy, Ronsay et jusques à Tasdon en circulant a un mile autour de la place. On construit une espece de fort de pierre à Tâdon pour deffendre la porte de St. Nicolas, et battre sur la baye.

'On a mis du canon de fer sur les ramparts des l'este dernier. La garnison estoit alors renforcée jusqu'à 8,000 hommes de troupes reiglées, sous le commandement de Monsieur le Mareschal d'Estrees.

'On a fait une petite redoute sur la pointe de Chef de Baye à une lieue de la ville où il y a quelques pieces de canon. On va faire un fort au lieu où estoit

*This paragraph may be an intervention by the copyist (? Desarres).

autrefois le fort Louis entre St. Maurice et la ville. Ce fort commandera la digue et la ville. On a deja acheté de certaines terres et maisons pour cela, qui sont la autour. La ville neuve est comprise dans les nouvelles fortifications de la ville.

‘On a entierement achevé les travaux de la ville et citadelle de St. Martin en Ré, sy ce nest le fer a cheval quon construit à l’entrée du havre de la ville pour rompre la violence de la mer qui entroit avec beaucoup d’impetuosité dans le havre, du vent de nord-est, et y incommodoit beaucoup les vaisseaux. Le Comte d’Aubarede, qui en est gouverneur, fit abatre il y a deux ans les parapets de moeslon [moellon, rubble] tant du costé de la mer que de la terre, et les a fait refaire de gazon [turf].

‘Les arbres quon a plantez en grande quantité tout autour et sur les rempars de la ville et de la citadelle font maintenant un bel effet a la vue. On a aussy obligé tous les particuliers propriétaires des terres et vignobles (qui sont depuis le bourg de la Couarde, pres dune lieue au ouest de la ville et de là jusques au fort de la Prée à l’est) de planter des ormes de lun et de lautre costé du grand chemin, ce qui fait une estendue de 2 petites lieues.

‘Les garnisons de la ville et de la citadelle n’ont pas exedé 1,500 hommes (presques toutes nouvelles levées) l’esté dernier, outre 3,000 hommes des milices de l’ysle qui ne sont pas mal disciplinées.

‘Le fort de Sablanceau, ou St. Blanceau, a esté réparé et mis en estat de servir sur les mesmes fondements quon la veu cy devant. On a fait la mesme chose a celui qui est au Martray, lequel separe l’isle en deux, etant entre les marais salans et la mer du sud, a demy lieue du bourg d’Ars. On peut loger 3 a 400 hommes en chacun de ces petits forts. Celui du Martray est palissadé et revestu de moeslon.

‘On a fait aussy quelques nouveaux ouvrages en la Baye des Portes pour empescher les decentes quon peut faire la ou Monsieur de la Rochefoucault et le Mareschal de Toyras débarquerent le secours en 1627.

‘Les fortifications du chasteau d’Oleron sont presques finies et fort belles. On travaille apresent a renfermer le bourg St. Denis sous le canon de cette forteresse, pour en faire une ville aussy grande que St. Martin en Ré.

‘On construit un fort sur la pointe du Chapus vis a vis celui d’Oleron. On parle d’en faire un sur l’Isle d’Ay qui couvrira la riviere de Rochefort et Brouages avec celui qui est desja à Fourras vis à vis dela. Celui quon fait au Chapus est pour couvrir la riviere de Sudre.

‘Il y a un camp fait a Fourras ou on a 2 grosses batteries de fer. Il y avoit 8 à 1,000 hommes campez la l’esté dernier, tant troupes réglées que l’arriereban et les milices. Et un petit au Vergerou, plus avant en riviere.

‘On a mis aussy Brouages en estat de deffence. Je n’ay pas appris qu’on y ait fait des augmentations.

'Jay escrit a mon amy sur tous les chefs du memoire en question. Jauray soin de communiquer sa reponce et les choses dont il minformer a mesme quelles arriveront.

'Je garderay religieusement le secret; cest dequoy on se peut assurer.'

7pp. *French. Unsigned. Endorsed by Nottingham as received from Lord Galway 10 Jan. 1692-3.*

N5. 1693, [Jan. 24/] Feb. 3. La Rochelle. 'On a construit 4 navires a Brest qui sont a l'eau. On en a basti 3 a Rochefort qui sont aussy a l'eau. L'état de l'armement est réglé a 86 navires de lignes, d'autres disent a 90.

'Il vient 21 navires de Toulon des plus gros de ce port la pour Brest. Cette escadre partira de la le premier de mars. Elle sera forte d'equipage, ayant beaucoup de matelots pour les navires de Brest.

'On fera aussy venir de Dunkerque et du Havre de Grace a Brest, sil ny a pas trop de risques, les navires de guerre qui y sont.

'Ceux qui sont restes aux Isles de la Martinique, etc., sont aussy attendus pour tout le mois de mars, ayant eu ordre d'abandonner ces isles a leur propre deffence, crainte dy etre envelopez des ennemis.

'Les navires du port de Rochefort sont tous galefetez [calfatés, caulked] et carenez, mais la grande difficulté est d'avoir des matelots, qui se cachent de plus en plus. On a fermé nos ports de Bayonne a Dunkerque depuis 8 jours, afin den mieux trouver. On a brulé des maisons de ces pauvres gens a La Tramlade parce quils sen sont fuis, et on en a meme tué de ceux qui se vouloient sauver.

'On prendra tous les matelots des rivières depuis la Garonne jusque a la Seine inclusivement, tels quels, et on se servira des soldats des regiments des vaisseaux pour la manœuvre passe.

'On garnira les vaisseaux d'officiers et de gardes de marine, dont le Roy a fait une nombreuse promotion, presque tous gens de qualité.

'Le rendezvous de l'armée sera a Brest, ou on enverra les vaisseaux du port de Rochefort 2 et 3 a la fois a mesure quils s'appresteront, afin de sy rendre de bonne heure, et de crainte que les ennemis ne se viennent interposer avec leur[s] gros navires.

'On fera de mesme conduire a Brest divers navires de provisions et de munitions qui se chargent a Bourdeaux, a Rochefort et a La Rochelle pour les navires du port de Brest.

'On travaille assidument dans les fonderies a faire des canons de fonte de 36 livres et de 24 livres de calibre des canons qu'on a sauvez des navires que les ennemis brulerent a La Hogue lesté dernier.

'On va envoyer nombre de provisions et de munitions en Canada. On voudroit bien scavoïr au vray quelles troupes les Anglois ont fait passer aux Isles de l'Amerique.

'On craint sy fort une decente cet esté qu'on travaille toujours aux fortifications de Rochefort.

'On va au commencement de l'esté faire de nouvelles fortifications a La Rochelle, du costé de la Fons, comme on en a fait l'eté dernier a Tadon, qui assurément est une belle piece.

'Les travaux depuis la mer (vers la Tour de la Lanterne) jusques a la Porte Neuve et de la aux Capucins (mesme au dela de Core) sont de mechantes fortifications de gazons, et de redens sans aucunes fortifications regulieres.

'La ville est sy fort commandée de ce costé la que lon voit les gens dans la grande place du Château jusques aux Souliers.

'Il y a environ 40 canons sur le rempart, la plus part mechantes pieces de fer.

'L'Isle de Ré est bien aisée a insulter, ny ayant pas en toute l'isle 1,200 hommes a solde, encore sont ce de mechantes troupes.

'Le fort de Sablanceau [marginal note: 'en l'Isle de Ré'] nest rien, non plus que celui du Martray. Ce ne sont que des bicoques, et celui de la Brée ne vaut guerre mieux. Ce nest qu'un donjon mal fortifié.

'On bastit un fort sur l'Isle d'Ay [marginal note: 'pres l'embouchure de la Charante']. On avoit laissé l'ouvrage une fois (et assurément on avoit raison de le faire) car cette forteresse sur cette petite Isle la ne vaut rien pour la province sy les ennemis se rendent les maitres de la mer. Le dessein de la cour est dy mettre tous les canons des navires, quand ils viendront desarmer, parce qu'ils donnent trop de peine a porter a Rochefort; et les rapporter en suite a la rade de cette isle la ou les navires se tiennent quand ils vont en mer, ne pouvant pas, comme vous sçavez, monter ny descendre la riviere avec leur canons.

'On vient nouvellement de donner un arrest qui fait deffence aux nouveaux convertis d'avoir aucune sortes d'armes ny de poudre dans leurs maisons pendant deux ans.

'On fait grand troffée de la prise de Furnes et de Dixmude, et lon traite de bagatelle l'affaire de Rhinfeldz.

'Il est sorty plus de 20 fregates fortes de St. Malo pour croiser sur les ennemis. Celles de Bayonne sont toujours sur les costes d'Espagne, ou elles font bien des prises.

'Cinq ou six bonnes fregates angloises prendroient tous ces corsaires de Bayonne, et empescheroient qu'il nen sortit aucun de ce port la, sy elles se tenoient assiduelement a y croiser, et devant St. Jean de Luz, et se pourroient retirer chez les Espagnols leurs amis.

'Il seroit assez facile aux Anglois et Hollandois d'empescher la jonction des navires de Toulon, de Rochefort et d'ailleurs, avec ceux de Brest. Ils nont qu'a envoyer de bonne heure une trentaine de leurs plus gros navires croiser depuis Belle Isle jusques au travers de Brest sans se rebuter, et cest ce quon craint beaucoup.

'Sy vous avez envoy  des troupes aux Isles de l'Amerique, et un bon commandant, nos Isles sont perdues pour nous, tres assurément, car elles nont point de deffence que leurs habitants, etc. [marginal note: 'et la maladie continue a la Martinique, qui a fait perir 100 soldats ou matelots sur chacun des vaisseaux].

'Des gens qui viennent de Toulon disent qu'on y a mis a l'eau un nouveau *Soleil Royal* de 112 canons, pour remplacer celui qui brula l'annee pass e a La Hogue. Ils le font le plus beau navire que porte la mer.

'Quoy que la province soit abym e, l'argent est dans les affaires du Roy comme l'eau a la mer. Toutes les troupes de mer et de terre sont payees exactement, ce qui nous surprend dune etrange sorte.

'On va armer en dilligence 10 navires a Rochefort pour quils sortent de la riviere incessamment, mais on ne scait pour ou. C'est par un ordre secret que Monsieur l'Intendant vient de recevoir.

'On ne me dit rien de Brouage, etc.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 'from Lord Galway's advertisement' 16 February.*

N6. 1693, [Feb. 26/] March 8. 'Les navires quon destine pour l'escadre de Monsieur le Comte d'Estreez a Toulon estoient prêts par les derniers avis. Il y en a 15 ou 16 de fort gros vaisseaux. On dit que cest pour aller chercher l'arm e navale d'Espagne du cost  de Naples ou de Sicile, et que des navires de guerre du Ponant les doivent venir joindre; il y en aura dans ces 15 ou 16, trois de neufs qu'on a basti a Toulon, dont l'un a 112 canons et quon tient pour le plus beau navire qui ait jamais et  vu sur la mer.

'On travaille a Rochefort avec beaucoup d'empressement a l'armement de dix vaisseaux pour cette jonction la; il y en a desja 5 de ces 10 a la rade de l'Isle d'Ay. Les autres 5 sy rendront bien tost. Douze gros navires doivent aussy venir de Brest joindre ces 10, et tous ensemble aller trouver Monsieur le Comte d'Estreez au Levant comme je vous lay dit, parce que le bruit est icy que les Anglois y envoient une escadre de 30 a 40 navires. Mais tous les jours les ordres de la cour changent, car on avoit congedi  il ny a que 4 jours un bon nombre de charpentiers a Rochefort, que l'on a depuis envoy  chercher chez eux par des archers de la marine, sur l'ordre que Monsieur l'intendant a receu de faire incessamment travailler a l'equipement de tous les

navires qui restent dans le port, afin de grossir le corps d'armée. Mais l'essentiel pour cela nous manque; ce sont des matelots, qui fuyent dans les bois pour sy cacher, ce qui fait que lon met garnison ches eux qui mangent tout ce qu'ont ces pauvres gens. On va mesme jusques la qu'on met le feu aux maisons de quelques uns, afin de faire peur aus autres, et la rareté de ces matelots est sy grande que l'on est obligé de prendre des massons, des vigneron, des laboureurs, et des autres gens de toutes sortes de mettiers. On a desja pris tous les sauniers des marais de ce pays d'Aulnix, de sorte que je ne prevoiy pas que l'on puisse avoir du sel cette année et que cette denrée sera extremement chere, nen restant presque plus en nature sur les Bosses.

'Nous avons armé des flustes pour Canada; on en esquipe encore deux pour les y envoyer avec 5 navires marchands de La Rochelle.

'Sy les navires du Roy quon attend des Isles de l'Amerique arivoient a manquer, je ne croy pas que nous soyons en estat de sortir en corps d'armée, y ayant bien 3,000 matelots dans ces navires la.

'On donne aux navires quon arme des canons de fonte de 36 livres et de fer de 24 livres de balle, quon a refondus cette année.

'On charge avec dilligence des flutes et autres navires de toute sortes de provisions et munitions quon envoie a Brest, a mesure qu'elles sont prestes, sous l'escorte de 2 ou 3 fregattes legeres.

'Nous avons eu avis de Brest cette semaine que Monsieur de Nesmond y est rentré avec ses 12 navires de guerre, ayant laissé a la mer 15 a 20 corsaires de St. Malo, et d'autres endroits, a croiser; il a croisé pres de 2 mois vers le Cap de Finisterre pour rencontrer les flottes d'Espagne, de Portugal et celle que les Anglois ont envoyée aux Isles de l'Amerique, mais il n'a rien trouvé, il na mesme pas fait une seule prize, de quoy les Malouins enragent.

'L'on fait toujours etat que notre armée navalle sera de 80 navires de ligne, mais sy on fait un detachement de 22 navires pour le Levant comme il semble qu'on le veut faire, l'opinion commune est en ce cas que nous ne sortiront pas en corps d'armée mais seulement par bonnes escadres separées, pour rompre les mesures des ennemis, incommoder leur negoce, et espier leurs desseins pour en suite se joindre en corps, sy le besoin le requiert.

'Il ny a que 8 jours que jetois a l'Isle d'Ay ou on a arresté d'y bastir une ville, et pour cet effet on y travaille deja a faire bastir des cazernes; on veut tascher d'y faire un havre pour y mettre des barques a couvert.

'Les travaux d'Oleron et ceux du Chapus se continuent aussy; mais on ne fait plus rien en Ré qu'achever l'éperon qu'on fait devant la bouche du havre de St. Martin pour empescher le ressac des coups de vent du nord'est dy entrer. On prepare l'hostel de ville a La Rochelle pour Monsieur le Mareschal d'Estreez qu'on y attend vers le mois prochain et qui amenera des troupes

avec luy, dont on en mettra 1,500 hommes dans La Rochelle, outre les 1,500 qui y sont desja pour la garder. Le reste de ces troupes sera a la campagne, a manger les bourgs et les villages de la province avec l'arriere-ban, qui l'achevera d'abismer. On ne conte pas moins pour cette campagne que prendre Charleroy et Mastrick d'un costé, Cony et Turin d'un autre, avec Mayence et une autre place. Monsieur le Daufin va, dit on, commander en Allemagne, ainsy Coblenz doit avoir grand peur sy on en croit les raisonneurs.

'On feroit encore un autre grand ouvrage a La Rochelle, semblable a celuy quon a fait a Tadon, sy le fons estoit donné; apres quoy il faudra 12,000 hommes a garder la ville.

'On craint a La Rochelle l'aproche des ennemis tout comme sy on les scavoit deja a Orleans.

'Nos marins disent hautement que quoy qu'ils ayent cette campagne le tiers moins de navires que les ennemis en aurent, ils les iront pourtant chercher pour les battre, puis que l'annee passée, avec 90 navires qu'ils avoient contre 23, ils ne leur ont pas fait de mal dans le combat, car, disent ils, les 21 autres qui se retirerent a St. Malo ne tirerent pas cent coups de canon, lun portant lautre.

'La ville et la citadelle de St. Martin de Ré est en bon estat, mais il ny a en toute l'isle que 1,500 hommes de troupes reglees au plus. Il est vray que le Comte d'Aubarede qui en est gouverneur est un bien brave homme. Je ne puis pas m'imaginer que les ennemis veuillent venir en corps en nos rades, mais s'ils avoient des escadres volantes ils pouroient souvent surprendre nos gros navires qui sortent de Rochefort sans canons. Adieu. Je vous repete que je croy que l'armement des 22 navires quon destine pour le Levant presse bien, puisqu'on y travaille jour et nuit.'

3pp. *French. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 'per Lord Galways agent' 14 March.*

O. MISCELLANEOUS

O1. [1691.] 'Il y a long tems que le Roy des François a formé le dessein de se rendre monarque universel. Pour y réussir il s'est servi de deux principaux moyens. Le premier cest de diviser, et d'abattre les forces des princes et etats ses voisins; le second, de rendre son pouvoir arbitraire et despotique sur ses sujets. En l'un et en l'autre il n'a rien oublié de ce qui le pouvoit conduire a ses fins. La conduite qu'il a tenüe avec les princes et etats de l'Europe, et la triste condition ou il a reduits ses sujets sont connües de tout le monde, et il n'y a point difficulté qu'il ne se doive promettre et attendre un heureux succès dans tous ses desseins, si les Confédérés ne sy prennent plus serieusement qu'ils n'ont fait jusques à présent. Mais pour le traverser, et rompre toutes les mesures qu'il a prises avec beaucoup de circonspection, il faut penetrer dans la France, al[l]er dans son centre troubler la direction et loeconomie de ses finances, car de pretendre la reduire par le dehors, et prendre les places et forteresses qui l'environnent l'une apres lautre, ce seroit la mer a boire. Un siecle ne suffiroit pas. Rome na jamais esté vaincüe que par elle même; il en est de meme de la France. On n'en viendra a bout si les Aliés ne vont dans le coeur du royaume reveiller les peuples de labattement ou ils sont réduits, et les elever contre l'opression du Roy des François, ce qui ne se peut naturellement faire que par une decente par mer.

'Mais il faut plutot finir lafaire d'Irlande, car elle sert de pretexte aux emissaires de la France pour dire que leur Roy remettra bien tot le Roy Jaques en la possession de ce royaume et des autres qu'il a perdu, ce qui est specieux pour entreprendre cette expedition et la pousser a bout. Il faut un general rigoureux, et de réputation, et l'on nen connoit pas de plus propre que Monsieur le Duc de Linster* par son courage, sa valeur et son experience. On est persuadé en France qu'il possede avantageusement toutes ces qualités, et parmi les troupes francoises ennemies il est generalement estimé. Il faudroit cependant tenir des vaisseaux prêts, pour ne perdre pas du tems, pour transporter les troupes qu'on destinera pour cette entreprise. La plus grande partie de celles qui sont en Irlande apres la reduction de Lemerick y pourront estre employées, et dautres qu'il faudra avoir d'ailleurs. Vingt mil hommes d'infanterie et quatre mil de cavalerie de troupes reglées suffiront.

'Plusieurs raisons déterminent a faire cette entreprise par la province de Guyenne.

'1. Les peuples sont tres disposés a secoüer le joug du gouvernement de France par la prévention ou ils sont d'avoir esté induément chargés de subsides et impositions exorbitantes en leurs personnes et en leurs biens, au

*This dates the document after the creation of Meinhard Schomberg as Duke of Leinster on 3 March 1691, but before his succession as Duke of Schomberg on 16 October.

prejudice de leurs privilèges qui les en devoient exempter. Les trois ordres generalement sont dans cet esprit.

'2. Dans cette province il ny a ville, place, ni fort qui puisse resister huit jours a une armée comme celle qu'on propose.

'3. Il n'y a point de troupes regleés dans la province, et le Roy des Francois n'ozeroit dans cette conjoncture degarnir des places, ni oter de ses armées des troupes pour les y envoyer. Elles luy sont trop necessaires ailleurs. Il ne faut pas faire etat de celles de la milice, soit qu'elles ne sont pas a craindre par leur peu d'experience, ou qu'elles seront les premieres a lever le masque.

'Et enfin cest que le débarquement est très aisé et sans risque. Il faut aller dans la riviere de Bordeaux, decendre au Verdon; cest une baye qui contient plus de sept ou huict cens vaisseaux a couvert de tout orage, aussi sert elle de retraite et dentrepot a tous les vaisseaux qui entrent ou qui sortent de la riviere lors qu'ils ont le vent contraire. La rade y est merveilleuse, lancrage bon, et la decente aisée en basse mer. Il y a pour le moins plus de quinze ou seize brasses [fathoms] d'eau. Le lieu dont je parle nest qu'a quatre lieües de lembouchure de la riviere, a seize de Bordeaux du même coté, dans un pays uni et decouvert, sans riviere ni forteresse pour en pouvoir defendre les avenues. La ville nest point forte ni fortifiée, ne voudra ni ne pourra se defendre, surtout apres que les avis en question auront paru et seront venus a la connoissance des peuples, et principalement de quantité de gentils hommes et de personnes considerables de cette province qui prennent tous confiance en moy, et qui ne manqueront pas de faire leur devoir.

'Les environs de la ville est un pays uni, decouvert et abondant en fourrage. Les troupes y pourront rester tant qu'on voudra a couvert de toute insulte. Lon peut faire venir des vivres par les rivières de Garonne, Dordogne et le Lot, ou il y en est abondance. Le Chateau Trompette qui est dans Bordeaux, et sur un coin de la ville, est batti sur des pilotis dans un marais. Il sest enfoncé de plus de dix ou douze pieds depuis quinze ans. Le bruit du canon fait fendre les bastions. Etant maitre de la ville, le chateau ne sauroit resister huict jours. On pourroit remplir de terre l'église et le convent des Jacobins qui le domine, et y dresser des batteries pour ruiner les defenses. Si lon ne veut que tenir la campagne, il ny a rien qu'y puisse resister. On pourroit fortifier Aiguilhon, qui est une petite ville a quinze lieües au dessus de Bordeaux sur le confluent des rivières de Garonne et du Lot, dans une heureuse situation par elle même, tres aisée a fortifier, dans un pays tres abondant en grains, en vins, et en fourages, et au milieu de la province. On pourroit batir un fort au dessous de Bordeaux, et un autre dans la ville de Libourne, qui est sur la Dordogne, pour enpecher toute communication a Bordeaux, et il faudroit necessairement que d'elle même sans siege elle se rendit, quand bien elle nauroit pas les dispositions quelle a de se soumettre.

'La flotte apres le débarquement pourroit se retirer si lon vouloit, nestant plus necessaire, car il est constant qu'un general de merite et de réputation avec une armée de 25,000 hommes sera le maitre de la province de Guyenne dans moins d'un mois apres le débarquement, et la reduction de cette province tireroit a consequence pour les autres que lavoisinent, car de la on peut passer par tout le royaume, suivant que le cas et la disposition des affaires lexigeroit. Cest un coup de partie qu'il ne faut pas manquer cette année; peut estre ny serat on jamais plus reçu.

'Il faut observer que cest de cette province que le Roy des Francois retire de si grosses sommes, par le sel qu'il répand dans tout le royaume, et des droits d'entrée et de sortie par mer. Si on luy coupe cette source, assurément il se trouvera hors detat de pouvoir fournir a tant de finance et d'hommes qui luy sont necessaires, et quil retire la plus grand[e] partie de cette province outre que la meme chose pourroit arriver dans le reste du royaume. Cest le seul moyen de redüire la France, car tout autant que le Roy des Francois se pourra servir de l'argent qui est en France et qui passe deux fois l'année par ses mains au moyen des impositions et subsides quil etablit sur ses sujets, leurs biens, leurs danrées, leurs charges, leur industrie et leur commerce, et qu'il se pourra servir de ses sujets pour l'armée, il sera toujours en etat de resister et peut estre de vaincre. Mais si l'on arrête le mouvement de cet argent, il tombera de même qu'un corps tombe lorsque la circulation du sang est arrêtée. Qu'on élève ses sujets contre luy; il se trouvera sans resource. Toutes choses semblent y concourir. Voicy le moment fatal pour luy.

'Il faut faire imprimer le projet d'avis aux provinces de Guyenne, Normandie, etc., et envoyer trois ou quatre mil exemplaires sur les lieux, les répandre partout. Assurément ils feront leffet qu'on se propose. Le peuple desillera les yeux, s'animera, et on les trouvera tout portés a faire ce qu'on voudra a laproche de l'armée, surtout sil y a un chef tel que celui qu'on propose. La chose presse extrêmement. Il ny a point de tems a perdre.'

8pp. *French.*

Enclosing:

O1(1). 'Avis aux habitans des provinces de Guyenne, Normandie, Languedoc, et Poitou, qui gemissent sous esclavage, et sous l'oppression du gouvernement de France.'

'L'interest que je prens, Messieurs, aux malheurs qui vous accablent . . . Tenés vous prêts, Messieurs, et disposés vous de seconder et dembrasser de bon coeur loccasion qui se presentera bien tot pour votre delivrance.'

Intended for publication in the event of an invasion. Describes the liberty enjoyed by the inhabitants of these provinces under English rule before 1455 and the King of France's subsequent breaches of agreements with the provincial estates, extension of taxes etc. Urges them to welcome William III, who will (1) reestablish the Estates General in these four provinces, which are his of right, and in any others willing to come under his protection; (2) abolish the taille and other new taxes; (3) free the

inhabitants from slavery and poverty; (4) restore authority to the Parlements; (5) restore privileges to the towns; (6) restore prerogatives to the nobility; (7) restore ancient functions to the officers of justice, police and war; (8) restore rights to the clergy; (9) restore liberty of trade to the merchants; and (10) restore liberty of conscience to all. Contrasts William and his many Christian allies with Louis, allied only with Turks and infidels.

10½ pp. *French.*

O2. [?1691.] 'St. Valeri en Normandie est un port de mer entre Le Havre et Dieppe ou les gros vaisseaux ne peuvent pas entrer. Il ny a que les petits vaisseaux ou les barques quy peuvent aborder, meme en basse mer. Cest un grand bourg, presque tout habité par des pescheurs. Il ny a fort ni forteresse. Les environs sont des prés, terres labourables, et vergers pour du sydre. Le Païs de Caux, le meilleur fonds du monde, est interposé. Entre St. Valeri et Roüen il n'y a que dix lieües de distance, et deux de Dieppe. Il n'y a fort, forteresse ni riviere jusques a Roüen pour en empecher les avenües.

'Roüen est une ville fort marchande. Je croy qu'on y fait plus de commerce quen [aucune] ville de France. Elle nest pas fortifiée, ni ne se peut fortifier, parce qu'il y a une montagne qui la domine. De Roüen a Paris il ny a que vingt huict petites lieües, point de ville ni forteresse entredeux. Il ny a que Pontoise qui est a sept lieües de Paris sans fort ni defence. Il y a une petite riviere nommée la Loise qui y passe sous un pont. Jusques a Paris il ny a que St. Denis ou lon passe; cest un village a proprement parler, sans murs en beaucoup dendroits, et les fosses presque tous comblés.

'Si lon veut faire une decente par cet endroit, il nest rien si aisé, estant mètre de St. Valeri pour garder la flotte qui aura porté les troupes. Elles peuvent rester long tems dans le pays sans aucun danger dinsulte. Les milices ne sont point a craindre, soit par le defaud dexperience, ou qui au fond ne seroient pas fachés d'un changement de gouvernement, par lopression ou ils se trouvent. Pour des troupes réglées, il ny en a pas dans toute la province de Normandie, et avant quon en fasse venir des armées de Flandres, qui sont les plus proches, il faut bien du tems, et le danger même est de les en oter; cette diversion pourroit favoriser le dessein du Roy [William].

'Dieppe est une asses grand[e] ville sans estre fortifiée du coté de la terre, et peu du coté de la mer. On pourroit sen emparer suivant le cas et la disposition des affaires.

'Tout ce pays est abundant en grains et en fourrages, surtout en cette saison. Je say de certitude que le Conseil de France craint beaucoup cet endroit. Il est quasi sans remede. Le port dun faible acces, on pourroit bondarder [*sic*] la ville sans risque.

'St. Valeri en Picardie est un autre port de mer entre Dieppe et Calais a 8 ou

10 lieues de Dieppe. Labordage est difficile et dangereux acause de bancs de sable. Il y a même un petit fort a l'emboucheure; ce nest qu'a trois ou quatre lieües d'Abbeville, qui est une ville fort marchande sans estre fortifiée. Je ne croy pas cet endroit si accessible que lautre. Toutes fois il sen faut encore mieux sinformer, car le pays est fort bon et une decente feroit aussi consequence.'

2½ pp. *French. In the same hand as no. O1.*

O3. [1691, ?Aug.*] 'Monseigneur, vous sorez [sçaurez] que je me suis débarqué icy sur la cotte d'Angleterre par lordre du maistre du batteaux, quil me dit, "Vous trouverez un nommé Thomas Roux, quil parlera françois a vous", mais cepandant je fut pris par trois Anglois, de quoy quil mont fait mettre dans la prison de Douvre, ou es que jay resté onze mois courant, de quoy vous sorez, Monseigneur, que le nommé Monsieur Roux repondoit pour moy dans la prison, quil dit au goliez [geôliers, gaolers], "Donnez luy ca quil luy faut". Monseigneur, vous sorez quil me donny un grand capot [greatcoat], parc[e] que que je navoit point beaucoup de hard [hardes, clothes] de sur moy, et Monseigneur, vous sorez quil rescoit de la marchandis de de [sic] France quil ca dres [s'adresse] a luy, de quoy quil nan navoit dautre petit et de lettre mesme cascheté, que jay veu a Calais dans le mois de juin de lautre année mil six nonnant [1690] par un vendredy a ii h[eu]res]. Le maistre du batteaux nomme Jacques Luce et le batteaux le *St. Jacques* de Calais. Monseigneur, je vous supply davoir pitie dun pauvre miserable comme je suis, et je faire oblige de prier Dieu pour vous, que le bon Dieu vous maintinne en santé Monseigneur.'

P.S. 'Et la marchandis quil envoit ca dres a un nommé Monsieur Guilbert de Calais, et Monsieur Pigault de Calais tout deux.'

2pp. *French. Signed: Dominique Morel. Endorsed: Morelli.*

O4. 1691, Nov. 19. Barwick. Labonneille, 'officier dans Beveridge', to [?Nottingham]. 'Le mecontentement est si general en France, et les peuples si prêts à s'emouvoir, que je suis persuadé qu'il faut peu de chose pour les ebranler; mais ils sont si accoutumés a craindre la puissance qui les a accablés qu'ils tremblent encore et qu'ils ont extremement besoin d'estre encouragés. Personne n'ose remuer ny la main ny la langue; mais s'ils avoient une fois quelque exemple devant les yeux, tous s'emouvroient egalement, parce que la souffrance est egale, et je ne doute pas qu'il n'en revint un grand avantage. Dans cette pensée, Mylord, je viens de composer quatre differens

*Nottingham had Morel or Morelli brought up to London for examination by a specially convened council of war, along with Thomas Roux or Rowe, in August 1691 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1690-91, pp. 427, 447, 467, 473; *Finch III*, pp. 398, 404, 405).

discours, dont je prens la liberté de vous envoyer deux pour exemple. L'un est a la noblesse, l'autre au peuple, l'autre aux Protestans, et l'autre aux Parlemens. Je tache de les emouvoir chaqu'un par ce qui leur est particulier, et tous ensemble par l'interest commun. Je m'imagine, Mylord, que cette sorte d'écrits qui sont nouveaux et inconnus en France ne sauroient que produire un bon effet sur des peuples aigris et disposés a la vengeance. Ils inspireroient peu a peu du degout et du mecontentement a ceux qui n'en ont peuestre pas encore, et porteroient ceux qui sont mecontents et irrités a diverses resolutions utiles. Les Protestans qui sont forts dans plusieurs provinces, et qui se sont une fois armé[s] contre les forces immenses de l'estat, se souviennent des cruautés qu'on exercea sur eux, et sont peut estre disposés a profiter de l'occasion pour recouvrer leur privileges et pour se vanger. Enfin il en reviendrait cet effet qui semble infaillible. C'est, Mylord, que cette sorte d'écrits se rependans alarmeroient le conseil, le rendroient timide et defiant, et luy feroient peut estre prendre des mesures fauses qui seroient utiles aux alliés. Si vous jugés, Mylord, que cela puisse avoir quelque effet, je m'estimerai fort hureux [sic] d'y avoir travaillé, et en cas qu'on manquat de moyens assurés pour les repandre, je m'offre a passer en France moy meme, et a y rendre a sa Majesté les services qui dependront de moy.'

2pp. *French.*

Enclosing:

O4(1). 'Lettre a la noblesse de France.' 'Messeigneurs, ce n'est pas pour vous représenter la dureté de l'esclavage et les miseres de nostre nation que je vous écris, ny pour vous faire aviser de la diminution de vostre grandeur et de vos privileges. Il n'y a sans doute pas un de vous qui ne sente l'un et l'autre de ces malheurs, et qui n'en ait un juste ressentiment. Mais je vous écris pour ralumer en vous le zele que vos peres ont eu pour la liberté de leur patrie et pour la conservation de leur propre privileges. La puissance et les prerogatives que vos ancestres s'estoient reserves dans le fondement de nostre monarchie, et qu'ils avoient en dessein d'étendre jusqu'a vous et a vos enfans, sont evanouies, et je puis dire qu'il ne vous en reste pas une ombre. C'est vous qui dans la puissante assemblée des estas generaux faisiez les loys et leur donniés de l'autorite. Vous esties les peres et les conducteurs naturels des peuples, et vous n'estes aujourd'hui que les compagnons de leur esclavage. Vous esties comme autant de bras dans le gouvernement, et chaqu'un de vous portoit pour ainsi dire un fleuron de la couronne que vos peres ont mise sur la teste de nos Roys. C'est vous qui distribués les richesses et la fortune aux autres, et chaqu'un de vous avoit quelque part à la gloire de l'empire sans l'acheter par l'esclavage et la servitude.

'Comparés, Messeigneurs, cette ancienne grandeur et ces eclatans privileges avec ce que vous estes aujourd'hui et je suis persuadé que vous aures de la peine a vous reconnoitre. Il vous faut attendre et servir maintenant pour ce que les loys et la naissance vous donnent. Travailler pour vostre fortune, obeir aux loys que le caprice ou quelque autre passion vous impose, et vivre en un mot non pas comme les grands et les chefs d'un royaume, mais comme des serviteurs ou des simples habitans.

'Voicy, Messeigneurs, le temps de recouvrer ces grands privileges que vous aves

perdus. Voicy le temps de retablir vostre grandeur, vostre gloire, et vostre puissance. Tous les princes et tous les grands de l'Europe semblent avoir epousé vostre querelle et tiré l'épée pour vous servir. Les ennemis dont nos frontières sont couvertes sont vos amis, et tous les peuples du royaume sont prêts a vous seconder. Voicy le temps de demander qu'on assemble des estas generaux, ou les abus qui se sont glissés dans le gouvernement soient otés, ou les loys fondamentales soient remises en vigueur, ou vous reprenies le credit et le pouvoir qui vous est deu, et ou les peuples qui sont accablés et qui gemissent sous l'oppression soient soulagés.

'Mais cette occasion perdue, tout est perdu pour toujours. Vos enfans seront moins considerés que vous, et vos peuples seront plus esclaves et plus malheureux que jamais. Vostre gloire, vos interets, vos enfans, vostre patrie, tout implore vostre secours et vous sollicite a des efforts nobles et dignes de vos ancestres. L'occasion doit vous y resoudre, ou pour mieux dire, elle doit vous y forcer, pour eviter les malheurs qui nous menacent. Si vous secondés, chaqu'un de vous dans les diverses mesures qu'il peut prendre, les voysins qui semblent nous secourir de toutes parts, je ne vois pas seulement lieu d'en attendre un hureux succès, mais outre, qu'ils rendront a nostre patrie son lustre et sa liberté. Ils vous rendront vous meme plus puissans et plus illustres, et plus vous aures fait pour vous et pour vostre patrie, et plus vostre gloire et vostre recompense sera grande.'

2½ pp. *French.*

O4(2). 'Lettre a tous les peuples de France.' 'Messieurs, le joug pesant sous lequel nous gemissons depuis longtemps est le plus grand fleau dont nostre patrie ait jamais esté batue. Si vous considerés l'excès et la longueur de nos miseres, vous verrés que jamais des maux si grands et si longs n'ont affligé tout un royaume. Nous sommes nés dans le climat de lunivers le plus riche et le plus fertile, et nous sommes le plus miserable et le plus pauvre peuple que nous connoissons. Nos loys fondamentales sont infiniment belles et justes, et nous ne sommes gouvernés que par caprice et par passion. De Francs, je veux dire libres, que nous estions naturellement, nous sommes devenus autant d'esclaves et de captifs. C'est nostre patience, Messieurs, et nostre fidelité qui nous ont attiré ces malheurs. Nous avons perdu tout ce que nos peres nous avoient acquis au prix de leur sang – privileges, liberté, biens, tout ce que les loys, le travail ou la naissance donne aux autres hommes, tout nous est ravi. Il ne nous reste rien qu'une dure souffrance qui n'a point de fin, et que la honte de nous estre laissés depouiller de nos libertés. Ah, combien de larmes n'ont elles pas esté repandues parmy nous depuis long temps! Nous avons eu la guerre au milieu de la paix, et la famine au milieu de l'abondance. Nous avons veu le laboureur au desesper abandonner ses champs, l'artisan gemir de ne pouvoir pas vivre du travail de ses mains, le marchand rebuté de son comerce et fuir dans les pays etrangers, la veuve et l'orphelin opprimés, et tous ensemble nous avons veu nos privileges, nos biens et nos libertés se fondre et s'évanouir. Enfin tout ce que l'injustice pouvoit inventer, nous l'avons souffert, et la desolation est montée à son comble. Que ferons, Messieurs, dans cette affligente extremité? Permettons nous que nostre esclavage soit eternal? et que nos enfans et toute la posterité nous reprochent de ne leur avoir laissé qu'un joug honteux et accablant? Nous contenterons nous de devorer nos pleurs et de laisser nos afflictions et nos malheurs pour heritage a ceux qui viendront apres nous? Que craignons nous desormais? Nous avons perdu tout ce que nous pouvions perdre; et il ne nous re[s]te ou qu'un joug eternal ou la gloire et le bonheur de nous en estre delivrés.

'L'occasion ne sera jamais si favorable qu'elle l'est maintenant. Toute l'Europe est sur nos frontieres a nostre secours. Les armées que nous craignons autrefois et qui nous accabloient sont loin de nous et ne sauroient nous faire aucun mal. Les tresors

qui nous fesoient craindre ceux qui nous ont fait tant de maux sont epuisés ou employés ailleurs. Tout l'estat est mecontent et pret a secouer le joug. Nous sommes assurés qu'il n'est noble ny roturier, femme ny enfant, qui ne soupire apres la delivrance commune. Nostre bonheur et nostre liberté ne tiennent plus qu'à un seul point. C'est a estre tous d'intelligence et à vouloir estre libres et hureux. Mais il ne faut pas une volonté molle et effeminée comme celle que nous avons eu jusques icy. Il faut une volonté active et vigoureuse: que ceux qui pourront se joindre a ceux qui viennent a nostre secours s'y joignent, et que ceux qui pourront agir par eux memes agissent et se declarent. Un bel exemple sera suivi de cent mille, et plus nous serons ardents et unanimes a secouer le joug, et plus nous le secouerons aisement.

'Mais si cette hureuse occasion se pert, hélas! Quelle ressource avons nous, et que pouvons nous esperer? sinon que nostre joug s'appesantisse davantage et que nous devenions le peuple du monde le plus miserable et le plus meprisé! Je ne vois que honte, misere, pauvreté, esclavage, et toute sorte de maux dans l'avenir. Je suis persuadé que tous ceux qui aiment leur patrie, l'honneur, le bien et la paix ne peuvent pas y jeter les yeux sans horreur; mais si chaqu'un met la main a l'oeuvre, et se fait un devoir d'assister sa patrie, je suis persuadé que nostre delivrance est l'ouvrage de peu de temps. Nos loys seront retablies et fleuriront plus que jamais, l'abondance et les richesses reviendront, et nous aurons la gloire et le bonheur d'avoir travaillé à la plus belle et la plus necessaire delivrance qui fut jamais.'

2½ pp. *French.*

O5. [1691, Nov. or Dec.]

Faits sur lesquels on
voudroit etre eclaircy

1. Quelles mesures on prend
a la cour de France pour
empescher la conclusion de la
paix du Turc avec l'Empereur.
2. Quelle correspondance cette
cour a avec le Tekely, si elle luy
envoye de l'argent, et comment
on veut se servir de luy dans la
conjoncture presante.
3. Quel dessein on a pour ou
contre le Roy Jaques, et ce
qu'on en veut faire.

Reponses

Je n'ay pu encor decouvrir quelles
mesures on prend a la Porte pour
empescher cette paix.

On ne compte plus que le Tekely
puisse estre utile pour faire continüer
la guerre, et il m'a paru qu'on a rejeté
ses propositions sur cela. On l'amuse
seulement en luy faisant entendre
qu'on l'aydera a se maintenir, s'il peut
grossir le party des mecontants en
Hongrie.

Le Roy Jaques part demain pour aller
visiter les troupes venües d'Irlande qui
sont en differents quartiers de la
province de Bretagne au nombre de
13,000 hommes. On en attend encor
deux mille que Sarsfield fait embarquer
a Cork. On traite toujours fort bien ce

prince, que l'on regarde comme un roy depouillé de ses estats pour la religion catholique, mais on ne compte plus sur les amis qu'il a pretendu avoir dans ses trois royaumes. Le[s] politiques commencent a dire que, pendant qu'il estoit en Angleterre, il temoignoit plus d'inclination pour l'Espagne que pour la France, et je say qu'un des ministres a dit au Roy de France que si le Roy Guillaume luy faisoit des propositions d'accommodement advantageuses, il ne seroit point contre son honneur de les ecouter. Le Roy n'a rien repondu a cela.

4. Quelles esperances la cour a de l'Evesque de Munster, et si elle croit l'obliger a tenir la neutralité, ou a une contreligue pour faire la paix.

NB

Je n'ay pas encor tous les eclaircissements necessaires la dessus. J'entrevoiy seulement des choses au sujet de l'Empereur, et de l'ambassadeur d'Espagne a Vienne, des quelles il est important que vous soyés informé. Les scrupules de religion commencent a agir auprés de l'empereur en faveur du Roy Jaques, et je ne say si l'indigence de l'ambassadeur d'Espagne a Vienne ne l'a pas deja obligé a recevoir l'argent qu'on a trouvé moyen de luy faire offrir d'icy. J'eclairciray ce point la premiere fois que j'iray a Paris, par le moyen d'un banquier de mes amis, qui a eu ordre de remettre de l'argent en Pologne pour le faire passer a Vienne.

5. Ce que l'on espere a la cour de France du Duc de Hanover, et si l'on croit pouvoir le detacher entierement des alliés.

Je ne suis pas encor assez informé de ce qui se passe au sujet de l'Evesque de Munster et du Duc de Hanover.

6. Quelles mesures on veut prendre avec les Rois de Suede et de Dannemarc, pour les rendre mediateurs de la paix, ou

Je ne say rien encor des mesures que l'on prend avec ces Roys. Il me paroist jusques a presant que l'on ne croit pas que leur mediation soit un moyen

les engager dans une contreligue.

7. Quels projets fait la cour pour obtenir la paix des alliés, et si pour y parvenir, elle se resoudroit a faire des restitutions considerables.

8. Si l'on a dessein de renvoyer une armee en Piedmont l'annee prochaine.

NB

9. Si l'on augmentera la flotte pour l'opposer a celle des Anglois et Hollandois qui sera de 150 vaisseaux.

NB

10. Si l'on craint les descentes en France; et si l'on pense a y pourvoir.
NB: de bouche le repondant a dit que moins on est en garde du costé des descentes, plus il seroit facile a y reussir.

11 et 12. Pour les affaires de la Religion, en quelle

pour parvenir a la paix. Il est trop vraysemblable que quand ils s'uniroient ensemble pour cette mediation, ils sont trop habiles pour ne point tirer en longueur une guerre qui donne occasion a leurs sujets de faire le principal commerce de l'Europe.

Tout ce que je say sur cela, est que l'on compte que Montmeillan sera bientost pris, et j'ay vu par une lettre de Monsieur de Catinat qu'il propose, après la prise de cette place, de faire hyverner en Savoye et en Dauphiné les troupes qu'il commande, pour pouvoir assieger Ivree au commencement de la campagne, d'ou il pretend avoir une communication libre avec Cazal, et empêcher celle du Milanois avec Turin.

On fera ce qu'on pourra pour augmenter la flotte, mais je puis vous dire certainement sur ce point qu'elle ne sera que de 70 vaisseaux de ligne. Je pourray dans peu de temps vous en donner le detail. Outre le[s] 70 vaisseaux destinés pour l'armée navale, on pretend en tenir quelques autres dans les ports de Bretagne avec des matelots tout prests a les equiper promptement si on apprend que la flotte des ennemis soit de beaucoup plus nombreuse.

On est icy dans une grande confiance touchant les descentes, tant a cause des precautions qu'on a prises, et qu'on continue de prendre pour la sureté des costes, que du risque que les ennemis courroient en les abordant.

Il ma paru que l'on est fort indulgent dans le[s] provinces pour les

disposition est la cour. Si elle pense a retablir les choses commes elles estoient en 1685. En cas de paix, si elle voudroit accorder le retablissement des edits de la Religion.

13. Si la cour croit pouvoir encore longtemps trouver les fonds necessaires pour soutenir la guerre.

14. Si les provinces sont epuisées et si le nombre des mecontants augmente.

15. Si la cour craint quelques mecontants et quelque mouvement dans l'estat.

16. S'il y auroit apparence de pouvoir tirer quelque utilité de ces mecontants, en faveur des alliés.

nouveaux convertis, sur ce qui regarde la messe et les autres devoirs des catholiques, en sorte que personne n'est inquietté la dessus, mais je ne voy aucune disposition a souffrir doresnavant l'exercice de la R[eligion] P[rétendue] R[eformée], et il n'y a aucune apparence que le Roy se relasche sur ce point.

Il passe pour certain que tous les fonds sont faits et assurés pour la campagne prochaine, et il y a jusques a present une grande abondance d'argent, estant bien adverty que depuis un an, il a esté fondu dans les Monoyes près de quatre cent millions, et l'on y en porte tous les jours. J'ay meme appris que le Roy avoit rejetté la proposition d'obliger ses sujets a porter a la Monoye la moitié de leur vaisselle d'argent, et que Pontchartrain a dit a un homme d'affaires, qui l'assuroit qu'on mettroit encor par ce moyen cent millions dans le commerce, que c'estoit une proposition qui pouvoit estre bonne dans trois ou quatre ans. Il est cependant certain que les particuillers [*sic*] souffrent de cette guerre.

Je me suis entretenu avec quelques amis qui connoissent parfaitement le dedans des provinces, sur l'epuisement ou je leur ay dit qu'elles se trouvent; sur le mouvement que les mecontants, soit sur le fait de la Religion, ou sur l'impossibilité de satisfaire a toutes les charges de l'estat, pourroient causer; mais on paroist persuadé que cela estoit plus a craindre dans le commencement de la guerre qu'a present, ceux qui ne sont pas bien

convertis estant plus en repos que cy devant, et tous les catholiques estant persuadés qu'il y va de leurs biens, et de leur religion, d'assister le Roy de tout leur pouvoir.'

5½ pp. *French. Enclosed in no. D5.*

O6. [?1691.] 'Jan Albert de Lewaerden, soldat dans le regiment de Colonel Cohore (son capitaine est frere dudit Colonel); Gerrit Parinck de Deventer, canonier soubz Major Vershuer; Coert Wilders et Hans Eldwick de Brumswyck, soldats dans la compagnie de Major Piper, soubz le commandant Barenstorm; raportent que le samedy 17/27 ils ont risqué de se delivrer et se tirer dentre les mains des Francois, dont ils estoient prisoniers a la bataille de Fleury [1690], et forcés apres bien des rigueurs et des cruautés de porter les armes sous eux. Que le samedy susdit ils se sont rendus maitres d'un petit bateau de pescheur, n'aiont que deux rames et une petite voille (sans boussolle ny compas), chacun un pain de trois livre, une bouteille deau, et deux fusils avec environ trante coups a tirer en cas de besoin, resolu de perir lepée a la main sils estoient atrapés. Mais qu'ayant sorty un peu audessous de la rade de Cherbourg en Normandie, ils estoient heureusement arivez le troiesme jour au zud de l'Isle de Wicht, ou le gouverneur les avoit fait arrester et ensuite relacher.

'Ils deposent que la ville de Cherbourg est demolie et ruinée en ses fortifications, et toute ouverte, ny aiant que 160 hommes en garnison dans deux petites redoutes du costé de la mer, et que plus avant vers la mer il y a un retranchement avec 3 pieces de canon, gardé par 15 a 20 paisants. Mais qu'a une lieue plus loin au nord de la ville, l'ennemy fait travailler a une citadelle, ou il y a 15 hommes de garde, un sergent, et un caporal, dont louvrage est encore fort peu avancé. Qu'il ny a que le regiment de Suyrlauben de 16 compagnies, en tout 1,600 hommes ou environ, divisez a Lahan soucartier ou il y a 4 compagnies faisant garde 2 de jour, 2 de nuit. A Valloignes [Valognes] 5 compagnies, et a Corantie [Carentan] 3 compagnies, le reste escarté aux environs, et qu'il y a toujours 20 a 30 grandes flottes au port; qu'on y esquipoit un armateur de 14 pieces de canon, qui seroit prest vers la fin de ce mois; et qu'il est tres facile de les y enlever et de piller la place, offrants dy retourner et de servir de guides, etc.'

1p. *French.*

O7. 1692, April. Papers taken from the French sloop *Boussole*, which ran aground on the Goodwin Sands and was captured on 16 April by a boarding party from the *Swiftsure*. These papers were forwarded on 17 April by the

Swiftsure's captain to the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and on 18 April by the Commissioners to Nottingham (*Finch IV*, pp. 76–7). The additional papers forwarded to Nottingham on the 19th (*ibid.*, p.81) are missing.

O7(1). 1692, April [6/] 16. Dunkirk. List of 19 supernumerary sailors embarked on [5/] 15 April in the *Boussole* for Brest, and of another sailor left ill in hospital at Dunkirk, with their aliases if any, page on the muster roll, and amount of wages advanced to them. The writer adds that victuals had only been supplied for one month for 12 men. [In his covering letter summarised in *Finch IV*, Captain Clarke of the *Swiftsure* reports the sloop's complement as 31 men.]

1p. *French*. Signed: Lempereur.

O7(2). 1692, April [7/] 17. Dunkerque. 'Instruction pour le capitaine Gaspard Bommeleer, allant au Havre pour y escorter la gribanne le *St. Pierre* chargée de fromages.'

'Il partira cette marée, le vent estant bon. Il fera sa route le plus a terre quil pourra, afin d'esviter la rencontre des corsaires. Si le vent venoit a changer, la gribanne n'estant pas de bonne bouline, il faut qu'il luy fasse prendre le premier port de Picardie ou de Normandie qu'il pourra atraper, parce qu'autrement en boulinant, elle seroit infailliblement prise.

'Aussytost quil aura mis la gribanne en seurité, soit au Havre, ou dans un autre port, il mettra a la voile dans le moment, pour faire route aux Dunes, parceque comme il importe extremement au service du Roy de donner a Monsieur de Tourville une connoissance bien certaine de la force et de la scituation des ennemis, il en aprochera assez pres, pour pouvoir compter les vaisseaux qui y seront, et en distinguer ceux de guerre d'avec les marchands. Il est bien necessaire qu'il ne se trompe pas dans cette reconnoissance, et qu'il la prenne si juste qu'on puisse estre seur de la grandeur des vaisseaux, c'est a dire de leur port, et du nombre de canons qu'ils portent.

'Quand il aura pris cette connoissance, il fera sa route a la rade de Ste. Helenne, en costoyant les costes d'Angleterre, pour reconnoistre s'il n'y auroit point de vaisseaux de guerre mouilleez.

'Quand il sera arrivé a la rade de Ste. Helenne, il reconnoistra s'il y a des vaisseaux de guerre ennemis, [et] examinera bien leurs forces, de la mesme maniere quil est marqué pour ceux des Dunes.

'Quand il aura fait cet examen il suivra sa route pour Brest, tout du long des costes d'Angleterre, jusques au dessous de Plimouth, pour reconnoistre sil y aura des vaisseaux de guerre mouilleez dans les rades, et particulierement a celle de Torbaye.

'Il doit observer de distinguer, partout ou il en trouvera, les Anglois d'avec les Hollandois, afin que Monsieur de Tourville puisse juger si les ennemis commencent a s'assembler.

'Il luy est recommandé sur toutes choses de ne donner aucun raport incertain pour certain, c'est a dire qu'il faut qu'il ne raporte que ce qu'il aura precisement veu et qu'il dise: "Jay jugé cela par telle aparence, et je suis seur de telle autre chose, parceque je l'ay bien examiné", afin que Monsieur de Tourville ne puisse se m'esprendre sur les avis qu'il pourra donner. Du reste il luy est bien recommandé de prendre de si bonnes mesures davec sa navigation qu'il ne puisse estre pris des ennemis.

'Il importe quil fasse son journal, et qu'il y couche bien precisement tout ce qu'il aura reconnu de la force des ennemis.'

3pp. *French*. Signed: Patoulet [Intendant de la Marine, Dunkirk].

O8. 1692, April [19/] 29. Bourdeaux. 'Si jamais nous avons souhaité de sortir, c'est presentement, et l'on nous y fait bien penser. L'on nous eveille presentement de nostre lethargie, puisque a nos portes l'on pend les uns effectivement, et les autres en effigie. L'on rase les maisons, l'on fait faire amande honorable à plusieurs femmes, l'on les rase, et on les met dans la manufacture pour leur vie, et plusieurs pauvres innocens condamnés aux galeres. Voila, mon cher Monsieur, ce que lon a fait ici la semaine passée en la personne de Monsieur de Margueyron de St. Foy. Lui et sa femme furent condamnés, l'homme à estre pendu, et sa femme a assister à sa mort. L'execution fut faite sammedy a St. Foy au milieu du marché, mais l'on eut de la confusion pour la femme; on s'est contenté de la laisser ici pour la mettre dans la manufacture. De vous exprimer la mort de cest incomparable deffunt il me seroit difficile, car il a affronté la mort avec une fermeté et une gayeté de coeur incroyable, rebutant ses persecuteurs jusques a son dernier soupir, en disant tousjours des paroles qui ne sortoient pas de la bouche d'un homme, mais dune bouche animée du St. Esprit, et meprisant toujours les offres qu'on lui faisoit de lui donner la vie pourveu qu'il changeat, ce qui a esté lestonnement de tout le monde, persuadé que lon estoit auparavant de la simplicité de cest honnête homme, et fort charitable. Le bourreau après avoir fait ceste execution est allé a Duras pour effigier Monsieur de Peferrié, et faire raser sa maison, et faire faire amande honnorable à trois femmes, et en suite les raser, et puis les envoyer a la manufacture.

'On continue a faire le procès à diverses autres personnes. Sammedy il y en eut encore trois condamnés aux galeres, et trois où quatre de ceux qui sont en fuitte, chés qui on avoit prié Dieu, ont esté condamnés d'estre pendus, et leurs maisons rasées. Voila les douceurs dont on nous fait jouir. Quelques uns de ces pauvres malheureux sont deja sortis du royaume, et je croi qu'ils seront suivis d'un nombre prodigieux d'autres, car qui resteroit après de telles cruautés? Pour avoir prié Dieu, l'on nous pend. Mais il faut esperer qu'il nous vengera un jour. En un mot, tout ce pais est en combustion, les prisons de ceste ville et ailleurs sont pleines dhommes et des femmes, dont il est fort a craindre qu'il y en aura dautres qui seront condamnés a mort, et plusieurs autres aus galeres, et les femmes a la manufacture, qui est un lieu pire que la plus mechante prison.

'Vous me dittes que nostre province est menacée; je ne scai dou vient que vous flattés, mais pour moi je croi qu'avant que vous ayé receu la presente, vous verrés le Roy Jaques faire une descente en Angleterre. Les preparatifs sont faits pour cella. Le parti de ce Roy est fait en Angleterre. Voila ma pensée, aussi bien que celle de tout le monde.'

P.S. [partly in another hand]. 'Il est a noter que cet illustre martir a un gendre, ministre en Angleterre, qui s'appelle Monsieur Tinel, qui est a present

à Bristoll. Il avoit un fils aussi en Angleterre qui fut tué à la bataille de Boyne.'

1p. *French. Unsigned. Addressed: 'Pour Millord'. Endorsed as received 2 May.*

O9. 1692, [April 22/] May 2. Paris. 'Je n'ai garde, Monsieur, de vous envoyer la gazette, comme vous l'aviez souhaité de moy. Vous n'y trouveriez rien qui fut digne de votre curiozité; vous n'y trouveriez non plus rien qui soit digne de foy que les nouveles qui n'interessent point l'état. Je veus vous doner qu[el]que choze de tres asuré que je vous prie de presenter à Mylord Nottingham comme une choze de fait, et qui n'est nullement un bruit de ville, que cela vous sufize de vous saurez donc Monsieur.

'1. Que Monsieur de Tourville est arrivé à Brest, et qu'il a receu ordre en même tams de se randre dans la Manche pour ampecher la jonction de votre flote avec celle des Holandois.

'2. Que le Roy Jaques doit monter sur que[ll]ques vaisseaux pour vous menacer d'une descente. Ceci est connu de tout le monde, mais voici ce que nous avons decouvert qui est fort secret. C'est que le Roy a eu dessein en faizant monter sur des vaisseaux le Roy Jaques d'obliger le Roy Guillaume à renvoyer des troupes en Angleterre, et d'obliger à repasser lui même, et dans le moment que le Roy Guillaume repaseroit en Angleterre, le Roy de France partiroit incesamment pour Flandres, à dessein de prendre une certaine ville qui lui est devouée, à ce qu'on croit à la cour. Nous n'avons pas peu decouvrir qu'elle c'étoit. Nous craignons pour Namur, cependant nous somes incertains. Quoy qu'il en soit, sil arivoit que le Roy Guillaume repasa on [*sic*] Angleterre, le Roy ne manqueroit jamais de faire un grand ravage en Flandres. Il doit partir le 10 du courant. Il est a Marli depuis 2 jours.

'3. Qu'il y a un port en Angleterre qui est pret a recevoir le Roy Jaques. On parle de Douvre, mais c'est une chose si ségrete qu'il n'y a persone à la cour qui le sache que les 2 Rois.

'4. Enfin vous serez averti que la Princesse de Dannemark, soeur de la Reine Marie, à écrit en ce païs qu'elle aimoit b[e]aucoup mieux être esclave de son pere que de sa soeur. Jugez àpres cela de ses sentimans, et souvenez vous que le moins que l'on puise faire c'est de la veiller et de l'observer d'ausi près qu'il sera posible. Vous me demanderez peut être d'ou je tiens cette nouvelle. Je ne puis point vous le dire. La providance de Dieu me l'a adresée ausi bien que les autres, et je ne doute point que ce ne soit pour vous les envoyer comme je fais de tout mon coeur, au peril de ma vie. Dieu veuille que les meures qu'on prendra la desus soient suivies d'un effet qui tande au bien de la pauvre eglise affligée et à la conservation de notre Roy et de notre Reine, que je recomande à la protection du Dieu toupuisant.

‘Monsieur Lartigue vous salue. J’ai perdu l’adrese de vos marchans à Londres; je me souvien seulement de Monsieur Corticelli. Donez seulement ordre a Monsieur Vandezande de vous envoyer les letres que je vous écrirai, lorsque j’aurai des nouvelles considerables.

‘Nous croyons qui si Mylord travaille à faire metre la flote en mer au plutot, il fait une oeuvre d’une absolue necesité.’

1¼ pp. *French. Unsigned. Seal of arms (3 chevrons). Addressed to: ‘Monsieur Godet chez Mylord Nottingham, Secretaire, etc., a Londres’.*

O10. [1692, June or July?] ‘Le corps de troupes qui peut estre embarqué n’est pas assés considerable pour entreprendre d’assiéger une place en France, ou de s’establir sur les costes dans des postes propres a estre gardés pendant l’hyver et à porter la guerre dans ce royaume. On ne peut penser qu’a faire quelque entreprise qui soit bien tost executée pour la rendre domageable aus ennemis et utile à l’Angleterre. Il faut qu’elle soit faite sur leur marine. Il seroit inutile de brusler quelques villages sur la coste sy les vintdeus vaisseaus de guerre dont on parle sont à St. Malo et ceux de transport à La Hogue. Il est fort important de les brusler, et les ennemis ne nous en peuvent pas empecher, à moins qu’ils n’ayent des corps de troupes considérables en l’un et l’autre de ces lieux pour les garantir. S’ils n’en ont point, les vaisseaus le peuvent presque faire sans nos troupes, et s’ils en ont, peuestre qu’il sera impossible de les débarquer devant eus, parceque les marées sont sy grandes sur ces costes qu’on ne peut débarquer que pendant que la mer est haute, ce qui dure peu de temps, et il seroit dangereux d’avoir un corps de troupes débarqué devant un ennemi qui ne pouroit estre soutenu du reste et secouru que douse heures après.

‘Cependant l’infanterie, qui est icy à present inutile au service de la Reine, peut estre embarquée incessamment pour aller joindre la flotte, et lorsqu’elle y sera, les choses peuvent estre dans une autre situation qu’on ne s’imagine, et peuestre qu’on trouvera les moyens de s’en bien servir. En tout cas, sy ce voyage est inutile ce n’est pas un grand malheur, mais ce quil y a de plus important dans cest ambarquement est ce que l’on peut faire à Rochefort. Quoyque les amiraux aient trouvé de grande[s] difficultés dans cette entreprise, elle est sy importante par la destruction des principaus magasins des ennemis et par consequent du plus important de leur marine qu’il est de grande importance de trouver les moyens de l’executer, et quoyque la Reine n’envoye pas d’ordre à l’amiral de le faire et qu’elle remete à la prudence du Duc de Leinster et à la siene d’entreprendre ce qu’ils jugeront possible à executer, il y a grande aparance qu’ils conviendront, et que nostre flotte estant sy superieure à celle des ennemis pourra garder le canal et nos costes, et doner une escorte suffisante aus vaisseaus de transport pour les conduire à la Charante.

'Sy cela ne reussit pas, la resolution pourra estre prise de renvoyer icy les troupes, et ce ne sera pas une grande fatigue d'avoir esté quinze jours ou trois semaines en mer. En tout cas les nouvelles de cest ambarquement obligeront le Roy de France à penser a la seureté de ses costes, et peuteestre à y envoyer des troupes de Flandres, qui metra le Roy plus en estat d'y entreprendre.'

2½ pp. *In the hand of Viscount Galway. French. Unsigned. Endorsed: 'Memoire pour My Lord Nottingham'.*

O11. [?1692.] 'Voicy ce que lon a appris tant par lettres que par diverses personnes nouvellement arrivées de France.

'Que la misere est generale par tout le royaume; et que l'on apprehende que cet hyver les peuples, portez au desespoir, ne se soulevent en trois ou quatre provinces. Et mesme à Paris les commissaires sont obligéz les jours de marché d'estre perpetuellement aux halles pour empescher le desordre.

'On a representé au Roy le triste estat de son peuple; il répondit qu'il en estoit fâché, mais qu'il ne pouvoit pas encore le soulager.

'Cependant pour adoucir les esprits et leur faire porter patiemment les charges publiques, on affecte de publier que cet hyver on fera une descente en Angleterre; que le Roy Jaques sera à la teste des troupes, et que d'abord qu'il aura mis pied à terre le parlement et les peuples le recevront à bras ouverts. On ajoûte que toutes les forces de France tomberont cet hyver sur la Hollande, et qu'on obligera les Etats à conclurre la paix, ou à mettre leur pays sous l'eau.

'On parle d'une déclaration pour faire porter à la Monnoye toute la menuë vaisselle d'argent, dont on payera 29 à 30 livres du marc; de laquelle on fera des écus au chevalier qui vaudront 3 livres 6 sous, quoy qu'il n'y aura pas plus de matiere qu'aux écus ordinaires. Et l'on pretend que le secours qu'on tirera de cet endroit servira à faire la guerre deux campagnes. On a créé encore de nouvelles charges, et les intendans dans les provinces obligent les particuliers à les acheter. Tout cela joint aux nouvelles impositions sur le peuple fait de l'argent, mais fait en mesme temps une infinité de mécontents, et l'on se dit assez ouvertement ouvertement [*sic*] que les victoires et les triomphes du Roy font la misere publique.

'Les gens bien intentionnez en France sont fort chagrins qu'on ait negligé de faire une descente, disant que c'est le seul endroit pour reüssir; que tous les efforts qu'on fait du costé de la terre sont inutiles, et que 25 mille hommes par mer feroient plus d'effet que cent mille hommes par terre; qu'il ne faut point s'attendre à estre superieur aux François en nombre d'hommes, parce que la misere qui fait gemir les peuples fournir[a] au Roy des soldats autant qu'il en veut, et que son pouvoir despotique luy fera trouver de l'argent aussi

longtemps qu'il y aura un sou dans le royaume, et que ses affaires prosperont. Que les Alliez se flattent en vain de gagner des batailles sur les François, puisque ceux-cy ne s'engageront jamais dans aucune decision; qu'ils ne se sentent d'un tiers les plus forts; et qu'ainsi il faut les attaquer du costé de la mer. Autrement, qu'il arrivera que toutes les années ils jetteront au printemps toutes leurs forces du costé de la Flandre, et qu'ils emporteront infailliblement quelque place avant que les Allemans soient en campagne, et qu'en peu de temps ils seront voisins des Hollandois, qui est ce qu'ils souhaitent impatiemment, se flattant qu'ils pourroient par le moyen de leurs emissaires porter les peuples à demander la paix. Que les provinces maritimes de France sont ouvertes, et le dedans du royaume gasté, au lieu que les frontieres du coté de la terre sont extremement bien gardées et en bon estat; en sorte que la perte d'une bataille, à moins qu'elle ne fut totale, n'y donneroit pas entrée aux Alliez.

'Ils ajoûtent que le nombre d'hommes qui a paru sur les costes de Normandie n'a pas dû faire peur a nostre flotte; qu'à la verité il y avoit bien 50,000 hommes en Haute Normandie; mais c'estoient tous paysans, à l'exception de la noblesse, qui faisoit 600 chevaux en tres pauvre équipage, grand nombre d'eux estant à pied, et la pluspart valetudinaires, ce qu'il y a de braves gens de ce corps estant actuellement dans le service. Qu'à l'égard de ce grand nombre d'infanterie, les officiers generaux n'y faisoient eux mesmes aucun fond; ce qui parût mesme dans une chaude [*sic*] allarme que quelques vaisseaux marchands donnerent à la coste, où la noblesse fut uniquement destinée pour empescher les paysans de fuyr, et l'effroy estoit si grand parmi eux que quatre bons regimens les auroient mis en déroute.

'D'ailleurs ils se plaignent que la flotte a trop tost abandonné les costes de Normandie; que ce grand nombre d'hommes assemblez souffroient déjà beaucoup, quoy qu'il n'y eust que peu de jours qu'ils y fussent, parce qu'ils manquoient de toutes choses, en sorte que le Roy fut obligé de leur donner du pain d'amonition [pain de munition, ration bread]; et qu'ils ne pouvoient pas demeurer encore quinze jours en cet estat. Que si la flotte avoit paru de temps en temps, menaçant seulement d'une descente, cela ruinoit la province, et portoit les peuples au désespoir, à cause de la disette des bleds, et que le travail de la terre cessoit dans tout ce temps-là. On fait remarquer encore que la disette des vivres sera plus grande cet hyver et le printemps prochain que le passé; et que les peuples estant beaucoup plus miserables, on pourroit tout esperer si l'on faisoit une descente considerable.'

3½ pp. *French.*

O12. [?1692.] 'Memoire pour la subsistance des troupes qui pourront entrer en France du coste du Dauphine, Provance ou Languedoc.'

'Il est necessaire de scavoir que les provinces de France sont extraordinairement chargées de tailles, subsides et impotz, que le p[e]uple d'une et dautre religion est extremement lassé du gouvernement.

'Pour faire subsister les troupes qui pourront entrer sil plait a Dieu en Dauphine, Provance et Languedoc, sans fouler le p[e]uple, et bien loing de cella, les soulager et sattirer lamour, non s[e]ullement des rotturiers, mais encores des gentilhommes, et de beaucoup de grandz seigneurs, il faut executer sy on le trouve a propos le contenu en ce memoire.

'Premierement, suposé qu'on soit maistre de quelques diocezes, il faut envoyer querir le collecteur de chasque ville et de chasque lieu et lamande surquoy il a exige la taille lannée precedante, en cas il ny en eut pas de celle quy courra, et sur les livres de collecte qu'on luy fera montrer, on fera lever la taille pour lannée courante. Et par ce moien personne ne criera et ne sera ruiné, puis que cest le bien fondz qui paie la taille, estant réelle en Languedoc, Dauphine et Provance, et cella produira beaucoup dargent. Car en Languedoc s[e]ullement les estatz ont accordé trois millions pour lannée 1691 qui sexigent sur les vingt deux diocezes de la province. Il faudra faire publier une declaration qu'on pretend a ladvenir remettre la taille sur le pied quelle estoit du temps dHenri 4e., qui nestoit que la cinquieme portion de ce qu'on exige presamment.

'Pour un second, il faudra faire parer le droit d'equivalent qui est tres considerable en Languedoc et autres provinces, lequel se prend sur tous les hostes et cabaretz quy donnent a manger et quy metent la nape, et de chasque marchand du vin. On a pres du quart de la valleur. Il ny a pour sattirer lamour du p[e]uple qu'a le reduire a la moitié par une declaration.

'Pour un troiziesme, a lesgard de la gabelle, il faut exiger les mesmes droitz que le Roy de France prend sur les sels quil fait vendre, et par une declaration diminuer le prix a la moitié, sauf a le diminuer plus a ladvenir. Cella nestant que pour faire subsister les troupes, le p[e]uple sera tres joieux, la gabelle leur estant ruineuse puis qu'un quart de sel pezant 28 livres coute demi pistolle en Languedoc. La gabelle est un droit qui donne beaucoup dargent. Les salins de Preaux a dix lieux dOrange vont a de grandes sommes.

'Pour un quatriesme, il y a les droitz de foraine establis aux lieux maritimes, qui se prenent sur lentrée par mer des marchandises estrangeres, et sur celles quy sortent, cella est considerable.

'Pour un cinquiesme, il faudra faire montrer a tous marchans, notaires, gresfiers et autres leurs livres et registres en papier marque, et leur faire paier a chasqu'un une somme equivolante a la valleur de ce quilz auront paie lannée precedante pour faire subsister les troupes, et faire publier une declaration qu'a ladvenir le papier marqué ne sera plus en usage et que les p[e]uples ne paieront rien ny pour le subside du tabac ou autres quy

ruinoient le p[e]uple, lesquelz subsides sont abolis a perpetuité. Comme aussy le contrerolle des exploitz et autres actes de justice, subside infame et ruineux pour le miserable, lorphelin et la vefve [=veuve], qui demandans justice ne lobtiendroient point, faute de moiens de paier telz subsides.

‘En sixiesme lieu, on peut se saisir des droitz du domaine du Roy de France et en jouir. Ilz sont considerables. Mais a lesgard des gentilshommes et de plusieurs seigneurs de marque que le Roy de France sans aucun droit a despossédés de leurs seigneuries et domaines et reunis a soy, il faudron [*sic*] faire publier une declaration qui les remete dans leurs droitz en justiffiant de leur despossession despuis la ferme de Francois Dufour, Fermier General des Domaines en 1664, en payant une taxe modique pour une s[e]ulle fois, pour la subsistance des troupes, et a ladvenir les droitz quilz avoient accoustume auparavant leur despossession.

‘Pour un septieme, par une declaration quy seroit aussy publiéé ou affichée descharger aussy tous les orphevres [=orfevres] du subside de deux florins pour marc de tous les ouvrages dargent et de trois florins par once de lor, subside qui est exigé deux par le Roy de France despuis quelques années, en payant par les dits orphevres pour une s[e]ulle fois une petite taxe pour la subsistance des troupes.

‘Pour un huitiesme, les hospitaux maladeries et droitz de plusieurs communautés dont on sest saisy mesmes des biens des concistoires des refformes, soubz pretexte de l’ordre de Nostre Dame de Montcarmel ou de St. Lazare et Jerusalem et du St. Exprit, quy par bulles dunion et fraternisation sont de revenues lesquelz on aura droit dexiger jusques que les choses ayent este restablies a leur antien usage.

‘Pour un neufviesme, faire publier une declaration que les antiens louis dor seront prins et auront cours tout de mesme que les nouveaux de 1690, que le Roy de France a fait fabriquer et vaudront le mesme prix. Car on a fait fabriquer de louis dor dune autre facon, qu’on a augmente de 20 ou 25 sols plus que les precedans, et ordonné que les anciens seroient portés par les p[e]uples aux monnoyes, affin de gagner plus du dixiesme sur chascun, et beaucoup de gens ont caché leur or a cause que les nouveaux louis ne sont ny meilleurs ny plus pezens que les antiens.

‘Avec tout cela, sy on occupe au large du terrain en quelque province il y aura dequoy pour paier les troupes qui y seront, sans fouler le p[e]uple, et sy les gens de guerre ne se licentient pas de piller et mal traiter les p[e]uples, et se contentent du giste, ustancilles et choses semblables, avec presque rien ilz vivront dans le pais honnestement, et les p[e]uples, quy soupirent despuis sy longtemps sous le jôu de l’opression, viendront se rendre de tous costes.

‘Cella est sy veritable que du temps de Rourre quy sestoit opozé aux subsides et avoit levé une armée en Vivaretz tout le p[e]uple estoit en estat de

souslevement, et presamment ilz le sont bien plus. Surtout les Parlemens, qui sont extremement offances, ne souhaitoient qu'un changement pour reprendre leur premiere et legitime autorité.

'Celluy qui donne ce memoire s'expliquera mieux sy on le souhaite, car il connoit les affaires.'

3½ pp. *French.*

O13. 1693, June. 'Coppie de la rélation de l'expédition de la flotte de Monsieur le Maréchal de Tourville, au cap de St. Vincent en juin 1693.' 'Monsieur le Maréchal de Tourville, aiant esté adverty le 25 par 2 vaisseaux de garde qu'il paroissoit une flotte ennemie vers le Cap St. Vincent, quitta la rade de Lagos, où l'armée du Roy estoit mouillée, et se mit en passage pour combattre, sy c'estoit une flotte de guerre, ou pour enlever sy c'estoit une marchande. Les bastimens qu'il avoit detachés n'en aiant pu aprocher d'assés prés pour la bien recognoistre, il en fut eclaircy par l'aproche de cette flotte, et aiant jugé par les signaux des vaisseaux avancés que c'estoit celle pour la coste d'Italie et pour Smirne et Cadix, il fit le signal le 27 sur les 9 heures du matin à Monsieur Gabaret, auquel il avoit donné pour cette occasion 22 des meilleurs voiliers, de forcer de voilles, et une heure apres le signal fut fait pour faire chasser toute l'armée.

'Les ennemis avoient jusques alors continué leur routte et venoient vent arriere, mais aiant commencé à recognoistre un plus grand nombre de vaisseaux qu'ils ne croioient estre en cet endroit, leur admiral, quy avoit formé une ligne de 30 vaisseaux quy marchoient devant la flotte, tint le vent, et tous les vaisseaux mirent toutes leurs voilles pour fuir. L'*Ardent*, commandé par le Sieur Devry, quy s'en estoit aproché le plus proche, commança à les attaquer sur les 5 heures du soir et combatit pendant une heure la *Zellande*, vaisseau de guerre hollandois de 64 canons, quy tomba ensuite sous le *Dauphin Royal*, commandé par Monsieur Panetié, lequel, l'ayant laissé sous le feu du *Victorieux*, commandé par Monsieur de Gabaret, ce vaisseau revira du costé de terre et se rendit. La *Ville de [Medemblik]*, vaisseau de guerre de mesme force, quy avoit esté attaqué par le *Dauphin Royal*, fut pareillement pris. Les autres vaisseaux de l'armée quy avoient pû joindre les ennemis s'estant meslés parmy eux, un nombre considerable des ennemis prit le part de ranger la terre, où s'estant eschoués par ceux du Roy, ils y ont esté bruslés. Quelques uns se sont bruslés eux mesmes. Le Sieur Bart en a bruslé 6 a la coste de Faro, dont le moindre estoit de 24 canons et deux de 40 à 46, et le nombre des autres quy ont eû le mesme sort pendant cette nuit, et le 28e. au matin, s'est trouvé estre de 39. Le vaisseau le *St. Esprit* et le *Conquérant*, commandé par le Sieur de Belle Isle et du Chalard, quy avoit suivy pendant la nuit les vaisseaux ennemis quy avoient pris le large, firent à leur veue 3 prises considerables.

'Le lendemain 28 le *Henry*, commandé par le Sieur de la Roche Alard, après avoir combattu pendant long temps un vaisseau de 50 canons que la nuit luy fit perdre de veue, prit le matin une grosse pinasse hollandoise de 44 canons, et fist eschouer quatre autres bastimans quy ont esté brulés. Il a esté fait un nombre considerable dautres prises. Elles ont esté amenées a larmée le 28 et 29, et se sont trouvées au nombre de 27, en y comprenant les premiers de guerre.

'La ligne de Monsieur de Tourville aiant esté informée le 28 au soir que les vaisseaux anglois avoient gagné le vent, et quil ny en avoit plus du costé du Cap St. Vincent, fit le signal de raliement, et resolut de forcer voile pour Cadix, pour se trouver a mesme temps que ceux quy avoient pris cette route. Les vaisseaux quil avoit dettachés poursuivirent sy vivement, le 29, deux vaisseaux quy se dispoient dentrer en ce port, quil les obligerent d'eschouer sous le fort de St. Sabastian, où ils ont esté brulés. L'un quy estoit anglois, et un des plus riches quy estoit chargé pour Smirne, on estime que valoit plus de 10,000 ll.*, et lautre estoit une pinasse hollandoise chargée d'agrées et munitions pour les vaisseaux d'Espagne.

'Monsieur de Tourville a envoyé les prises à Toulon sous lescorté de l'*Envieux*, et destathé [= detaché] à mesme temps le *Vainqueur* commandé par Monsieur le Chevalier de Coëtlogon avec 8 vaisseaux et 2 galiotes pour aller brusler 12 vaisseaux quy sont entrés dans le vieux Gibraltar. Les capitaines des vaisseaux pris ont estimé a vingt millions la perte que les ennemis ont faite en cette occasion, non compris les vaisseaux de guerre et 2 autres quil assurent estre du nombre des vaisseaux brulés, que se trouvent monter a 45. La perte des ennemis auroit esté entiere sy la nuit n'avoit empeché les vaisseaux du Roy de les poursuivre aussy vivement quil auroient pû. Un seul lieutenant a la jambe emportée. Les ennemis se sont peu deffendus.'

2¹/₄ pp. *Copy. French. Endorsed by Nottingham: 'Relation del expedition de Monsieur Tourville. June 93.'*

O14. 1693, Aug. 11. 'About the latter end of June 1693, Thomas Guilliame, merchant of the Isle of Jersey (who was the first that gave account of intelligence held with France by the way of that island) informed me of the particulars following.

'That wheras many merchants and considerable inhabitants of that iland had joined in giving information of a correspondence held with their Majesties enemies, the Lievtenant Governor hath ever since refused to grant licence to any of the said informants for bringing of wooll into the iland, to the great impoverishment and discouragement of their Majesties faithfull subjects.

*The figure has been altered and is uncertain, and the abbreviation could stand for either livres or pounds sterling.

‘That John Galey, James Lamprey, Daniell Jamvime, and others goe frequently to France.

‘Hely the Customer in Aprill last gave leave to the captain of the *Elizabeth* yacht to bring a ketch and barke laden with white wine and brandy for England, and made the passengers pay a lewis d’ore for each.

‘James Allen, secretary to my Lord Jermin, goes once a weeke to St. Malo on pretence of exchanging prisoners. He is very conversant with the governor there, and is knowne to drinke confusion to King William.

‘That the Leivtenant Governor Harris hath lately turned most of the old and experienced officers out of the millitia, such as upon the Revolution heartily declared for King William and Queen Mary, and were mainly instrumentall in keeping that iland out of the French hands. And hath put in one lad of 12 yeares of age a captain, and divers other unexperienced youths for commanders, of families noted for their disaffection to their Majesties government. Besides he hath turned out above thirtie experienced ensignes and serjeants, and makes three companies of two, which brings him in an advance upon every commission.

‘Soe that if the Duke of Orleans had made any attempt upon the iland, it had been morally impossible to save it. And unless that commission which my Lord Keeper drew by order of King and Councill be speedily put in execution, the King’s friends there will be utterly ruined, and the iland in all probabillity lost.

‘My Lord, it was noe neglect of mine that comission did not take effect. I gave in names to fill it by your Lordshipps command, and am still ready to offer my uttmost services for preservation of theire Majesties interest.’

1p. *Signed*: Richard Bovett. *Endorsed (in the same hand)*: ‘Further information concerning Jersey’. (See also *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1693, pp. 446–7.)

O15. n.d. Information relating to the contraband trade between England and France. Six undated documents, with no indication of provenance. The first four are in the same hand as nos. O1 and O2.

O15 (1). ‘Il est constant que tous les marchans d’Angleterre qui depuis la declaration de la guerre avec la France y ont eu commerce et correspondance pour fait de marchandise sont confiscables, en leur corps et en leurs biens, a suivre la rigueur de la loy. Mais ce parti seroit extreme et bouleverseroit entierement le commerce, qui est une des colonnes de l’etat. D’autre part si tant de contreventions restoient impunies, tous les negocians en abuseroient et seroient plus hardis a les commettre a l’avenir. Cette conduite seroit pire que la premiere, parceque les marchandises que la France recoit, comme plomb, gouldron, poudre, et salpêtre, sont necessaires pour la guerre, et celles quelle distribue, comme vin, eau de vie et sel, produisent a la France des sommes immenses, et luy fournissent les unes et les autres des moyens pour continuer la guerre.

‘Cet abus entraine de dangereuses consequences, car a traiter ces contreventions a la rigueur de la loy, tout le commerce est entierement ruiné. Si elles restoient impunies, il est certain quelles seront toujours pratiquées, et la France sera en etat de continuer la guerre. Il y a un temperement a prendre, non de punir et chatier a la rigueur quelques uns de ces contrévenans, pour servir d'exemple aus autres. Il ny auroit pas de justice, et cela ne produiroit pas leffet qu'on en pourroit attendre. Les exemples ne sont pas sensibles, et ne retiendroient jamais ceux qui en auroient echapé. Ils se laisseroient entrainer a lavidité dun gain considerable.

‘Le temperement qu'on propose est de quitter a tous les contrevenans la peine corporelle et infamante quils ont meritée par leur crime, les punir par une amende pecuniaire et arbitraire, qu'on reglera contre chacun deux par raport a leurs facultés et a la marchandise quils auront debitée en France. Par la le commerce subsistera. Les marchands nauront pas lieu de se plaindre, attendu la grace que le Roy leur fera, et ils seront retenus de continuer leur[s] contreventions par lamende quils payeront, surtout apres leur avoir déclaré quen cas de recidive on les puniroit a la rigueur de la loy.’ 1½ pp.

O15(2). ‘Sil plait a My Lord me charger de la direction de cette affaire, je le conduiray de telle maniere que tous marchants contrevenans seront decouverts par leurs noms avec la quantité et qualité de leur marchandise, et ce par preuves autentiques et incontestables, sans que rien en echape, sur quoy les amandes pourront estre ordonnées a coup seur et en connoissance de cause, et jen feray faire le recouvrement par la personne qui a cet estat sera preposée, ou feray porter les sommes qui en proviendront par les debiteurs au tresor royal, autrement a lechequier comme on le jugera a propos.

‘Quant a la remise, on remet en France de ce sorte de droits trois sols et quatre deniers pour livre pour le recouvrement seulement, sans conter la direction de lafaire.

‘Joffre faire le tout a mes depans et fraix, et m'en remits a ce que My Lord trouvera a propos et juste, lassurant que je feray les choses dans les regles et avec honneur et exactitude.’ 1½ pp.

O15(3). ‘Les noms des marchans qui ont eu correspondance avec la France depuis la declaration de la guerre, celuy des vaisseaux et des marchandises, ne se peut mieux savoir que par les extraits des registres de la coutume ou ils ont payé les entrées et fait enregistrer les passeports. Le coup est seur, car sils ne raportent pas des preuves litteralles des lieux de Lixbonne, St. Sebastien ou Bilboa de la vente de la marchandise quils avoient déclaré y envoyer, il est d'une consequence necessaire quils ont fraudé et lont envoyée en France. Ce sont les vaisseaux neutres qui ont fait toutes ces cargaisons.’ 1p.

O15(4). ‘Resultat de la conference tenue ches Monsieur le Soliciteur General par ordre de My Lord Nottingham, sur la liste prise a la coutume des marchans negocians qui ont chargé des vaisseaux danois ou suédois, et déclaré vouloir envoyer les marchandises en Espagne et Portugal, desquels cependant partie les ont envoyées en France.

‘1. On convient que les marchans qui ont fourni leur declaration et obligation a la coutume d'envoyer des marchandises en Espagne ou en Portugal sont tenus de justifier que ces marchandises déclarées y ont esté effectivement envoyées, et quelles y sont arrivées, mais aussi que ce defaud de preuve n'opere pas un crime de haute trahison, mais seulement une malefaçon, sujette pourtant a une amende pecuniaire, réglée dordinaire a la quatrieme ou cinquieme partie des marchandises et du vaisseau.

'2. Que les loix d'Angleterre nobligeant pas les personnages a fournir des preuves contre soy meme en crime de haute trahison, les marchans en question ne sont pas tenus par consequant aux termes de la loy de représenter leurs livres journaux qui fairoient foy contreux. Les memes loix pourtant permettent de saisir tous livres et papiers, en quelque endroit qu'ils soient, si on les pouvoit decouvrir.

'Enfin il a esté resolu qu'on peut et qu'on doit donner une requeste en demande civile contre les marchans negocians qui ont envoyé des marchandises en Espagne et en Portugal, a ce qu'ils ayent a représenter les lettres d'avis de leurs correspondans de l'arrivée des marchandises, de la vente dicelles et du compte, le tout en original, même leurs livres journaux et ordinaires, ou toutes ces circonstances doivent estre mentionnées, et faute par lesdits marchans d'y satisfaire, ils seront condamnés a une amende dun cart ou dun quint de la valeur de la marchandise et du vaisseau.

'Cela est certain, et cependant de cette poursuite, ou par d'autres voyes, on pourra tirer quelque preuve pour le crime; on a le nom de tous les marchans qui sont tombés en fraude.' 2½ pp.

O15(5). 'Ceux quy ont chargé des navires neutres pour France sont:

'Jean Lavie in Marck Lane a chargé du gouldron a ce qu'on dit pour le conte de Messieurs Reneu.

'Depremont et Midy et autres papistes françois ont charge des marchandises.

'Un nomme Jackson in Minsinlane et autres Anglois que je ne connois pas ont charge des marchandises.

'Corneille Denis et Jean Lambert ont charge des poudres a ce que jay entendu dire.

'Jean de Grave a frette beaucoup de navires quil a chargé en partie, et a donne place a beaucoup d'autres marchans quy ont chargé. Ceux dont jay connoissance sont Cardel, Decaux, Pereau, Duport, Mire, Minuel, Labuetonniere, et beaucoup d'autres dont je nay pas de connoissance pour le present.' ½ p.

O15(6). 'Toutes les contrevantions quy ont esté faites aux ordres du Roy et actes du Parlement de navoir auquun commerce aveq la France pour fait de marchandise, cest a lexemple des marchans papistes françois quy ont commencé depuis la declaration de la guerre. Voilà la premiere raison quy a porté les marchands françois protestans: voyant que la conduite des marchans papistes françois restoit impunie, les Protestans nont pas creu que la leur fut plus criminelle.

'2. La fasilité qu'on a trouvé a charger des navires neutres, comme danois et suédois, de quelque marchandise que ce fut, en declarant a la Coutume qu'on envoyoit le navire a Lixbonne, Bilboa ou St. Sebastian, on avoit fasilement eu congé ou passeport, a la faveur desquels on estoit a couvert de tout rencontre et insulte des navires et capitaines des confederés, et sy on rencontroit des capitaines françois, en disant qu'on portoit la marchandise en France, le capitaine avoit lordre general de les conduire au havre ou ils vouloit aller, et la le marchand avoit la main levée du navire et cargaison en la reclamant en vertu des connoissemens et ordres quil avoit d'ailleurs.

'En fin il sy est chargé aussy des marchandise aventure pour St. Sebastian quy de la ont esté portées a Bayonne par terre par lintelligence des gouverneurs de ces deux places.

'Et cest pour cela que depuis plus dun an il y a toujours eu des navires neutres quy ont esté employés dans ce negoce presque par tous les marchands de Londres quy avoit accoutumé de negocier en France comme interesses ou parprenans dun cargaison, les uns plus, les autres moins. Tous ces navires estoit chargés de couperos,

plom, alum, poivre, peaux et autres marchandises. Il y a quelqu'un qui a chargé de la poudre et du gouldron, à ce qu'on a ouï dire. On ne sait pas le nom du marchand ni du navire. Les Commis de la Coutume y ont beaucoup donné les mains, car un navire qui avoit chargé et dans lequel il y avoit du gouldron eut de la peine à avoir son congé il y a environ un mois. Mais enfin, la difficulté fut levée et il est vray semblable que ce ne fut pas sans qu'il en coûtât quelque guinée.

'On soubsonne fort les vieux Commis de la Poste contre des pensionnaires de France, parce que immédiatement qu'on délivre les lettres, les papistes françois ont leur lettres plutôt que les autres marchands. Les dits Commis sont sous-iaints avec les dits marchands papistes françois.

'La plus part des cabaretiers de Londres sont Jacobites. On croit que c'est à cause des actes surcis que le Parlement a donné contre eux pour l'argent du vin.' 1½ pp.

P. CIPHERS AND CODES

P1. 1690 and undated. A cover addressed 'To Mr Charles Banks for Mr Pulford' (with seal of arms *goutty*. Crest: *a wolf's head erased*) has a note in Italian about an enclosure to be deciphered and forwarded to Signor Creagh. There are two undated letters from [Paul] Gravisset offering to approach naval officers socially in Paris, Brest and Rochefort and to send back the resulting information in a code based on a changing one-time phrase for which rules and examples are enclosed. The letters of the alphabet are ranged across the top of a blank page, and vertical strips cut down from each letter. The page is laid over the apparent message. If the code is 'A Paris', the real message is the word behind 'A' on the first line, then that behind 'P' on the second line, etc. (There are two similar letters to Nottingham from Gravisset, a Huguenot refugee minister granted letters of denization in 1687, in SP 78/152, ff. 33–4, 41–2, the first dated 13 Feb. 1691–2, with an address off High Holborn, asking for an urgent meeting as he has information to give, the undated second also about his plans to visit France and obtain intelligence from his Huguenot contacts there, and requesting an advance in return for royalties.) 'Jean de Marais cypher – his true name Jaques Bousanquet' demonstrates how to encipher a message to the effect 'que l'Admiral Herbert est prisonnier' (letters into numbers), and gives some contact names: 'Il faudra adresser les lettres a Paris et les mettre sous l'envelope de Jean-Claude Tourton, Rue des Lavandieres a Paris. Il y faudra mettre une autre enveloppe avec cette adresse, "A Messieurs Tourton et Guiguer in Barge Yard, Bucklersberry, a Londres. X", cette croix etant la marque que Monsieur Dubourdieu leur a donnée ... Il faut se regler sur le memoire de Mylord'. (For Bosanquet and Dubourdieu in 1690 see *Finch II*, pp. 460–1, 492, and for Tourton in 1690–1 see *Finch III*, p. 13.) A table of letters, numbers and Greek letters (three deep, so each perhaps interchangeable with two others) has 'Daniel Finch' at the foot. 'Mr Hookes cypher of names' has separate alphabetical lists for encoding (Duke of Berwick = Mr Jackson) and decoding (Mr Jackson = Duke of Berwick). Nottingham received a copy of this code from Sir Robert Southwell in July 1690, but replied that it had already been broken after Nathaniel Hooke's arrest a year earlier (*Finch II*, p. 350; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1689–90*, pp. 150, 177). 'A cypher taken by the Earl of Melvill' (Nottingham = 66) is endorsed as received from the Queen on 26 July 1690. Another 'old cypher' presumably dates from c1666, as it includes Lord Arlington (cr. 1665) and 'Chancelour Lord Clarendon' (dismissed 1667). In this, letters and names are replaced by letters, numbers and other marks (Prince Rupert = .71.), whilst 'to distinguish a number from the cypher put it in a parenthesis, as sixty write thus (60)'. A contemporary French code turns letters, syllables

and words into letters, each modified up to eleven ways by dots. There are also two Vigenère squares, one a working copy with two alternative letters added to each small square, apparently in the hand of Dr John Wallis.

Finally there is one letter still in cipher except for the address, 'For Mr Currey at the Turks Head in Fleet Street, a haberdasher of hatts neer the Temple Gate, London', postmarked Ma[y] 28. The cipher is of the pigpen type used by Jacobites and masons, but no other example of this particular cipher appears to have survived. However, it turns out to be a simple substitution cipher, the fifty characters all standing for letters or common English words, and the length of the letter has made it easy to decipher by frequency analysis. A transcription has been placed with the original. Since it is a thousand words long it is not reproduced here, for there are no Jacobite allusions or references to state affairs; the correspondents are two sisters concerned only with family matters.

20 items. *French and English*. (See also Introduction above.)

PART III. NAVAL AND MILITARY PAPERS TO 1694

N.M.1. Volume containing copies of documents relating to the reform of naval administration in the early 17th century, including accounts of Sir William Russell as Treasurer of the Navy from 1619 (with notes of earlier payments 1609–18), and letters patent setting up and renewing the commission enquiring into naval abuses 1625–8. Paper, marbled cover, erroneously labelled ‘Treatise of account of the navy, temp. apparently James II’. 17th cent. 108 written pages.

N.M.2. Volume containing copies of directions issued 28 Jan. 1661[–2] by William Coventry on behalf of James, Duke of York as Lord High Admiral defining the duties of the principal officers and Commissioners of the navy. Paper, marbled cover, erroneously labelled ‘Book or copy of book of James Duke of York afterwards James I’. 17th cent. 46 written pages (the numbers 24–33 are repeated in error). There are further copies in the Clumber Collection in the National Maritime Museum and elsewhere, and according to James’s *Memoirs of the English Affairs, Chiefly Naval* (1729), p.32, an imperfect copy was published as *The Oeconomy of his Majesty’s Navy-Office* (1717).

N.M.3. Volume containing copy of ‘The purser’s employ anatomized, and both advantages and disadvantages therein discovered, and also a proposal of committing the victualling accompt to the care and management of each commander. Presented as a New Yeares giuft to Sir William Coventry by Samuell Pepys Esquire in 1665’ (title on cover label). Paper, marbled cover. The first part, dated at Greenwich, 1 Jan. 1665–6, is 13pp., and the second part 18½pp. For further published and unpublished copies see *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews, VII (1972), p.1, and BL Add. MS. 11684, ff.83–93.

N.M.4. Undated draft defence in the hand of Sir Heneage Finch for the Earl of Sandwich in regard to the *Phoenix* [*Vergulde Fenix*] and *Slothanny* [*Slot van Honingen*], the two Dutch East Indiamen taken on 3 Sept. 1665 whose cargoes were distributed on Sandwich’s authority before they had officially been made prize and were then embezzled. Sandwich consulted Finch about the ‘prize-goods affair’ in the summer of 1669 and this document, addressed to ‘My Lords and Gentlemen’ and replying to letters of 11 and 23 Aug., is clearly his draft of the unsatisfactory defence sent on 10 Sept. to the ‘Brooke House Committee’, the Commissioners enquiring into

the war finances who sat at Brooke House. See *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews, VI (1972), p.231; F.R. Harris, *The Life of Edward Mountagu, K.G., first Earl of Sandwich (1625–1672)* (1912), Vol. II, pp.190–7; R. Ollard, *Cromwell's Earl* (1994), pp.238–9. The Finch MSS. include case papers of Sir Heneage Finch, later 1st Earl of Nottingham, and this may be a stray, but equally it may have been used by the 2nd Earl, as a Commissioner of the Admiralty 1679–84 or later. 10pp.

N.M.5. Undated and unsigned fair copy of report from the Attorney General to the Lords of the Treasury on a case between the King and the East India Company concerning an alleged breach of the articles of agreement of 6 Dec. 1661 between the Company and the Navy Board [calendared in *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1640–85*, pp. 33–5] in regard to the freight of the *Leopard*, contracted to go from Lisbon to Goa in 1662. Complaints are in the main text, with the Company's answers, drawn up by Sir John Banks (Governor of the East India Company), in the margin. 5½pp. *On the same sheet*: opinion signed by Samuel Pepys as Surveyor General of the Victualling Office, Navy Office, 18 April 1672, supporting the government case on the grounds that the ship was sent home only quarter laden, thus depriving the King of most of his £20 per ton freight money. 1½pp. (This may similarly have been used by the 2nd Earl of Nottingham as well as by his father, who was the Attorney General in 1672.)

N.M.6. List of the French fleet, 1676, with 165 names in English translation and numbers of guns, from 'Royal Sunn', 120 guns, down to 'Leverett', 2. 2pp.

N.M.7. 'The present disposall of all his Majesties shippes in sea-pay', 20 May 1679, annotated in the hand of Daniel Finch (later 2nd Earl of Nottingham) with the despatch of four ships to the Soundings on 16 June, and endorsed by him: 'laid by July 5'. 3pp.

N.M.8. List of 18 ships (including two on the stocks) remaining in Algiers Nov. 1681 (as correctly headed, although endorsed in error 'A list of the ships remaining in Argeir November 1677'), with names of commanders and numbers of guns. 1p. *On the same sheet*: list of 17 [Algerine] ships taken or destroyed in the war with Algiers since 1677, with numbers of guns. In the same hand as no. N.M.6. 1p.

N.M.9. List of 9 ships remaining in Algiers and 4 at sea 22 Feb. 1681–2, with numbers of guns and numbers of men.

N.M.10. Letter from Sir Phineas Pett, addressed to 'Sir John Tippetts at his house on Tower Hill' but beginning 'My Lords', giving reasons (fear of fire) against the construction of a wet dock at Chatham. Navy Office, 21 March 168[1-]2. 4½pp. (Earlier that day the Admiralty Commissioners had written to the Navy Board asking on behalf of the Treasury Commissioners, who had already authorised the expenditure, for the Board's reasons against the wet dock. Pett is sending Tippetts, as the dock's contractor, an advance copy of the Board's reply, which is dated 22 March 1681[-2] in the Board's minute book, BL Add. MS. 9322, ff. 68-9.)

N.M.11. 4 lists of English ships, 28 May to 18 Oct. 1688.

(1) List of ships, their stations, orders and condition, 28 May 1688. 2pp.

(2) Similar list, but undated and differently arranged, with numbers of men and guns, endorsed by Nottingham: 'Sir John Lowther's paper of the Navy'. 1p.

(3) List of 89 ships and auxiliaries (down to 6-man intelligence smacks and 2-man boats) at sea and fitting, with numbers of men and guns, names of commanders and lieutenants, and stations, 2 Oct. 1688. 4pp.

(4) List of the fleet under the command of Lord Dartmouth at the Ouze Edge, arranged according to divisions, 18 Oct. 1688. 1p.

N.M.12. 91 sets of English ship lists received by Nottingham from the Admiralty, 26 Feb. 1688-9 to 31 Dec. 1692 and undated. Some are noted in the published calendars (e.g. *Finch IV*, p.218, as in the former N.M.9) but most are not. In most cases they include names of commanders, numbers of guns and men, stations, appointments and condition. Many are signed by the Commissioners of the Admiralty and/or endorsed by Nottingham.

N.M.13. Miscellaneous notes and memoranda not in Nottingham's hand relating to the English, Dutch and French navies, French threats of invasion etc., 23 March 1688-9 to 26 Jan. 1691-2 and undated. English and French. 19 items.

N.M.14. Estimates, accounts etc. relating to naval victualling and other charges, 23 March 1688-9 to 31 Dec. 1692 and undated. 9 items (including one enclosure).

N.M.15. Detailed account, in tabulated form, of damage sustained by

ships, and numbers of men killed and wounded [in the battle of Bantry Bay, 1 May 1689]. 2 double pages.

N.M.16. Miscellaneous notes in Nottingham's hand relating to the navy, including notes made at Council meetings and estimates, 23 May 1689 to 16 June 1693 and undated. 28 items.

N.M.17. Miscellaneous lists of French ships, June 1689 to July 1693 and undated. 24 items. In French and English. Some of these lists were calendared in previous volumes (e.g. *Finch IV*, p.142). In this volume similar lists whose provenance is clear are incorporated in the appropriate section above. Lists still in this section include a 1690 list addressed to Nottingham's secretary Richard Warre (with seal of arms on the cover and postmark 7 June), one dated from Paris 18 Oct. 1690 signed de la Palliere, one annotated by Nottingham as received from Mr Martin 18 July 1693, and one annotated by him as received from Cadiz 31 July 1693 (with 92 line of battle ships, 12 light frigates, 30 fireships, besides tenders, victuallers etc.). Nottingham's own notes on French fleet lists are also here (see no. B78 above).

N.M.18. Abstract of contracts made for the transport of Irish soldiers from the Isle of Wight to Hamburg, Navy Office, 16 Aug. 1689. 2 signatures. 1p.

N.M.19. List of ships for the winter service, Admiralty Office, 25 Sept. 1689, endorsed: 'Number and rates of the shipps for winter service. Given to the King by the Commissioners of the Admiralty'. Besides five or six ships for carrying the Queen of Spain from Holland to Spain, there are 64 ships: Plymouth and Soundings 10, Mediterranean 20, Ireland 6, Northward 6, Spithead for guard of the Channel and other services 24. These figures differ somewhat from those noted in *Finch II*, p. 250, as enclosed in Nottingham's letter to Torrington of 26 Sept. 1p.

N.M.20. Attack on Kinsale and Cork.

(1) Proposals in Nottingham's hand, endorsed 12 Oct. 1689, for Colonel [Charles] Trelawny to be given a commission as Brigadier with orders 'to attack Kinsale or Cork as he shall judge most feasible and convenient'. See *Finch II*, pp.252, 254, 257, 430, for this plan, which was in fact executed by Marlborough the following summer. 1p.

(2) Draft instructions in Nottingham's hand, presumably for Marlborough in 1690, 'to goe to Corke to reduce it by force or treaty, and there to leave the 8 regiments who are to follow the orders of Colonel Solmes', or in case of disappointment to go to Youghall. 'Hasten provisions to Corke, quaere expresse to Colonel Solmes for horse to meet Lord Marlborough and some draught horses.' 1p.

N.M.21. Estimate of the charge of the fleet for the next year's service, with numbers and disposition of ships, Admiralty Office, 31 Oct. 1689. 1p.

N.M.22. Proposals in the hand of Sir Samuel Morland for a field kitchen [c1689–91. By 1692 his handwriting had deteriorated through blindness]. Endorsed: 'Sir Samuel Morlands proposalls for a cart for a kitchin'. 1p.

N.M.23. 'An humble proposall for raiseing seamen for their Majesties present and further supply' [c1689–92], endorsed by Nottingham as by Sir Peter Rich (d. 26 Aug. 1692, the Baltic merchant and MP who was a leading naval contractor and creditor), and in Rich's hand. 'It is observed that a great number of seamen are in the land which skulk ...' and he proposes several ways 'to come at these men', as well as pressing watermen without regard to their badges, and requiring merchant ships bound for the Baltic, in exchange for protections, to take on guardsmen as a third of their crews for at least two months at sea, then deliver them to any of their Majesties' ships. 2pp. (See J.D. Davies, 'Pepys and the Admiralty Commission of 1679–84', *Historical Research*, 62 (1989), p.38, for earlier advice from Rich.)

N.M.24. Miscellaneous lists giving numbers, disposition and pay of troops [c1689–92]. 5 items.

N.M.25. Papers relating to the marines, 1690 and undated. (For similar papers for 1691 see PRO, ADM 1/4080, ff. 61, 95.)

(1) Estimates of the pay of the first marine regiment, commanded by the Earl of Torrington, from 1 Feb. to 1 May 1690, and of the second regiment, commanded by the Earl of Pembroke, and the clerk of the cheque and his deputies. 1p.

(2) Note as to the composition and pay of a regiment, endorsed 'marine regiments'. 1p.

N.M.26. Copies of letters and papers written immediately before the battle

of Beachy Head, 23–29 June 1690. 5 items, all calendared (from other copies) in *Finch II*, pp.307–8, 318, 322, and *Finch III*, pp.381, 439–40.

(1) Torrington to Nottingham, 23 June [1690], endorsed by Nottingham: 'copy of the Earl of Torrington June 23 [16]90'. $\frac{1}{2}$ p.

(2) Nottingham to Torrington, 27 June 1690. 1p.

(3) Queen's orders to Torrington [27 June 1690]. $\frac{1}{2}$ p.

(4) Nottingham to Torrington, 29 June 1690, endorsed as a duplicate sent 'by Beachy, and I have also sent another to Rye [the calendared copy], and a third to Dover'. 1p.

(5) Minutes of the meeting of the Cabinet Council held 29 June 1690. $\frac{1}{2}$ p.

N.M.27. 15 lists of Dutch ships, Aug. 1690 to 15 Jan. 1692–3 and undated (13 in English and 2 in Dutch). Many were enclosed in letters from Russell or Portland to Nottingham and are calendared in *Finch II–IV*.

N.M.28. Notes in Nottingham's hand of the opinions given by named senior judges in relation to the trial of the Earl of Torrington, Oct. 1690 and undated. All judges agree that the Privy Council has the power to commit him and that he has no privilege of Parliament against it. They are also asked whether the Commissioners of the Admiralty may grant commissions for holding a court martial (see *Finch II*, pp. 385, 410, 469). 4 items.

N.M.29. Lists of naval officers, 19 Nov. 1690 to 11 Feb. 1692–3 and undated. 23 items. Those dated are: list of sea captains, endorsed by Nottingham as received 19 Nov. 1690, alphabetically arranged, with rates of present and previous commands and dates of seniority as captains; list of captains received from the Commissioners of the Admiralty (7 signatures), Admiralty Office, 24 March 1691–2, arranged by rate of ship down to 6th rate, with 'ships names in which they now serve', 'by whom recommended', or 'by whom put into commission at sea'; similar list, 7 April 1692, plus 'flag officers approbation of them', signed by 5 flag officers (see *Finch IV*, p.65); similar list of lieutenants received from the Commissioners of the Admiralty (7 signatures), Admiralty Office, 27 April 1692; names of 12 'commanders of great ships' (including captains in flagships), Admiralty Office, 11 Feb. 1692–3. Those undated include a list headed by Captain John Goldsborough of 13 'captaines fitt to be employd at sea', annotated to show which were proposed by the Blackwall shipbuilder and MP Sir Henry Johnson 4 July 1690 and which 'have bin heretofore in the King's service'; another list of 13 names headed by Goldsborough also of master mariners,

with a few names on both lists; a list of 7 names also headed by Goldsborough: 'These men have all been used to men of war, and are bred sailors, and have bin known to fight well since they have commanded merchant men, and are men of good report'; list of 10 'sea-captaines fitt to be employed from Captain Hill' (an Extra Commissioner of the Navy, and Shovell's father-in-law), annotated by Nottingham with details of their previous service; another list of 6 names headed by Captain John Hill, perhaps also recommended by him (London addresses are given for the other five); list of 68 'such officers as are fit to command shippes in their Majesties service', including Goldsborough and many other master mariners; and a list in Nottingham's hand of 55 serving officers presumably being considered for promotion, annotated by him in ink or pencil with their fighting qualities and records, ranging from no details for the commanders of ketches to biographical sketches for some commanders of 3rd rates. There is also an alphabetically arranged list of officers annotated to indicate their background prior to being commissioned, 'an account of the seniority of the commanders of the West India squadron' (the latest commission being dated 13 June 1692) and other notes on seniority and on prospective postings.

N.M.30. Heads of a petition intended to be presented to Parliament complaining of the conduct of the troops in Ireland [c1690]. Representing that the army is on free quarter, taking meat and drink for nothing, and sometimes also money; that they are injurious and abusive, and complaints made to government bring no redress; that some considerable men have bought up their debts from the country at very easy rates; that the money sent out of England would have discharged all demands, if duly paid. Petitioners ask for justice from the House [of Commons], 'without a commission into Ireland, where they feare they may not meete equality'. 1p.

N.M.31. Letters and papers relating to the exchange of prisoners of war, 30 March 1691 to 18 May 1692. 7 items, including the general exchange signed by the English on 10 Feb. 1690–1 and by the French on 30 March 1691, in French (there is a copy in English at SP 103/15, ff. 1–2). There are references to French prisoners in the Marshalsea, Dover and Portsmouth, and 400 English prisoners mainly at Dinan and St. Malo.

N.M.32. Line of battle: 5 lists of ships, May 1691 to May 1693.

(1) [May 1691.] English and Dutch ships. Signed by Russell and Josiah Burchett. Enclosed in Russell to Nottingham, 28 May 1691. Briefly calendared in *Finch III*, p.82.

(2) [May 1692.] English ships. With annotations in the hands of Russell and Nottingham. Enclosed in Russell to Nottingham, 5 May 1692, and endorsed as received 6 May. Calendared in *Finch IV*, p.122.

(3) [June 1692.] English ships. Enclosed in Russell to Nottingham, 10 June 1692, and endorsed as received 11 June. Calendared in *Finch IV*, p.218.

(4) [Aug. 1692.] English ships, with number of Dutch. Enclosed in Russell to Nottingham, 14 Aug. 1692, as noted by the editor of *Finch IV* (although not calendared there), which is confirmed by the omission from this list of the frigates mentioned by Russell in his letter as having been despatched to cruise against privateers.

(5) 1693, May [endorsement]. English and Dutch ships. With pencilled annotations in Nottingham's hand.

N.M.33. Disposition of ships at sea, endorsed by Nottingham as received from the Admiralty and read at Council 25 Sept. 1691 (when he sent a copy to Sydney: see *Finch III*, p.276). 1p.

N.M.34. Admiral Russell and the naval campaign of 1691.

(1) 'Mr Russell's narrative to the House of Commons', 9 Nov. 1691, an abstract in journal form of orders, events, and correspondence between Russell and Nottingham (calendared in *Finch III*), covering 7 March to 3 Sept. 1691. 11pp. See *Commons Journals*, X.549–50.

(2) 'The beginning of an answer to Mr R[ussell]'s narrative', in Nottingham's hand. Also in journal form and based on the same material, covering 23 April to 28 May 1691. 5pp.

N.M.35. Note of the cargo of the *Culbutteur*, Jan Janse of Geluckstadt master, arrested at the Downs last June on suspicion of going to Dunkirk, although the master claimed to be bound for Oostende [1691.] (See *Finch III*, pp.227–8.) Mixed victuals and naval supplies, the principal cargo being 9,000 barrels of 'noir a noircir, alias lam[p]black'. 1p. French.

N.M.36. Inventories of ships, with their prices, 1691–2 and undated. 5 items. *St. Thomas*, 350 tons, 1691–2, £900; *Richard*, Flemish built, 400 tons, £1,200; *John and Elizabeth*, 200 tons, £450; *Loyall Subject*, 600 tons, £1,400; *Dreadnott*, 200 tons, £800.

N.M.37. 'A better way of fighting the French at sea' (writer's endorsement)

[c1691]. Headed: 'Advertisement. That our misfortunes at sea doe happen by carrying on the warr in the wrong place.' It is the wonder of many that our fleets perform no better and that the French take so many of our merchant ships, 'beyond what in former warrs wee ever lost to the Hollanders'. Since 'Brest is our enemies great fronteer', Irish ports such as Kinsale and Cork, Crookhaven and Baltimore should be used instead of Chatham and Portsmouth, 'for they all front Brest'. 2½pp. Another copy of this was attributed to 1666 by David Davies, 'The Birth of the Imperial Navy? Aspects of Maritime Strategy, c1650–90', in *Parameters of British Naval Power 1650–1850*, ed M. Duffy (1992), p.26, because it had been bound up among miscellaneous Coventry papers at Longleat (Coventry MS. 99, ff.260–1), but it seems more likely to be a later stray.

N.M.38. Proposals concerning prizes, all in the same hand, unsigned and undated [c1691]. They appear to have been addressed in the first instance to the Privy Council, as one of the suggestions in the first proposals (that the commanders of ships sunk in battle should be compensated and receive full pay as prisoners of war, with disability pensions if necessary) is annotated: 'This article is minnited downe to be recommended by the Lords of the Council to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty'.

(1) 'Proposalls humbly offered to your Lordships for the better encouragement of all their Majesties commanders of men of warr, their officers and seamen upon the taking of future prizes, and for the regulating of the office of prize.' 2pp.

(2) 'Proposalls humbly offered to your Lordships by the commanders and owners of English private men of warr for the encouragement of takeing and destroying the enemyes ships goods and effects, and encrease of their Majesties customes and the number of seamen.' 2pp.

(3) 'How to share a prize taken by a man of warr.' 2pp.

(4) 'The reasons of the differences betwixt the captaines of men of warr and the commissioners of prizes', with proposals to prevent these inconveniences. 2pp.

N.M.39. 3 lists of Spanish ships commanded by Don Pedro Corbete.

(1) Spanish list, [13/] 23 Jan. 1692, with numbers of guns and men.

(2) List of Spanish ships in Cadiz, Galicia and Biscay, with numbers of guns and names of captains, annotated by Nottingham as enclosed in letter from Stanhope of 13/23 April 1692 and received 11 May.

(3) List of the Spanish fleet endorsed by Nottingham as Feb. 1692–3, with numbers of guns and men.

N.M.40. Lists of protections granted to named ships 1691–2.

(1) List from the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 21 March 1691–2, of grants of protection to named colliers 28 Jan. to 18 March 1691–2, with burden of ships and men protected (e.g. 'a master's mate and carpenter to each'). 6pp.

(2) List from the Navy Board, 23 March 1691–2, of grants of protection to named ships 9 Dec. 1691 to 21 March 1691–2, with numbers of men, duration of protection and services for which they are protected. 4pp.

(3) List from the Commissioners of Victualling, 25 March 1692, of grants of protection to lightermen, hoymen and watermen, 14 Jan. to 23 March 1691–2, with numbers of men and services for which they are protected. 6½pp.

(4) List from the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 5 April 1692, of grants of protection to named ships other than colliers, with numbers of men and of boys, duration of protection, and services for which they are protected. 6pp.

N.M.41. Weekly accounts of progress made from 24 March to 7 Oct. 1692 on the new ships in building at the several dockyards in England. 29 items, each one page. From the Admiralty Office, signed by the Commissioners of the Admiralty and mostly endorsed by Nottingham. Noted in *Finch IV*, p.35.

N.M.42. Memorial relating to provisions for the forces under the Duke of Leinster, 29 March 1692, enclosed in Leinster's letter to Nottingham of the same date (calendared in *Finch IV*, p.51). 3½pp.

N.M.43. Memorandum that the *Stadt Warsaw*, Anthony Schoneman master, a Polander with King William's pass to sail from Rotterdam to France with permitted merchandise, is nevertheless seized in the Isle of Wight, and Messrs van Twedde request that it be cleared [March or April 1692]. See *Finch IV*, pp. 57–8. 1p.

N.M.44. Admiral Russell and the naval campaign of 1692. 21 items, many in Nottingham's hand, covering April–Dec. 1692, mainly drafts and copies of the papers laid before Parliament in Dec. 1692, with a draft of Nottingham's speech to the Lords. For related material see *Lords Journals*, XV.153–7; *Commons Journals*, X.749–59; Navy Records Society, XL, *Naval Miscellany II* (1912), pp.168–201; BL Add. MS. 22617, ff. 151–2, Add. MS. 40691, ff. 39–57; *Finch MSS.*, P.P. 102.

N.M.45. Letters and papers relating to the provision made for sick and wounded seamen, 17 May to 17 June 1692 and undated.

(1) Extract from a letter from Admiral Russell, St. Hellins, 17 May 1692, concerning arrears still due at Portsmouth and Gosport for the Christmas quarter 1690 upon account of sick and wounded seamen. $\frac{1}{2}$ p.

(2) Proposals by the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded Seamen and the Exchange of Prisoners of War for hospitals at Dover, Plymouth and Carisbrooke Castle, Office for Sick and Wounded Seamen, 18 May 1692. 4 signatures. 2pp.

(3) Estimate by the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded Seamen of arrears of pay for the service of the sick and wounded, Office for Sick and Wounded Seamen, 18 May 1692. 4 signatures. 1p.

(4) Copy of Accounts delivered to the Lords of the Treasury by the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded Seamen etc., 1692. 1 double page.

(5) Proposals from Trinity House to the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 17 June 1692, endorsed 'Opinion of Trinity House touching their Majesties intention of converting Greenwich House and Carisbrook Castle into standing hospitalls for sick and wounded seamen', approving of this, and recommending another hospital at Plymouth, and that merchant seamen should qualify for long-term care, paying 4d. a month out of their wages as the equivalent of the 6d. being paid by seamen in men of war, and that merchants and commanders of merchantmen should be appointed to the hospital boards. But agreeing with the 1689 committee of Parliament that most disabled seamen would prefer to live with their friends on a pension. Signed by S[amuel] Hunter by command of the Corporation. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Enclosed:* copy of the resolutions of the 1689 committee. $1\frac{1}{2}$ p.

(6) 'Proposals ... for the better care and recovery of sicke and wounded seamen', unsigned and undated, recommending that physicians should replace the four Commissioners for Sick and Wounded Seamen, and that more physicians should be trained in naval medicine. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pp.

N.M.46. Letter from the Navy Board to the Commissioners of the Admiralty about the supply of money for the navy, Navy Office, 18 May 1692. 3 signatures. 5pp.

N.M.47. Old Admiralty business.

(1) Copy of memorandum intended for the Queen from Lord Cornwallis as first Commissioner of the Admiralty, entitled 'Objections to my secretaries takeing coppys of all papers in the Admiralty answer'd' [1692, between his appointment on 10 March and his presentation to the Commissioners on 24

June of clerks authorised to make copies]. See J. Ehrman, *The Navy in the War of William III*, p.564. 2½pp.

(2) In the same hand and on similar paper (crowned fleur-de-lis watermark) is a 'State of maritime affaires in Mediterranean' [writer's endorsement], presumably copied in 1692 but written c1680, recommending a permanent British resident at Florence, where there has been none since Sir John Finch. 'The Algerine war [1677–82] had been prevented had there been a minister to give an account of things, and will be continued for the same defect, for his Majesty has been of late yeares persuaded it was good husbandry to save the charge of £3 a day'. (The original author may have been the consul Thomas Dereham, who was knighted and appointed resident at Florence in 1681.) 1¾pp.

(3) Holograph letter from Sir Thomas Dereham, Florence, [3/] 13 June N.S. [1681], reporting [to Nottingham] on the lengthy delays in port at Genoua and Livorne of the 4th rates *Buonadventure* and *Tyger Prize*, but asking for anonymity, since 'I am unwilling to fight with all his Majesties fleet at my returne'. (After obtaining fresh credentials more acceptable to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, as envoy rather than resident, he felt in a strong enough position to report the same incident in an official despatch of [21/] 31 March 1682, which left the King and Council 'extremely scandalized'. SP 105/188, f. 159.) 2pp.

N.M.48. List of officers and men of the French army killed and wounded at Stinquer [Steinkirk], [24 July/] 3 Aug. 1692. (173 officers killed and 606 wounded; 9,419 soldiers killed and wounded.) French. 8pp.

N.M.49. Estimate by the Navy Board of the wages due to the ships to be fitted for the West Indies, Navy Office, 17 Aug. 1692. 3 signatures. 1p.

N.M.50. Estimate by the Navy Board of the charge of paying and manning the 1st and 2nd rates from 15 Oct. 1692 to 15 Feb. 1692 [–3], Navy Office, 12 Sept. 1692. 5 signatures. Endorsed by Nottingham as received 15 Sept. ½p.

N.M.51. Extract from a letter from the Navy Board giving an account of the readiness of the Mediterranean squadron, 23 Nov. 1692, in response to 'your Honours' orders of the 11th. ½p.

N.M.52. Admiralty business considered by Council, 24 Nov. 1692.

(1) List of members present at Council meeting, 24 Nov. 1692, endorsed by Nottingham: 'With papers from Admiralty'. ⅓p.

(2) Memorial concerning absent members of the Navy Board, Admiralty Office, 13 Nov. 1692. $\frac{1}{2}$ p.

(3) 'Some heads on which it is proposed that additional money should be demanded of Parliament' for extraordinary naval expenses in 1693, including rebuilding the *Royal Charles*, building 4 bomb vessels and 8 new frigates, etc., Admiralty Office, 23 Nov. 1692. 1p.

(4) Account of what men may be employed on the estimate for 1693, Admiralty Office, 23 Nov. 1692. 1p.

(5) Memorial requesting the King to decide whether foreign seamen serving in their Majesties' ships should be detained or discharged, and whether those made 'Run' should have tickets for their wages. Admiralty Office, 24 Nov. 1692. $\frac{1}{2}$ p.

N.M.53. 'List of the regiments that are to remain in England, and of such as are design'd for the fleet', endorsed as 1692. In Blathwayt's hand. 1p.

N.M.54. Ships in sea pay [?1692]. First rates 5, second rates 11, third rates 34, fourth rates 36, fifth rates 27, sixth rates 18, fireships 28, yachts 8, total 167. The first five rates are arranged according to the services for which they are designed: fleet 61, West India squadron and convoys 17, Straits squadron and convoys 11, Newfoundland convoy 2, Eastland convoy 2, Isle of Mull 2, coal convoy 4, cruisers off the Shannon and convoy between Bristol and Ireland 3, a second Eastland convoy 2, other occasional services 9. $\frac{1}{2}$ p.

N.M.55. 'A project of the rates, number of ships and men, proposed to be employed in convoys, and to attend on the Plantations', undated. For the Plantations: 3rd rate 1 (*Montague*), 4th rates 7, 5th rates 2, fireships 2, total 1,980 men; for convoys to the Straits and Canaries 4th rates 8, total 1,760 men; for Newfoundland convoy fourth rates 4, total 800 men; total number of men 4,540. Endorsed by Nottingham: 'Project per convoys and plantations'. $\frac{1}{2}$ p.

N.M.56. Military maps and plans, 1693 and undated.

(1) Map of the Allied camp at Parck near Louvain, [June] 1693, endorsed 'Camp at Park-Abby, 1693'. Enclosed in no. 289 above. Coloured inks and wash, signed: 'D'Hercourt, Ing[enieu]r fecit'. Other maps by D'Hercourt are at BL Add. MS. 51053 C, f.1 (the Allied camp at Wommel, also signed and dated 1693, and similar in colour, size, scale and key) and Add. MS. 57646, f.20 (the battle of Landen on [19/] 29 July 1693). French text. 1p.

(2) Sketch plan of Thoulon, endorsed by Nottingham as received from Captain Sanders, 14 Aug. 1693. (See no.50 in the main text above.) Pencil and ink. 1p.

(3) 'A description of the French Kings battaile' [endorsement], undated. Plan of the position of the King's troops, Marshal Biron in command, the King in the centre. It clearly represents the ordering of Henri IV's troops at the battle of Ivry on 4/14 March 1590. The hand is early 17th cent. Ink, grapes watermark. 1p.

(4) Map of part of Hampshire between Winchester and Southampton, undated, endorsed: 'Mapp of that part of Hampshire design'd for the encampment of the army'. Probably April or May 1693 (see nos.196, 199, 200, 219 above). Coloured inks and wash. French and English text. 1p.

N.M.57. Proposals by Robert Crosfeild for obtaining a sufficient body of sailors for the navy, endorsed as received 18 Aug. 1693. 9½ pp. With an undated covering letter from Crosfeild to Nottingham: 'I hear present your Lordship with some propositions of mine, as they were delivered to the Lords of the Admiralty'. 1p. See *The Manning of the Royal Navy: Selected Public Pamphlets 1693-1873*, ed. J.S. Bromley (Navy Records Society, Vol. 119, 1974), pp. 2-11, for the background to these proposals, which were published in the autumn of 1693. Nottingham's copy is an earlier version of pp. 4-11 of the printed version as re-edited by Professor Bromley. Instead of the epistle to the reader (Bromley, pp.1-4) there is an introductory paragraph explaining what follows as 'not design'd for the Press' but as a briefing paper for individual Privy Councillors to study before the proposals are discussed in Council. Some other differences foreshadow printing errors, e.g. 'least evil and the soonest remided' [remedied] becomes 'remitted' in print; some phrases are added later, e.g. 'their late attempt upon the Straits fleet', missing here; but in general this version is simply tightened up for publication, e.g. 'as hath sufficiently bin made appere' becomes 'as hath appeared' in print.

N.M.58. Letter on behalf of Captain Thomas Delavall of the Duke of Bolton's regiment, acting major by brevet from Captain Codrington. Has lost the use of his arm by a shot received at Marteneco [on 17 April 1693: see *HMC 29: Portland III*, p. 520]. Requests that no commission be taken out over his head for major until the return from France (expected daily) of his colonel, [Henry] Holt, taken in the *Dymond* frigate [captured off Ireland on 20 Sept. 1693, by the two privateers that had taken the *Eaglet*]. The recipient is asked to lay this before Nottingham or his secretary Mr Warr [which dates the letter before Nottingham's dismissal on 6 Nov. was known]. 1p.

N.M.59. Draft protest by the joint admirals of the fleet to the Lords [of the Council] in defence of their conduct with regard to the Smyrna fleet, in Nottingham's hand, endorsed: 'pro Haddock [*recte* Shovell], Killegrew and Delaval' [?Nov. 1693]. 2pp.

N.M.60. Notes on naval affairs made in 1694–5, but covering some events in 1693. 3 items.

(1) Diary of fleet movements from 22 Jan. 1693–4 to 3 Dec. 1694. 3½pp.

(2) Notebook in Nottingham's hand headed 'Admiralty papers' listing admiralty orders for fleet movements from 18 March 1693–4 to 12 Nov. 1694; 'questions' covering Dec. 1693 to 11 Feb. 1694–5; Admiralty orders to victuallers, 1 Jan. 1693–4 to 13 Dec. 1694; orders from Secretary of State, 24 April to 14 Aug. 1694. 8pp.

(3) Undated transcript in Nottingham's hand of the testimony given by Sir John Trenchard to the House of Commons [in February 1694] about the meeting of the Cabinet Council on 31 May 1693 which considered the letter from Paris of [22 May/] 1 June (no. E103 above). For the significance of this testimony see S.P. Anderson, 'The Anglo-Dutch "Smyrna fleet" of 1693', *Friends and Rivals in the East*, ed. A. Hamilton, A.H. de Groot and M.H. van den Boogert (Leiden, 2000), pp. 102–3. It is transcribed below in full with Nottingham's many abbreviations as usual silently expanded.

'List of the Brest Fleet May 14 1693, indorst per Secretary Trenchard. Mr Secretary Trenchard acquainted the House that he believes the Earl of Nottingham did on the 31st of May last bring to a Committee of the Councill a letter dated from Paris June 1 N.S. and received May 30 O.S. 1693, an extract of which letter the Lords communicated to this House at a conference the 16th day of January last. That he does not remember the letter was publicly read at the Committee, though severall of the Lords might read it singly, but that it remained in the hands of the Earl of Nottingham, there being no resolution taken at the Committee that the said letter should be communicated to the admiralls of the fleet. That to the best of his remembrance a list of the French fleet, being part of the said letter, was the same day sent to him from the Earl of Nottingham, a copy of which list he sent to the admiralls, as does appear by comparing it with the papers delivered by them into this House. That the same day there likewise came a letter from Scilly dated May 27th with advice that the French fleet was seen off of that island, which letter being publicly read at the Committee, a copy thereof together with the forementioned list was immediately sent by two expresses to the admiralls of the fleet, the one by the way of Portsmouth and the other of Plimouth, and were received by them.' 1p.

INDEX

- Abbeville (Abbaville), France, 376, 791
 Abeille, Abbé Gaspard, secretary of the Duc de Luxembourg, poet and playwright, 471
 Abercrombie *or* Abercromby (Abbercrony), Colonel Duncan, Jacobite officer, 61
 Abingdon, Earl of. *See* Bertie.
 Abney, Sir Thomas, sheriff of London, 175
 Abrahall (Abrahaall), Major Gilbert, 274
 Admiralty, Admiralty Office, *passim*
 Commissioners of. *See* Admiralty, Lords Commissioners of the.
 Court of, lxvi, 5, 31, 104, 192, 231
 Judge of. *See* Hedges.
 Lords Commissioners of the, liv–lv, lxi–lxiii, lxvii, lxxiii, cxli, 1, 6, 7, 12, 18, 19, 28, 29, 48, 53, 58, 86, 124, 139–40, 177, 179, 225, 232, 268, 501, 799, 823
 letters from, xxvi, 4, 5, 16, 21, 24, 30, 36, 55, 56, 65, 68, 69, 71, 90, 92, 116, 151, ~ 196, 213, 223, 249
 letters to, xxii, xxvi, lvii, 4, 5, 19, 25, 30, 40, 42–4, 50, 54, 56, 64, 71, 81, 94, 107, 136, 151, 817, 825
 proposals sent to, 823, 825, 828
 report by, 9
 complaints against, by the admirals, lix, 41
 estimates supplied by, 817, 819, 827
 list of ships supplied by, 817, 818
 lists of officers supplied by, lxi, 820
 lists of grants of protection to ships by, lx, 824
 weekly accounts of progress in shipbuilding supplied by, 824
 business of, considered by Privy Council, 826
 memorial from, 827
 Marshal of the. *See* Cheeke.
 Secretary of. *See* Sotherne.
 Adour (riviere de Bayonne), France, 737
 Adrianople (Adrianopolen, Andrinople) (now Edirne), Turkey, 459, 461, 556, 584
 letter dated from, 215
 letter from, 466
 former kaimakam of. *See* Mustafa Pasha Bozoklu.
 kaimakam of. *See* Osman Pasha.
 Adrien. *See* Hadrian.
 Africa (Affrica, Affrique, Afrique), xcix–ci, 25, 29, 498, 603
 slave trade with, 691
 Bastion of, 595, 596, 603
 Agar, Mr, cover name for Hughes, 100
 Aghrim, Lord. *See* Ginkel, Frederick Christian.
 Aglionby, Dr William, agent in Spain and envoy extraordinary from England to Savoy, cxxxv, 230
 credentials for, mentioned, 74, 75, 83–4, 89
 Ahlefeldt (Ahlefeld, Alfelt, Halefeld), Frederik, Danish brigadier-general in Allied service, 190, 191
 Ahmed II, Sultan 1691–5 (Grand Seigneur, Grand Seigneur), 3, 29, 34, 215, 216, 422, 544, 552
 false reports of his deposition, 461, 463, 470, 585
 his nephews. *See* Ahmed III; Mustafa II.
 Ahmed III, Sultan 1703–30, 544 (as a nephew of Ahmed II)
 Aigle, Monsieur de l', French naval officer, 659
 Aiguillon (Aiguillon), France, 788
 Ailesbury, Earl of. *See* Bruce.
 Aimas, Jaques, 527
 Ais, Ile d'. *See* Aix, Ile d'.
 Aix, France.
 Archbishop of, 469
 Aix, Ile d' (Ais, Ay, Ays, Ayx, Day, Dé, Lilleday, Lille Dest, Lisle-day), 373, 374, 643, 663, 664, 665, 666, 668, 700, 709, 710, 714, 716, 718, 719, 727, 731, 734, 781, 784
 reports on defences of, cxxxv, cxlix, 669, 720, 726, 736, 739, 783, 785
 Aix-la-Chapelle, Germany, cxxviii, cxxxi, cl, 306, 308
 letter from, 307
 Akerhielm, Samuel, Swedish official, 279
 Albani (Albane), Giovanni Francesco, Cardinal (later Pope Clement XI), 608
 Albergotti (Albergoti), Count Francesco Zenobio Philippo, Florentine officer in French service, 452, 590
 Albert, Jan, of Leeuwarden (Lewaerden), escaped prisoner of war, 798
 Albret, Emanuel Théodose de La Tour, Duc d', second son of the Duc and Duchesse de Bouillon and brother of the Prince de Turenne, 455, 507, 521
 Alderney, lxxv–lxxvi
 Race of (Ras Blanchard, Ras Blanchart), 544, 722, 724
 Aldred, Catherine, 145
 Aldred *or* Aldridge, Eleanor (Eleanore, Ellinor), Jacobite messenger, xxix, 144–5
 her son in Paris, 144
 her three children, 145
 Alègre (Aleigre), Emmanuel, Marquis d', French *maréchal de camp*, 453, 529
 his family, 393
 his daughters, 523
 Alemagne. *See* Germany.
 Alençon, France, 551, 552
 Alençon, Mademoiselle Suzanne d' (Dalençon), French refugee at Berlin, xxix, 101–2, 109
 letter from, 100
 Aleppo (Alep), Turkey, 551

- Alessandria (Alexandrie), Italy, 465
 Alet, de. *See* De Alet.
- Alewiin, Alewijn, Alewyn brothers. *See*
 Halewijn, Cornelis Terestyn van;
 Halewijn, Simon van.
- Alexander the Great, 338
 Alexandria. *See* Alessandria.
- Alfelt, Comte d'. *See* Ahlefeldt.
- Algarve (Algarbe, les Algarves), Portugal, lxiv,
 218, 225, 741
- Algiers (Alger, Algerines, Algier), liv–lv,
 xcix–ci, 20, 23, 26, 41, 53, 58, 158, 159,
 264, 329, 330, 334, 826
 release sought of Algerines enslaved by
 Spain, 84–5
 Turks [from Algiers or Salee] cruising off
 Portugal, 729
 list of ships of, 816
 Dey of. *See* Shaaban Dey.
 English consul at. *See* Baker, Thomas.
- Ali Efendi, Mufti March–April 1692, 128, 422
- Ali Pasha, Grand Vizier 1691–3, xcix, 128, 406,
 422, 424, 441, 466, 470, 479, 482, 496,
 506, 544, 552
 his predecessor. *See* Köprülü.
- Alicante (Alicant, Allicant), Spain, 85, 230, 336
 bombardment of, 344, 422
- Aligre, Monsieur d', French naval officer, 522,
 527, 635
- Aligre, Etienne d', Chancellor of France (d.
 1677), grandfather of the following, 558
- Aligre, Gilles d', Seigneur de Boislandry
 (Villandry), Conseiller au Parlement de
 Paris, first husband of Catherine Turgot, 558
- Alincourt, Louis Nicolas de Neufville, Marquis
 d', son of the Duc de Villeroy, 471, 631
- Allart, Monsieur, 662
- Allart. *See also* Roche Allart.
- Allemagne. *See* Germany.
- Allen, Henry, King's Messenger.
 memorandum by, 144–5
- Allen, James, secretary to the governor of
 Jersey, 809
- Allicant. *See* Alicante.
- Allthorp. *See* Althorp.
- Almonde, Philips van, Dutch naval commander,
 55
- Alost, Belgium, lxxxix, 207, 209, 210
- Alsace, France, 685
 militia regiment of, 583
- Altena. *See* Altona.
- Althorp (Allthorp), Northants., xxvii, 243
- Altona (Altena), Denmark (now Germany),
 lxxxi–lxxxii, 105
- Aluyn, Messieurs. *See* Halewijn, Cornelis van;
 Halewijn, Simon van.
- Alvarez, Louis, French financier, 510
- Amblimont, Thomas Claude Renart de
 Fuchsamberg, Marquis d' (Damblimont),
 French naval officer, 636
- Ambrun. *See* Embrun.
- Amelot (Hamelot), Michel Jean, Marquis de
 Gournay, French ambassador to the Swiss,
 120, 375, 376, 396, 547, 684
- America (l'Amérique), civ–cvii, 25, 75, 177,
 645, 692, 702, 708, 714, 742
- Amérique, Iles (eylanden, Illes, Isles, Islez) d'
 [French Caribbean islands], cvi, 351, 371,
 373, 385, 419, 444, 457, 464, 480, 644,
 665, 668, 671, 703–4, 706, 707, 708, 710,
 712, 714, 715, 717, 720, 725, 726, 730,
 732, 734–5, 738, 782, 783, 784, 785
 description of, 689–92
 Governor-General of. *See* Blénac, Charles de
 Courbon-Blénac, Comte de.
See also Guadeloupe; Martinique.
- Amérique, Isles angloizes de l'. *See* Leeward
 Islands.
- Amfreville (Anfreville), Chevalier de, French
 naval officer, brother of the following,
 427, 495, 722
- Amfreville, Charles François Davy, Marquis d',
 French admiral, 426, 660, 720, 721, 722
- Ampurdán, El (Lempourdan), Spain, 638
- Amsterdam, lxiii, lxx, cix, cxvi–cxvii, cxx,
 cxxiii, cxlviii–cxlix, 49, 75, 88, 212, 285,
 287, 289, 291, 312, 314, 322, 491, 577,
 585, 587, 591, 695
 letter dated from, 63
 Admiralty of, 650, 652
 merchant of. *See* Poulle.
- Anclars, Monsieur de l', French officer, 621
- Anderlecht (Anderlack, Anderleck), Belgium,
 37, 125, 130
- Anderton, William, printer, xxxvii, 160, 161
- Andrigny, Vicomte d', in Allied service.
 Walloon regiment of, 191
- Andrinople. *See* Adrianople.
- Anemon, Monsieur d', French naval
 commander, 660
- Anet, France, 413, 513, 515
- Anfreville, Monsieur d'. *See* Amfreville,
 Charles François Davy, Marquis d'.
- Angeron, Marquis of. *See* Langeron.
- Angers, France, lxxiv, 405, 545, 546
- Angletere, Angleterre. *See* England.
- Angleterre, Reine d'. *See* Henrietta Maria (pp.
 579 and 633 only); Mary of Modena.
- Angleterre, Roy d'. *See* James II.
- Angoumois, France, 637
 Governor of. *See* Uzès, Emanuel II de Crussol,
 Duc d'.
- Anjou. *See* Philip, Duc d'Anjou.
- Ankelman, D'. *See* Danckelmann, Eberhard von.
- Anna Maria (of Orléans) (Madame Royale),
 Duchess of Savoy, wife of Victor
 Amadeus II and daughter of Philip of
 Orléans and Henrietta Anne of England,
 xciii–xciv, 74, 75, 397, 475, 516
 letters from, mentioned, 515, 529, 552, 623
- Anne, Princess (later Queen) (Princess of
 Denmark, Princesse de Danemarc,

- Dannemark).
- alleged promise by William III to, 17
- grief at illness of her son, 21
- alleged letter from James II to, 108
- alleged complicity in French invasion plans, 376, 694
- ringleader of malcontents in England, 378
- said to be at loggerheads with Mary II, xxxii, 402, 405, 501
- and Parliament, 495, 501
- said to have been arrested, 718
- said to have written that she would rather be her father's than her sister's slave, 801
- Anne (of Austria), Queen of France, 539
- Anne Marie Louise (of Orléans) (la Grande Mademoiselle, Mademoiselle, Mademoiselle d'Orléans), Duchesse de Montpensier, daughter of Gaston d'Orléans and first cousin of Louis XIV, cxlv, 398, 526, 528, 537, 542
- her death and obsequies, 531, 536, 539
- Ansbach. *See* Brandenburg-Ansbach.
- Anselm *or* Anselme, Abraham, secretary to the fleet admirals, 190, 192
- Anspach, Prince aîné d'. *See* Brandenburg-Ansbach, Christian Albert, Margrave of.
- Antibes, France, 450
- Antilles, West Indies, cvi, 690, 691
- Antin (Dantein), Louis Antoine de Gondrin de Pardaillon, Marquis (later Duc) d', 359, 364, 637
- Antrim, Earl of. *See* Macdonell.
- Antwerp (Anvers), Belgium, 130, 207, 369, 709
- Aost, Vallée d'. *See* Aosta, Val d'.
- Aosta (Aust), Italy, 681
- Aosta (Aoust, Aouste, Aoute), Val d' (Valdoste, Vallée d'Aost), Italy, 338, 345, 349, 350, 360, 404, 512, 681
- Aquin, d'. *See* Daquin.
- Aquinas (Daquin), St. Thomas, 633
- Arabia.
- Brittany compared to, 653, 654
- Aragon (Arragon), Spain, 428
- Arambure (Harambure), Madame d', 397
- her daughter. *See* Contaudière.
- Aran Islands (Isle of Arron, Isles of Arran), co. Galway, cv, 142
- Arbouville, Monsieur, French naval officer, 636
- Ardennes, Belgium, 569
- Argile, Earl of. *See* Campbell.
- Arlington, Lord. *See* Bennet.
- Armagh, Archbishop of. *See* Boyle.
- Armagnac, Charlotte, Mademoiselle d', daughter of Louis de Lorraine, Comte d'Armagnac, 384, 405
- Arnénonville, Joseph Jean Baptiste Fleuriu d', Comte de Morville, Intendant des Finances, 400
- Armstat, ville de. *See* Darmstadt.
- Army, Allied.
- sickness in, 230
- deserters from, to French, 433
- See also* named battles and regiments.
- Arnaud, Mademoiselle, 686
- Arnaud (Armauld, Arnault), Henri, Protestant minister and leader of the Vaudois, 299, 368, 369, 461
- his wife, 299
- Arnold, John, M.P. (Sq. Arnel), xxviii, 262
- Arnou, Monsieur, 487
- Arondel. *See* Arundel.
- Aragon. *See* Aragon.
- Arran, Isles of. *See* Aran.
- Arras, France, 589
- Governors of. *See* Artagnan; Montchevreuil.
- Arron, Isle of. *See* Aran.
- Ars[en-Ré], France, 781
- Arsetoire, Monsieur d', French naval commander, 660
- Artagnan, Pierre de Montesquiou d', French major-general and major of the regiment of guards, xci, 414, 588, 589, 590
- Arundel (Arondel), Sussex, 721
- Arundell, John, 2nd Lord Arundell of Trerice (Trerize), 66
- Ashby, Sir John, admiral of the Blue, 1, 16, 19, 106, 154, 155, 163, 164, 169, 170, 171, 180, 190, 501
- death of, 149
- Aspres[-sur-Buech], France, 475, 478
- Atelonne, Comte d'. *See* Ginkel, Godert de.
- Ath, Belgium, 410, 416, 597, 606, 617
- Athlone, Earl of. *See* Ginkel, Godert de.
- Atlantic Ocean (Ocean, Ponant), the, lxiv, cxlvi, 119, 244, 373, 385, 498, 521, 530, 546, 551, 601, 607, 612, 613, 616, 683, 713, 773, 784
- Atlas, 420
- Attorney, Attorney General, Attorney, Mr *or* the. *See* Ward, Sir Edward.
- Auax, de. *See* Avaux.
- Aubanton. *See* Aubenton.
- Aubarède, Comte de, Governor of the Ile de Ré, 701, 781, 786
- Aubenton (Aubanton), France, 637
- Aubert, Jean Louis, of Amsterdam *or* Antwerp, nephew of Consul Chabert, French spy in Holland, lxiii, 709, 727
- Aubery, Captain, of the Mint, Southwark, suspected Jacobite, 208
- Aubigné, Charles, Comte d', brother of Madame de Maintenon and father of the following, 574
- Aubigné (Daubigny), Françoise Charlotte Amable d' (later Duchesse de Noailles), niece of Madame de Maintenon, 419
- Auch, Archbishop of. *See* La Baume de Suze.
- Augers, Chevalier des. *See* Des Augers.
- Augusta (Augouste), Sicily, cii, 518
- Governor of, 518
- his son, 518
- his wife, 518

- Aulne, river, France, iv, 439, 441, 450 (as unnamed river), 737 (as rivière de Châteaulin)
 Aulnis, Aulnix. *See* Aunis.
- Aunay, Comte d', French naval officer, 522
- Aunis (Aulnis, Aulnix, Aunis), France, cxxxiv, cxlix, 643, 674, 705, 728, 735, 736, 737, 739, 779, 785
 news dated from, 729
 oppression of Roman Catholic converts in, 644
- Aurelio. *See* Luxembourg.
- Auriacus. *See* William III.
- Aust. *See* Aosta.
- Austria (Autriche), house of, 389, 394
- Auvergne, France, 441, 446, 461
 Intendant of, 441
- Auvergne, François Egon de La Tour, Prince d', third son of the following, 398, 404
- Auvergne, Frédéric Maurice de La Tour, Comte d', French lieutenant-general, 404, 528, 530, 538, 627
 regiment of, 336, 339, 627
 his eldest son. *See* La Tour, Emmanuel Maurice de.
 his second son. *See* La Tour, Henri Oswald de.
 his third son. *See* the preceding entry.
- Auverquerc, Lord. *See* Nassau.
- Auxerre, France, 379
- Aval, l'. *See* Laval.
- Avaux (Avau, de Aux), Jean Antoine de
 Mesmes, Comte d', French ambassador to Sweden, lxxxiii–lxxxiv, 14, 21, 37, 410, 496, 497, 502, 509, 516, 695
- Avers, foot in Allied service, 217
- Avignon, France, 346–7, 351, 404, 633
 Vice-Legat of, 463
 chapel of St. Thomas Aquinas (Daquin), 633
- Ay, Ays, Isle d'. *See* Aix, Ile d'.
- Aylmer (Aylmor), Matthew (later 1st Lord Aylmer), rear admiral of the Red, c, cii, 34, 71, 106
 letters from, 48, 50, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59
 letter to, 57
 proposal that he should take a squadron to Bilbao, 56, 59
- Ayrolles, Monsieur d'. *See* Dayrolle.
- Ayx, Isle d'. *See* Aix, Ile d'.
- B., J.
 letter from, 716
- Baaden, Prince de. *See* Baden.
- Babylon, fall of, 694
- Bachevilliers (Bache-Viliers), Adolphe de
 Gaudechart, Marquis de, French maréchal de camp, 460, 462, 469, 472, 529
- Backer, Pieter Harmensen, master of Hamburg ship *Peace*, 105
- Bacqueville[-en-Caux], France, 678
- Badde, Bade, Marquis or Prince de. *See* Baden.
- Baden, Germany, 637
- Baden (Baaden, Badde, Bade), Louis William, Margrave or Prince of, lxxxvi, 10, 130, 137, 182, 187, 200, 212, 245, 325, 459, 482, 496, 517, 559, 564, 569, 570, 581, 582, 587, 589, 592, 593, 595, 598, 600, 603, 638, 641
 William III supports as Allied commander on the Rhine, 32, 39
 his victory at Slankamen, 349, 352
- Badminton, Glos., 211
- Bagaos or Maranata, pseudonyms for assassinated persecutor of Huguenots in Cevennes, 338
- Bagneux, Pierre de (Le Bagneux), French naval officer, 427, 636, 723
- Baia (Baye, Bayes), near Naples, Italy, 530, 538
- Baie (Baye) des Portes, Ile de Ré, France, 781
- Baile. *See* Bayle.
- Baines, James, Jacobite alias, 175
- Baionne. *See* Bayonne.
- Baker, Captain, 20
- Baker, Mrs, of Leicester Fields, London, 145
- Baker, Thomas, consul at Algiers, xcix–c, 53, 58, 329, 330, 334
 letter from, 26
 letter to, 53
- Baldwin (Bauldin), Richard, bookseller, 18
- Ballati, Aloysius, Chevalier, envoy from Brunswick-Lüneburg to France, 410
- Balle (Ball), Robert, English merchant at Leghorn, 53
- Ballivière, cavalry of, 563
- Balthazar (Baltasar), Captain, Allied officer in Italy.
 dragoons of, 286, 346
- Baltic Sea, the, lx, lxii, lxxx–lxxxv, 819
- Baltimore, co. Cork.
 convenient for naval operations against France, 823
- Balzac, Jean Louis Guez, Sieur de, French writer (d.1654), 511
- Banbury, Lord. *See* Knollys.
- Bankes, Charles.
 cover addressed to, 813
- Banks, Sir John, Bt., Governor of the East India Company.
 answers by, 816
- Banstead Downs (Downes), Surrey, 20
- Bantry Bay (Bantree Bay), Ireland, 92
 battle of, 817–18
- Barbados (Barbade, Barbades, Barbadoes, Berbadoes), West Indies, cv–cvi, 8, 21, 22, 94, 98, 105, 110, 124, 182, 196, 200, 205, 215, 223, 236, 268, 624, 668, 703, 705, 708, 713, 717, 725, 729, 735, 738
 Governor of. *See* Kendall.
- Barbançon, Octave Ignace de Ligne-Aremberg, Prince de, Allied Governor of Namur, xcii, 209, 421, 434, 436
- Barbary, Barbary coast (Barbarie, costes de Barbarie), North Africa, 154, 163, 164, 173, 545, 584, 623

- English consuls in, 181
See also Algiers; Morocco; Tripoli; Tunis.
- Barboux, Sieur, former French naval captain in Allied service, 687
- Barbesieux, Monsieur. *See* Barbezieux.
- Barbets (Barbetz, Barbits), Piedmontese Vaudois in Allied service in Savoy, 338, 345, 439, 441, 446, 451
 supplying French camp in Savoy, 437
- Barbezières, Monsieur de, French *maréchal de camp*, 529
- Barbezieux, Cathérine Louise de Crussol, daughter of the Duc d'Uzès and first wife of the following, 393
- Barbezieux (Barbesieux), Louis François Marie Le Tellier, Marquis de, French War Minister, xiv, xxxiii, 338, 354, 383, 388, 393, 394, 395, 400, 410, 412, 439, 440, 462, 476, 480, 484, 486, 498, 501, 524, 526, 537, 564, 632
- Barbicy, Sieur, in French service in Savoy, 363
- Barbits. *See* Barbets.
- Barboudes, Barboutes. *See* Leeward Islands.
- Barcellona. *See* Barcelonnette.
- Barcelona (Barcellona, Barcellona, Barcelone, Barcelonne), xcvi, 244, 336, 566, 595, 600
 bombardment of, 344, 422
- Barcelonnette (Barcellona), France, 450, 457, 574, 577, 641
 vallée de. *See* Ubaye valley.
- Barenstorm, —, Allied commander, 798
- Barkly, Lord. *See* Berkeley.
- Barlovento, Cuba, 56
- Barnstaple (Barnstable), Devon, lx, 49
- Baron, stage name of Michel Boy, French actor, 498
- Barouik, Duc de. *See* Fitzjames.
- Barraux (Barreaux), France, 7352 (*recte* near Chambéry), 363
- Bart (Bartle), Jean (John), French privateer and naval commander, lxx, lxxxiii, 265, 483, 495, 516, 527, 534, 807
- Bartillat (Bertaillat, Berthillat), Nicolas Jehannot de, French lieutenant-general, 529, 562, 570
- Barwick, Barwicke. *See* Berwick-upon-Tweed.
- Basle, Switzerland, 394, 501
- Basse Normandie. *See* Normandy, Lower.
- Basse Saxe. *See* Lower Saxony.
- Bastide, Monsieur de la. *See* La Bastide.
- Bastinck, Mr, suspected Jacobite, 134
- Bastion, Bastion d'Afrique. *See* Africa, Bastion of.
- Baston. *See* Boston.
- Barreaux (? Barraux, near Chambéry), France, 352
- Basville, Monsieur de. *See* Bâville.
- Bath (the Bath), Somerset, 175, 178, 180, 211, 239
 letters dated from, 201, 206
- Bath, Bathe, Earl of. *See* Granville, John.
- Bâtie[-Neuve], la, France, 460
- Batop, James, Jacobite alias, 168
- Batt, Joseph, later assistant surveyor of the navy, 32, 79
- Baufort, Monsieur de. *See* Vendôme, Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Duc de.
- Baujeu, Monsieur. *See* Beaujeu.
- Bauldin. *See* Baldwin.
- Bauvillier, Duc or Monsieur de. *See* Beauvilliers.
- Bavaria, Bavarians.
 troops in Allied service, 220, 423
- Bavaria (Bavière, Bavières), Duke or Elector of. *See* Maximilian II Emanuel.
- Bâville (Basville), Nicolas de Lamoignon de, Intendant of Languedoc, cxxxiv, 338, 401, 435, 437, 616
- Baye. *See* Baia.
- Baye des Portes. *See* Baie des Portes.
- Bayes. *See* Baia.
- Bayeux, France, 680
- Bayle (Baile), Pierre, French philosopher and critic, cx–cxi, cxiv–cxvii, 293, 295, 389
- Bay of Bulls, Newfoundland, 267
- Bayonne (Baïonne, Byon), France, cli, 27, 245, 398, 466, 477, 481, 505, 544, 551, 667, 724, 726, 728, 731, 737, 779, 782, 811
 privateers of, lxviii, 701, 705, 726, 730, 733, 783
 shipbuilding at, 730
 rivière de. *See* Adour.
- Beachy Head (Beachy), Sussex, 820
 battle of, liv, 819–20
- Béarn, France, 545, 728
- Beauce, France, 678
- Beauleck, Charles, 1st Duke of St. Albans, 144
- Beaufort, Monsieur de. *See* Vendôme, Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Duc de.
- Beaujeu, Chevalier de, French naval officer, 426, 660, 723, 770
 his ship at La Hougue. *See* ships: *Admirable*.
- Beaulieu, Jérôme Augustin Du Vernay de, French naval officer, 659
- Beaumont, Belgium, 105, 343, 575
- Beauvilliers (Bauvillier, Beauvillier), Paul, Comte de St. Aignan, Duc de, cxlv, 434, 436, 440, 479, 612
- Beauvoir, Richard.
 letter from, 64
- Bedford, house of. *See* Russell, William.
- Beeston, Sir William, Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica.
 letters to, 5, 99
- Bégon, Michel, Intendant de Marine at La Rochelle and Rochefort, xxxiv, xlv, cxiii, cxxxi, clviii, 448, 709, 733, 739, 741, 784
- Behours, Pere. *See* Bouhours.
- Belair, Monsieur de, French naval officer, 672
- Belasyse, Thomas, Earl Fauconberg (Faulconbridge), 28
- Belcastel, Colonel Peter de.

- his regiment of French foot in Allied service, cxxiii, 96
- Belgrade, xcvi, 128, 234, 337, 352, 364, 441, 496, 584, 596, 599, 603, 604, 607, 609, 614, 615, 616, 619
- Belille, Bel Isle, Bel-Isle, Belisle. *See* Belle Ile.
- Bel Isle, Bel-Isle, Monsieur de. *See* Belle-Isle, Jean Erard, Seigneur de.
- Bell, Dr, Scots Jacobite, 108
- Bellamont, Bellamount, Lord. *See* Coote.
- Bellefond (Bellefonds, Bellefons), Bernardin Gigault, Marquis de, Marshal of France, Governor of Vincennes, 358, 376, 408, 409, 410, 413, 417, 431, 453, 528, 534, 545, 673, 675, 771, 775
- Bellefond (Bellefons), Louis Christophle Gigault, Marquis de, son of the preceding, 453
- Bellefontaine de La Malmaison, Jacques Auguste Maynard, bailli de, French naval commander, 522, 660
- Belle Ile (Belille, Bel Isle, Bel-Isle, Belisle, Belle Ile, Belle Isle, Bell-Isle, Bellisle), France, lxxviii, 154, 245, 336, 466, 644, 654, 663, 668, 700, 714, 728, 732, 735, 745, 784
- Belle-Isle-en-Terre (Bellile), France, 757, 758
- Belle-Isle (Bel Isle, Bel-Isle, Belle-Isle-Erard, Bellille), Jean Erard, Seigneur de, French naval commander, 636, 660, 668, 734, 736
- Bellemont, Lord. *See* Coote.
- Bellile. *See* Belle-Isle-en-Terre.
- Bellille, Monsieur de. *See* Belle-Isle, Jean Erard, Seigneur de.
- Bellinghen, Monsieur. *See* Béringhen.
- Bell-Isle, Bellisle. *See* Belle Ile.
- Bellomont, Lord. *See* Coote.
- Benéche, —, Tourville's secretary, 571
his son, 571
- Benedicta Henrietta (of the Palatinate) (Duchesse de Hanovre, Madame d'Hannover), widow of John Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, and sister of the Princesse de Condé, 365, 385, 390
- Benite, Andreas, envoy extraordinary from Bavaria to England.
recredentials for, 62
- Bennet, Henry, 1st Earl of Arlington, 813
- Benoit, Osée.
letter ostensibly from, cxlviii, 718
- Bentheim (Benthem), Count, 234
- Bentinck, Hans Willem, 1st Earl of Portland, xxiv–xxvi, xxviii, xxx, xxxv–xxxvi, lxxviii, lxxxv, xc–xcii, cx, cxv, cxxvii, cxxix–cxxx, cxxxv, cliii, 29, 59, 77, 84, 94, 100, 105, 316
letters from, 126, 220, 232, 820
letter to, 159
wounded at Landen, 203
intermediary for intelligence, 285, 377
his regiment of horse, 20, 96
- Berbadoes. *See* Barbados.
- Berensdorff, Brigadier-General, in Allied service, 190
- Berenstorf. *See* Bernstorf.
- Beresford (Berresford), Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- Bergerac, France, 63
- Bergeret, Jean-Louis, French civil servant and Academician, 531
- Bergeyck (Bergerijck), Jean de Brouchoven, Count of, in Spanish service, 121
letter from, 191
- Beringhan, Monsieur de, 670
- Béringhen (Bellinghen, Beringhem), Jacques Louis, Marquis de, Premier Ecuyer of Louis XIV, 562, 641
- Berkeley (Berkly), Major, Jacobite officer, 61
- Berkeley, Charles, Viscount Dursley (Dorcelay, Durseley) (later 2nd Earl of Berkeley), English envoy extraordinary to the States General, lxxiii, cxvii, 113, 114, 219, 240, 249, 253, 256, 259, 265, 329, 330
letter from, 234
letter to, 221
his secretary. *See* Prior.
- Berkeley, John, 3rd Lord Berkeley (Berkely, Berkley) of Stratton, vice admiral, then admiral of the Blue and colonel of marines and horse, cxl, 28, 67, 154, 163, 189, 193
letters from, 49, 149, 237, 281
letter to, 165
regiment of (called Earl of Berkley's in error), 218
- Berkeley, John, 4th Viscount Fitzhardinge (Fitzhardinge), 240
- Berkenfeldt (Berkenfelt), Prince Christian of, lieutenant-general in Dutch service, 230
- Berkly. *See* Berkeley, Major; Berkeley, John, 3rd Lord Berkeley of Stratton.
- Berlin, Germany, xxix, cviii, 101, 109
letter dated from, 100
- Bernard, Monsieur, medical student in Leyden.
letters ostensibly to, cxxiv, 336–70, 376–80
his alleged family, 337
- Bernau, Madame, directrice of the girls' school at St. Cyr, 379, 380
- Bernay, Marquis de, French officer, 464
- Berne (Bernois), Switzerland, cxxiii, clv, 369, 412, 682
letters dated from, 299, 370
letter from, 684
- Bernikou, Monsieur von, son of Swedish marshal, 33
- Bernstorf (Berenstorf), Andreas Gottlieb von, Hanoverian chancellor, 147
- Berresford, Captain. *See* Beresford.
- Berrick, Duc de. *See* Fitzjames.
- Berry, Duc de. *See* Charles, Duke of Berry.
- Bertaigne. *See* Brittany.
- Bertailat, Monsieur de. *See* Bartillat.
- Berthaume (Bertaume, Berteau, Bertome) Bay, France, 342, 349, 638, 749, 750

- Berthillat, Monsieur de. *See* Bartillat.
- Bertie, James, 1st Earl of Abingdon, 186
- Bertin, Sieur, French treasury official, 340
- Bertome. *See* Berthaume.
- Bertrand, Noël.
letter ostensibly signed by, cxlviii, 717
- Berwick, Duke of. *See* Fitzjames.
- Berwick-upon-Tweed (Barwick, Barwicke), 24, 791
- Besiers. *See* Béziers.
- Besmaus (Besmaux), François de Montlezun de, Governor of the Bastille, 497
- Bessiere, —, surgeon, of Paris, 558–9
- Bessiere, Sieur de, French officer, 344
- Bethlehem (Betlehem), near Louvain, Belgium, 203
- Béthune (Betune), François Annibal, Chevalier de, French naval commander, brother of the following, 660
- Béthune, François Gaston, Marquis de, French ambassador extraordinary to Poland, then Sweden, li, 497
- Béthune, Louis Marie Victoire, Comte de, younger son of the preceding and following, 497
- Béthune, Marie Louise de la Grange d'Arquien, Marquise de, 479, 488, 497
- Betlehem. *See* Bethlehem.
- Beuvron, Lidie de Rochefort de Théobon, Comtesse de, widow of Charles d'Harcourt, Comte de Beuvron, 391, 578, 579
- Beuvron, Marquis de. *See* Harcourt, Henri d'.
- Beveridge, Colonel William.
regiment of, 28, 791
- Béziers (Besiers), France, 351
Bishop's Fort, 351
Hôtel Dieu, 351
- Bezons, Jacques Bazin, Marquis de, maréchal de camp (later Marshal of France), 529
- Bialk, Count. *See* Bielke.
- Bicêtre (Bicestre, Bissestre), hospital, Kremlin-Bicêtre, near Paris, France, 357, 574
- Bidal, Benoît, Baron d'Asfeld (Hasfelt), French agent at Hamburg, brother of expelled French resident, 79
- Bidaut, Monsieur, French naval officer, 522
- Bideford (Bidiford), Devon, lx, 49
- Bielke (Bialk), Count Nils, Swedish field marshal, 60
- Bignon, Jean-Paul, French Abbé, librarian and Academician, cxliv, 539, 565
- Bilbao (Bilbaud, Bilboa, Bilboe), Spain, xliii, lxxviii, cii, 8, 59, 79, 82, 156, 157, 245, 572, 730, 810, 811
- Bingham, Captain, Jacobite, 283
- Birch, James, Jacobite alias, 168
- Birgu. *See* Borgo.
- Biscay (Biscaye, Biskey), Bay of, lxiv, lxxviii, lxxxii, cii, 79, 155, 398, 823
- Bissestre. *See* Bicêtre.
- Blackstakes (Black Stakes), Kent, 17, 25
- Blackwell, (later Sir) Lambert, English consul at Leghorn, c, 148, 149, 152, 158, 329
letter from, 26
- Bladweyd, Monsieur. *See* Blathwayt.
- Blainville, Jules Armand Colbert, Marquis de, French colonel, 453, 455, 456
- Blake, Sir Francis, M.P., xxviii, 262
- Blair (Blare), Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- Blancart, Monsieur. *See* Gaultier, François de.
- Blanchard, le Ras. *See* Alderney, Race of.
- Blanhard, Monsieur. *See* Gaultier, François de.
- Blansac (Blanzac), Charles de La
Rochefoucauld-Roye, Comte de, officer in French service, 485
his late father. *See* Roye.
- Blare, Captain. *See* Blair.
- Blathwayt (Bladweyd, Blathwait, Blathwaitte, Blatwait), William, Secretary at War, x, xv, xvii–xxi, xxiii–xxiv, xxix, xlix, lvii, lxiv–lxix, lxxi–lxxii, lxxiv, lxxvii, lxxix, lxxxii–lxxxv, xc–xciii, xcv, xcvi, ci, cv–cviii, cxii, cxiv, cxvi, cxix, cxxxvi, cxxviii–cxxx, cxxxv, cxlvi, cl, clii–cliv, 30, 31, 33, 116, 165, 189, 251, 279, 324, 334, 670, 675, 678
letters from, xxiii–xxiv, xxvi, 67, 72, 75, 78, 83, 88, 89, 90, 95, 99, 100, 105, 110, 113, 115, 116, 120, 121, 122, 125, 129, 131, 136, 141, 144, 146, 149, 152, 157, 158, 162, 172, 173, 176, 180, 182, 187, 190, 193, 195, 196, 198, 201, 206, 207, 215, 219, 225, 226, 230, 231, 233, 234, 240, 244, 246, 248, 253, 254, 255, 258, 260, 263, 265, 273, 277
letters to, xxiii, xxvi, 56, 73, 76, 79, 84, 87, 92, 95, 100, 102, 105, 109, 111, 114, 117, 121, 122, 123, 126, 130, 133, 137, 142, 145, 147, 150, 153, 158, 163, 174, 178, 181, 182, 186, 188, 192, 194, 195, 198, 200, 204, 208, 218, 221, 222, 225, 229, 231, 232, 234, 236, 238, 242, 249, 250, 253, 255, 256, 258, 259, 264, 265, 269, 272, 273, 274
petitions for reward for extraordinary service, xx–xxi, 173, 198
to be briefed about Jurieu's arrangements, 295
- Blaye, France, 727, 737
- Blénac, Comte de, French naval officer, 635
- Blénac, Marquis de, French naval officer, 522, 660, 722
- Blénac (Blénacq), Charles de Courbon-Blénac, Comte de, French naval officer and Governor-General of the Iles d'Amérique, based at Martinique, cvi, 373, 644, 668, 690, 692, 712, 715, 735, 738, 740
- Blois, Mademoiselle de. *See* Françoise Marie.
- Blount, Charles, 18, 19
- Bludworth, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Bodinnick (Brodinick), Cornwall, 87
- Bodwin, Mr, merchant of London, 141

- Bohun (Bohan), Edmund, licenser of publications, 18, 19
- Boileau *or* Boilleau, Sieur, French receiver-general in Dauphiné, 510, 513, 517
- Boileau-Despréaux (Des Préaux), Nicolas, French poet, literary critic and Academician, cxliv, 503, 630
- Bois de Soignys. *See* Soignies.
- Bois-le-Duc *or* 's Hertogenbosch, Netherlands, 216, 220
- Boisrond, Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel, 230
- Boissard, Monsieur, merchant of Rotterdam. letter ostensibly to, 688
- Boisseleau (Boisselot), Alexandre Rainier de Droué de, French major-general, Governor of Charlevoi, 622
- Bolbec (Boslebec), France, 678
- Bologna (Boulougne, Boulongne), Italy, 359, 465
- Bolton, Duke of. *See* Paulet.
- Bommelaer, Gaspard, captain of French spy sloop *Boussole*, 799
- Boncour, Colonel Elias. regiment of, 218
- Bonican, Monsieur, 29
- Bon Repaus, Bonrepaux, Bon Repos, Bonrepose, Monsieur de. *See* D'Usson, François.
- Bonzi *or* Bonzy, Pierre de, Cardinal Archbishop of Narbonne, 351, 526 (as a former ambassador to Poland), 629
- books and poems, cxliv
- Aeneid*, by Virgil, 340, 341
- Ars Poetica*, by Horace, 414
- Avis important aux refugiez sur leur prochain retour en France*, by Bayle, 389
- Caractères des Passions*, by La Chambre, 539
- Caractères de Théophraste*, by La Bruyère, 539
- Confession Catholique du Sieur de Sancy*, satire by Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, published in London as *Hell Illuminated*. *Or, Sancy's Roman Catholick Confession* (1679) and *The Catholick Confession of Monsieur de Sancy* (1686), cxliv, 631
- De la Tolérance des Religions*, by Pelisson, 412
- Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, ed. Regnier des Marais, 580
- Dictionnaire Universel*, of Furetière, 579
- [*Grand*] *Dictionnaire [Historique]*, of Moréri, ed. Le Clerc, 579
- Du Genie de la Politique du Cardinal de Richelieu*, allegedly by Croissy and dedicated to Louis XIV (but title of non-existent work, satirising their lack of statecraft), 515
- Essays*, by Montaigne, 412
- Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes*, by Fléchier, 540
- Journal [Histoire] des Ouvrages des Savans*, 503
- King William and Queen Mary Conquerors*, by Blount, 18, 20
- Medée*, lyric tragedy by Thomas Corneille with music by Marc-Antoine Charpentier, 610–11
- Metamorphoses (la Metamorphose)*, by Ovid, 340, 341, 420
- Neptune François*, by Jaillot and Cassini, 539
- Odes*, by Horace, 421
- Parallèles des Anciens et des Modernes*, by Perrault, 503
- Pastoral Letter*, by Burnet, 18, 24, 522
- [*Quatre*] *Lettres à M. l'Abbé de la Trappe*, by Ste. Marthe, 507, 579
- Recueil de quelques pièces qui concernent les quatre lettres*, by Ste. Marthe, 579
- Satire X ... contre les Femmes*, by Boileau, 630
- Traité de la Sagesse*, allegedly by the Duc de La Feuillade and dedicated to the Duc de la Meilleraye (but title of non-existent work, satirising their amours), 511–12
- Vocabulario della Crusea (Dictionnaire de la Crusea)*, 500
- See also* music and musicians; plays and players; and under place names for Gazettes.
- Boose *or* Roose, Captain Jean, master of Swedish ship *Stockholm*, 105
- Booth, George. his petition for a lease of West Ham manor, 75, 84
- Booth, Henry, 1st Earl of Warrington, 29
- Borchworm. *See* Broekom.
- Borckloen. *See* Borgloon.
- Borckworm. *See* Broekom.
- Bordeaux (Bourdeaux), France, xliii, lxxx, cxxxi, clv, 192, 245, 317, 509, 589, 643, 662, 663, 668, 671, 717, 734, 737, 741
- letter dated from, 800
- letters dated from, mentioned, 333, 716, 717
- ships at, 481, 544, 732, 782
- Parlement of, 531
- privateers of, 730
- proposals to seize, 788
- Château Trompette, 714, 788
- rivière de. *See* Garonne; Gironde.
- Borders [of Scotland], the, 201
- Borgloon (Borckloen), Belgium, 194, 207
- Borgo *or* Birgu (le Bourg), now Vittoriosa, Malta, 517
- St. Lawrence church (St. Laurens), 517
- Borgomañero, Don Carlo Emanuele d'Este, Marqués de, Spanish ambassador to the Emperor, 795
- Bosanquet (Bousanquet), Jaques, *alias* Jean de Marais, 813
- Boslebec. *See* Bolbec.
- Bosquet, jardin du. *See* Buskett Gardens.
- Bossell, Monsieur van. *See* Bostel.
- Bossu, le. *See* Luxembourg, François Henri de Montmorency, Duc de.

- Bossuet, Jacques Benigne, Bishop of Meaux, French controversialist, cxliv, 513
- Bossut, Belgium, 147
- Bostel, Lucas von (van Bossell), envoy from Hamburg to England, 49, 50, 62
pass for, 62
- Boston (Baston), Mass., cvi–cvii, 61, 245, 266, 268, 274, 708
- Boucherat, Louis, Chancellor of France, 418, 428, 448, 451, 485–6, 492, 553
- Bouchu, Etienne Jean, Intendant of Dauphiné, 384, 469, 639
- Boufflers (Boufflers), Louis François, Duc de, Marshal of France, 8, 23, 141, 144, 360, 366, 382, 383, 394, 395, 406, 430, 433, 438, 445, 483, 489, 494, 533, 537, 540, 543, 544, 545, 562, 606, 639, 641
his appointment to the guards, 386, 392
and the Duchesse de Lesdiguières, 405
strength of his forces in Flanders, lxxxviii, xciii, 421
in favour, 514
made Marshal of France, 528
his general officers in Germany, 529, 562–3
infantry regiment of, 562
cavalry squadrons of, 563
- Boughton House (Boughton), Northants., 243
- Bouhours (Behours), Dominique, Jesuit author, 362
- Bouillon, Emanuel Théodose de La Tour, Cardinal de, brother of Godefroy Maurice, Duc de Bouillon, 455, 526
- Bouillon, Frédéric Jules de La Tour, Chevalier de, third son of the following, 511, 520, 523
- Bouillon, Godefroy Maurice de La Tour, Duc de Bouillon, Grand Chamberlain of France.
as father of the Prince de Turenne, Duc d'Albret and Chevalier de Bouillon, 455, 511, 521
- Bouillon, Marie Anne Mancini, Duchesse de, wife of the preceding, 365 (as Princesse de Turenne), 385, 390
and her sons, 455
- Boulogne (Bullion), France, xl–xli, 34, 551
- Boulongne. *See* Bologna.
- Bourbon. *See* Bourbonne-les-Bains.
- Bourbonnais (le Bourbonnois), France, 387
regiment of, 453
- Bourbonne-les-Bains (Bourbon), France, 436, 444, 446, 447
- Bourdeaux. *See* Bordeaux.
- Bourg, le. *See* Borgo.
- Bourg, Monsieur de, French maréchal de camp, 529
- Bourg d'Oisans (le bourg d'Oisan, Oissans, Orsan), France, 472, 475, 478
- Bourget, le. *See* Le Bourget.
- Bourgogne, Bourgogne. *See* Burgundy.
- Bourigault, —, brother-in-law of Etienne Caillaud, merchant and Allied agent at Rochefort, clv–clvii, 333, 334
- letter from, 671
- Bourlie, Monsieur de la. *See* Guiscard, George de.
- Bournonville, Marie Françoise de, daughter and heiress of the Duc de Bournonville and wife of the Duc de Noailles.
verses on, 399
- Bousanquet, Jaques. *See* Bosanquet.
- Boutersem, Belgium, 203
- Bovett, Richard.
information from, 808–9
- Bovy, James, of Newtown, 179
- Bowles, Phineas, former Secretary of the Admiralty, 38, 78, 190, 192
- Boyer, Chevalier, knight of Malta and galley captain, 518
- Boyer, Claude, Abbé, French playwright, 498
- Boyle, Michael, Archbishop of Armagh, 237
- Brabant, Belgium, 15, 37, 125, 591, 593, 594
- Brabazon, Edward, 4th Earl of Meath, 88, 95, 130
- Brac, Colonel de, in French service in Savoy, 362
- Braconier, Braconnier (Braconis), Sieur de, or P. Brisson, French army officer and Allied agent in Paris, cxiii, cxxiii–cxxx, cxlvi
letters from, 368–80 *passim*
letters to, 370–81 *passim*
reports to Jurieu, 294, 295, 296, 312, 313
suspected of playing a double game, 307, 308
letter of introduction from Coxe for, 368
his valet de chambre. *See* Giraud, Elisée.
- Brandenburg (Brandebourg, Brandenburg), xxix, li, 212
ships of, 24, 25, 88
troops of, in Allied service, 194, 199, 202, 213
Prince of, 202
regiment of, in Allied service, 121, 202, 217
Elector of. *See* Frederick III.
envoy extraordinary from, to England. *See* Danckelmann, Thomas Ernst von.
- Brandenburg-Ansbach, Christian Albert, Margrave of (Prince aîné d'Anspach), 495
- Bray, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Breadalbane, Earl of. *See* Campbell.
- Brest. *See* Brest.
- Brèche d'Hermanville, la. *See* Hermanville.
- Breda, Netherlands, 110, 130
letters dated from, 115, 116
news dated from, 115, 116
- Brée, fort de la. *See* Fort de la Prée.
- Bregis, Madame de, 539–40
daughter of. *See* Descaux.
sons of, 540
- Brentford, Middlesex.
Red Lion (Ridd Lyon), 283
- Brereton, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61

- Bressé (Bressay), Jean Claude de Bressy de
Belfry, Comte de, French general in
Spanish, then French service, 406, 421,
423, 436, 440, 529
his wife, 406
- Brest (Breast, Brist), France, xxi, xlv, liii, lv,
lxiii, lxvii–lxviii, lxxi, lxxxi, cxiv, cxvii,
cxxxviii, clv–clvi, 3, 15, 20, 22, 27,
29, 35, 37, 38, 64, 68, 194, 245, 257, 273,
277, 307, 319, 338, 342, 343, 345, 346,
349, 356, 360, 375, 401, 415, 419, 424,
429, 432, 439, 441, 443, 459, 470, 474,
505, 519, 524, 527, 528, 566, 601, 604,
605, 608, 643, 644, 647, 674, 700, 705,
708, 717, 721, 726, 734, 736, 738, 768
letters dated from, 648, 651
news dated from, 36
news from, 417, 442, 450, 495, 772
lists of ships at, 118, 323, 325, 427, 554, 635,
649, 652, 658–9, 696, 818
reports on ships at, cli–cliv, clvi–clvii, 79–80,
320, 350, 351, 354, 358, 366, 374, 382,
385, 445, 447, 451, 455, 456, 469, 476,
544, 549, 551, 553, 627, 628, 646, 657,
662, 664, 665, 668, 669, 702, 710, 711,
712, 713, 716, 718, 723, 724, 726, 727,
728, 731, 733, 735, 737, 755, 756, 770,
775, 776, 784, 785, 829
reports on shipbuilding at, cl–cli, 391, 444,
455–6, 481, 521, 655, 666, 730, 732, 740,
779, 782
reports on defences of, cxl, 447, 654, 750–6,
761–3, 770
report on route from, to Rennes, cxxxvii,
756, 758–61
report on route from, to St. Malo, 756–8,
760–1
Allies urged to blockade more closely in
1691, 701, 702, 706
Tourville sails from, in 1692, 377, 770
Tourville sails from, in 1693, 146, 572
Châteaurenault sails from, 322, 658
Châteaurenault returning to, 635
plans to attack, xxiv, xlv, cxxxv, 120, 126
found empty, lxviii–lxix, 154, 155
agent to be sent to, cxlvi–cxlvii, cl–clvii,
290, 310, 311, 313, 315, 323, 324, 325,
326, 327, 328, 330, 331, 332, 333, 624
two thousand sick sailors disembarked at, 339
Fontaines a prisoner at, 745, 746, 747, 748
naval officers in, to be approached by
Graviset, 813
its strategic importance, lxxii–lxxiii, 823
privateers of, 479, 493
Intendant de Marine at. *See* Desclouseaux.
Baye de, 724, 737
See also Brest: Rade.
Château, 714
Fort Mingant [on the north side of the
Goulet], 750, 761, 762, 763, 770
Rade, *passim*
Recouvrance (Recouvrance), 753, 754, 755,
770
St. Pierre, 753
Bretagne. *See* Brittany.
Bretesche, Monsieur de la. *See* La Bretesche.
Breteuil, François Le Tonnellier de, French
Intendant des Finances, 7472, 513
Bretten, Germany, 17
Breval, Mademoiselle de, 536
Briançon, France, 37, 395, 456, 458, 460, 464,
469, 484, 641
news from, 451
Bridgeman (Bridgman), William, under
secretary of state, xxii, xxv, 270
Bridges, Sir Matthew, captain in (later colonel
of) St. George's regiment, 106
letters to, 178, 179
Bridgman, Mr. *See* Bridgeman.
Bridgwater, Lord. *See* Egerton.
Brie, France.
wine of, 401
Brielle (the Brill), Netherlands, cxix, 258, 265
Brist. *See* Brest.
Bristol (Bristock, Bristoll), 26, 179, 211, 212,
245, 272
Mayor of. *See* Yate.
Bristol Channel (rade de Bristol), 150, 479
Bristol. *See* Bristol.
Brittany (Bertaigne, Bretagne), France, *passim*
French troops in, xciii, 15, 99, 257, 376, 464,
522, 538, 541, 545, 621, 660, 674, 677
Jacobite troops in, 794
militia regiment of, 439, 441
militia of, 458, 757
dragoon regiment of, 461
regiment of, 625
privateers of, 767
ships in ports of, 796
ships off, lxxi, 519
discontent in, 224, 552, 561, 760
arrangements for intelligence from,
xxxviii–xxxix, cxlix–clvii, 326, 331, 340,
361, 575
Parlement of, xxxi, 560, 746, 747, 748, 760
women of, 579
Philip of Orléans reports on conditions in,
cxlv, 612
difficulties of travelling in, cl, 647, 651,
653–4
nobility of, untrustworthy, 771
Governor of. *See* Chaulnes, Duc de.
Intendant of. *See* Pommereuil.
Brocas, John, brother of the following, 695
Brocas, Mary (later wife of Captain Paul Robert
La Mouline), daughter of the following, 695
Brocas de Hondespains, Peter, French
Protestant minister, cxxxii
letter from, 694
Brocket, William, comptroller of the foreign
post office, xlviii, 61
Brodinnick. *See* Bodinnick.

- Broekom (Borchworm, Borckworm), Belgium, 191, 217
- Brooke House Committee, 815
- Broom *or* Broome, Mr, of Herefs., Jacobite, 143, 145
- Brouage (Brouages), France, 724, 737, 781, 784
section of, offered by agent, 780
- Broué, Comte de. *See* Bruay.
- Broughton, George *alias* Hugh, English consul at Venice, 188, 197
letter from, 181
- Browne, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Bruay (Broué), Comte de, major-general in Allied service in Flanders, 220
- Bruce, Thomas, 2nd Earl of Ailesbury, xl–xli, 36
- Bruges (Bruge), Belgium, 130, 210
- Brulart de Genlis, Charles, Archbishop of Embrun, 462
- Brulet, Sieur, French naval officer, 427
- Brunswick (Brumswyck), Germany, 798
- Brunswick, Brunswick-Lüneburg, Dukes of.
See Ernest Augustus; George William.
- Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (Wolfenbuttle), Anton Ulrich, Duke of, 281
- Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (Wolfenbuttle), Rudolf Augustus, Duke of, 281
his son-in-law. *See* Holstein-Plön.
- Brunzuik, maison de. *See* Ernest Augustus; George William.
- Brussels (Bruselles, Brusselles, Brussels, Bruxelles, Bruxelles, Bruxells), lxxxviii–lxxxix, c, 3, 24, 105, 115, 121, 131, 150, 158, 162, 172, 207, 209, 220, 228, 232, 235, 248, 263, 319, 377, 404, 440, 446, 492, 530, 533, 559, 563, 591, 670
news dated from, 147
inhabitants destroy William III's barge after loss of Namur, 430
French designs on, 598, 640, 641
- Bruyninx (Bruynieux), Jacob Jan Hamel, Dutch chargé d'affaires at Vienna, 39, 106
letters to, 10, 12
- Bryas, Jacques Théodore de, Archbishop of Cambrai (d.1694), 629
- Buda (Bude), Hungary, 89, 502
- Bullion. *See* Boulogne.
- Bullonde, Monsieur de, French officer serving in Italy, 548
- Bunsbeek (Bunsbeck), Belgium, 147
- Burchett, Josiah, secretary to Admiral Russell.
list of ships signed by, 821
- Burgundy (Bourgogne, Bourgogne), 209, 355, 527, 539
dragoons of, 391
failure of 1692 vintage in, 448
Duke of. *See* Louis.
Grand Admiral of. *See* Holstein-Plön.
- Buriasco (Buriasque), Italy, 219, 487, 574
- Burke, Colonel Walter, Jacobite officer, 61, 283
- Burnet (Burnetti), Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury, clviii, 18, 24, 522
- Busca, Monsieur de, French lieutenant-general, 529
- Buskett Gardens (jardin du Bosquet), Malta, 517
- Bussiére, la. *See* Labuissière.
- Bussy-Rabutin, Roger de, French officer, author and Academician, 539
- Butler, Mrs, French Roman Catholic living in London, xxviii, 318
- Butler, James, 2nd Earl of Ormonde (Ormon, Ormond, Ormont), 283
attends William III, 72
wounded and captured by the French, 203, 207, 209, 217, 221, 592
his exchange, lxxiv, 207, 228, 232
kindly received by William III, 235
petition by his troops for recall, 282
- Butler, Piers, 3rd Viscount Galmoy, 13
- Butler, William, suspected Jacobite, 208
- Butley, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Byon. *See* Bayonne.
- Cabinet Council *or* Committee (Lords of the Committee), appointed to advise Queen Mary during the King's absences abroad, xxi, xliii, lxxvii–lxix, lxxvii–lxxviii, lxxxii, xcvi, xcvi, c, cxliv, cxlvii, 87, 92, 96, 102, 103, 106, 116, 120, 121, 127, 138, 151, 169, 174, 178, 182, 183, 188, 190, 195, 196, 208, 215, 221, 222, 225, 226, 229, 231, 232, 240, 242, 244, 246, 250, 829
minutes of, ix, xv, xxvi, 820
petition to, mentioned, 93
- Cabo da Roca (Cap de la Roque), Portugal, 158, 567
- Cabo de Santa Maria (Cap de Ste. Marie), Portugal, 156
- Cadiz (Cadis, Cadix, Cales), Spain, lxxv, lxxvii–lxix, cxliii, 48, 53, 127, 128, 131, 136, 153, 154, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164, 173, 174, 175, 196, 212, 222, 224, 226, 245, 255, 329, 351, 409, 469, 470, 481, 557, 560, 561, 566, 567, 572, 573, 577, 580, 582, 585, 586, 728, 729, 739, 741, 807, 823
letters dated from, 156–7, 583–4, 818
- Puntales (Puntalen), 157, 584
- San Sebastian (St. Sabastian), 808
- English consul at. *See* Westcombe.
- Caen, France, xxviii, cl, 321, 646, 669, 670
letters dated from, 673, 674, 677, 678, 679
letter from, 316
letters from, mentioned, 673, 679
Intendant of. *See* Foucault.
suspected assassin from, 316–19, 676
- Caesar, Julius (Jules Cesar), 527, 558
- Caillaud (Cailland, Cailleau), Etienne (Estienne), merchant of Rotterdam, lxxiv, cxii, civ–cxv, cxix, cxvii, cxxx–cxxxii, cxxxiv, cxl, cxlii, cxlvi, cl, clv–clviii

- good friend to the Allies, 329, 334
used as accommodation address for
Braconnier's reports, cxxiv–cxxv, 339, 368
his brother, a captive at Algiers, 329
his brother-in-law. *See* Bourigault.
- Caille, —, French Protestant refugee,
possibly the preceding, 547
- Cajette. *See* Gaeta.
- Calais (Callais, Calles, Callice, Callis), clv, 18,
21, 81, 134, 135, 141, 282, 460, 575, 648,
661, 724, 790
smuggling of goods and intelligence through,
xxxix–xlii, lxxiv, 640, 791
privateers of, 767
- Cales. *See* Cadiz.
- Caligula, Roman emperor, 509
- Calles, Callice, Callis. *See* Calais.
- Calvin, John, 709
- Camaret, Camaret Bay, France, lxxviii, cxl, 708
report on its defences and plans of attack,
761–3
- Camarthen, Lord. *See* Osborne, Thomas.
- Cambon, Brigadier-General François du, 230, 303
his regiment of French foot in Allied service,
96, 231, 687
- Cambout, Mademoiselle du (?Armande
Madeleine du, later Comtesse de
Mérimville), 536
- Cambout, Jacques, Marquis du, French
brigadier and colonel of dragoons, 475
- Cambrai (Cambray), France, 402
Archbishop of. *See* Bryas.
- Cambron, abbey of, Belgium, 233
- Cameronians, 14
- Camiane. *See* Cumiana.
- Caminiec, Caminiets. *See* Kamenets Podolskiy.
- Campbell (Kambell), —, Irish priest, 167
- Campbell (Campbel), Captain, Jacobite officer,
61
- Campbell, Archibald, 10th Earl (later 1st Duke)
of Argyll (Argile).
regiment of, 130, 181, 190, 191
- Campbell, John, 1st Earl of Breadalbane.
letter from, lxxix, 57
- Camus. *See* Le Camus.
- Canada, lvi, civ, cvii, 45, 157, 371, 644, 662,
666, 715, 731, 732, 738, 783, 785
river of. *See* St. Lawrence.
- Canal, le. *See* Channel, English.
- Canaples, Alfonse de Créquy, Comte de (later
Duc de Lesdiguieres), uncle of the
Marquis de Créquy, 382, 565
- Canary Islands (Canarie, the Canaries), 104,
191, 194, 580, 827
Canary wine, cxxii, 651
- Cancale (Cancalle), France, lxxv, 675, 771
- Cancale Bay (Concaule Beay) (now Baie du
Mont St. Michel), France, 224
- Canea (la Canée), Crete, xcvi, 482, 491, 496
- Canning (Caning), William or John, Jacobite
printer and bookseller, 129
- Cannon (Canon), Colonel Alexander, Jacobite
officer, 718
- Canterbury (Cantorbery, Cantorbury), Kent,
xlii, cxx, cxxxv, 111, 134, 694
Archbishop of. *See* Tillotson.
postmaster of. *See* Woodgate.
- Cap de Finister, Cap de Finistere, Cap de
Finisterre. *See* Cape Finisterre.
- Cap de la Roque. *See* Cabo da Roca.
- Cap de Ste. Marie. *See* Cabo de Santa Maria.
- Cap de St. Vincent. *See* Cape St. Vincent.
- Cape Finister (Cap de Finister, Cap de
Finistere, Cap de Finisterre, Cap
Finisterre, North Cape, Northward Cape),
Spain, 68, 154, 158, 162, 163, 164, 470,
572, 641, 644, 705, 711, 785
- Capel, John, 261–3
- Capell, Algernon, 2nd Earl of Essex, 72, 240
- Capell or Capel, Henry, Lord Capell of
Tewkesbury, Lord Justice, lxxvii–lxxix,
29, 158, 173, 183, 188, 189, 204
- Cape St. Vincent (Cap de St. Vincent, Cap St.
Vincent, Southern Cape), Portugal, cii,
156, 162, 163, 484, 572, 573, 577, 742,
807, 808
- Cap Haitien (le Cap), Haiti, 703
- Caprara, Count Aeneas Sylvius von, Allied
general, 119, 219, 434, 446, 447, 451, 641
- Cap St. Vincent. *See* Cape St. Vincent.
- Caraffa, Countess, wife of the following, 464
- Caraffa (Carraffa), Anton, Count, Imperial field
marshal, 20, 23, 336, 464–5, 469, 491, 639
- Cardel, ?Isaac, merchant, of London, 811
- Carentan (Carenten, Corantie), France, 321
French strength at, 798
- Carhaix (Carhê), France, 759
- Caribbean (Charibbee, Charibby, Charibee) Sea,
Islands and plantations in, xlvi, cvi, 45,
197, 206, 240
- Carignan, Emanuel Philibert, Prince of, 497, 516
- Carignan, Marie, Princess of (d.1692), daughter
of Charles, Comte de Soissons, widow of
Thomas, Prince of Carignan, mother of the
preceding and grandmother of the
following (and of Eugene of Savoy), 523
- Carignan, Victor Amadeus, Prince of, son of the
preceding, 497, 516
- Carignano (Carignan), Italy, 352, 355, 494, 618
- Carisbrooke (Carisbrook) Castle, Isle of Wight,
825
- Carlisle.
appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of, 138,
144, 181
Governor of. *See* Howard, Charles.
- Carlisle, Lord. *See* Howard, Charles.
- Carmagnola (Carmagnole), Italy, 340, 350, 354,
357
- Carmarthen, Marquess of. *See* Osborne, Thomas.
- Carmelites, 536, 640
- Carney or Kearney, Sir Charles, Jacobite
colonel in French service, 263

- Carolina, 14
 Carraffa. *See* Caraffa.
 Carrickfergus, co. Antrim, 178
 Carriere, Monsieur, name or pseudonym of
 French Protestant pastor, ostensibly
 merchant of Paris, cxxxii
 letter from, 688
 Carter, Richard, rear admiral of the Blue, 19
 Carteret (Carterett), Lady, said to be wife of
 Captain Wauchope, 283
 Carville, Marquis de, captain of the Duke of
 Savoy's guards, 620
 Cary, Anthony, 5th Viscount Falkland,
 Commissioner of the Admiralty, lix, 43, 64
 Casale [Monferrato] (Casal, Cazal), Italy, xciv,
 xcvi, 401, 416, 424, 435, 437, 478, 482,
 497, 499, 504, 506, 507, 510, 534, 538,
 550, 570, 577, 627, 628, 703, 796
 suspected poisoner from. *See* Granville,
 Madame de.
 Casquets (Casketts, Casquetts), the, Channel
 Islands, 722, 749
 Casse, Monsieur du. *See* Ducasse.
 Castagnères. *See* Chateaufort.
 Castile (Castille), Juan Tomás Enriquez de
 Cabrera y Toledo, Admiral of, Conde de
 Melgar, Spanish secretary of state, 604
 Castillo Faxardo, Francisco del (later Marqués
 de Villadarias), captain general of Spanish
 artillery, Lieutenant-Governor of
 Charleroi, xciii, 260, 608
 letter from, 248
 Castleton, Lord. *See* Saunderson.
 Catalonia (Catalogna, Catalogne, Catalougne,
 Cataluña), Spain, lxxxviii, xcvi, ciii, 137,
 146, 147, 227, 254, 344, 353, 373, 463,
 514, 545, 546, 562, 570, 572, 595, 596,
 598, 599, 608, 614, 615, 619, 627, 634,
 638, 681, 682
 troops of, in Allied service in Savoy, 234, 340
 Catania. *See* Catinat.
 Catania (Catenea), Sicily, 518
 Catelet, the. *See* Le Catelet.
 Catenea. *See* Catania.
 Catherine, Duchess of Savoy (d.1597), daughter
 of Philip II of Spain, wife of Charles
 Emmanuel I and great-grandmother
 (trisayeule) of Victor Amadeus, 550
 Catherine (of Braganza), Queen Dowager of
 England (Reine douairiere d'Angleterre),
 ciii, 180, 218, 404, 418, 420, 673, 674
 Catinat (Catanat, Cattinat, Cattanatt, Catinat,
 Cattinatt, Cattinet), Nicolas de, Marshal of
 France, xciii–xciv, xcvi, 3, 8, 20, 22, 37,
 199, 234, 245, 258, 337, 340, 342, 345,
 350, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 362, 363,
 374, 382, 383, 384, 389, 404, 418, 423,
 424, 429, 432, 435, 437, 438, 441, 443,
 446, 450, 454, 456, 457, 458, 460, 461,
 462, 464, 465, 469, 472, 473, 475, 477,
 478, 484, 486, 493, 501, 505, 512, 544,
 567, 578, 588, 589, 592, 593, 596, 597,
 599, 602, 605, 616, 618, 627, 633, 637,
 641, 681, 706, 727, 729
 verses on, 630–1
 his victory at Marsaglia, xcvi, 260, 263,
 620–5
 hurt in riding accident, 348–9
 Montmélian capitulates to, 364
 made Marshal of France, 528
 his general officers in Italy, 529
 letter from, summarised, 796
 Catinat, Pierre, Seigneur de la Fauconnière,
 Conseiller au Parlement de Paris, father of
 the preceding and following, 631
 Catinat, René, eldest son of the preceding,
 Conseiller au Parlement de Paris, 631
 Cattinat, Marshall of France, 528
 Cattinat, Catinat, Cattanatt, Catinat.
 See Catinat, Nicolas de.
 Caugoulin, Monsieur de. *See* Cogolin.
 Caulet, Giovanni Giorgio, Chevalier de, Knight
 of Malta and commander of galleys, 518
 Caumartin de Boissy, Louis François Le Fèvre
 de, Intendant des Finances, 535
 Cauny. *See* Coni.
 Cauvier or Canvier, Provençal captain of
 Tourville's fireship, 768
 Caux (Cauxs), Pays (Païs) de, France, cxxxvii,
 673, 680, 748, 790
 letter dated from, 678
 proposal for descent on, cxxxvi, 687
 Lieutenant-General of. *See* Fontaines.
 Cavalier, Cavalier, le. *See* Le Cavalier.
 Cavallerini (Cavallérini, Cavalleriny), Giovanni
 Giacomo (later Cardinal), papal nuncio to
 France, xci, 424, 446, 452, 491, 562, 590,
 610, 615
 Cavendish, William, 4th Earl (and later 1st
 Duke) of Devonshire, Lord Steward of the
 Household, lxxvii, 117, 183
 Cavois, —, criminal, of Paris, 508
 Cavoie (Cavois), Louis d'Oger, Marquis de,
 Grand Maréchal des Logis du Roi, xxx, 485
 regiment of, 562
 Cazal. *See* Casale.
 Cazaux, fort en l'Isle de. *See* Fort Pâté.
 Cecil, James, 4th Earl of Salisbury, 61, 283
 Ceinglein or St. Glen, Maria Patoilla, widow of
 Gabriel de, editor of Rotterdam Gazette,
 cxxx, 329
 Celle (Cell, Zell), Germany, li
 letter dated from, 280
 Duke of. *See* George William.
 Cerclas, Cerclas de Tilly, Count de. *See* Tilly,
 Albert Octavius.
 Cervon, French cavalry regiment of, 385
 Cesar. *See* Caesar.
 Ceuta, Spanish Morocco, 420
 Cévennes, Cévennois (Sevénes, Sevenots),
 France, cxxxiv, 338, 405, 461, 475
 Chabert, Captain (later Admiral), French naval
 commander (d.1711), 522

- Chabert, Sieur, former French consul in Holland, lxiii, 709, 727
- Chabert, Jean-Baptiste, maître constructeur des galères du Roi, xlv, 549–50 (as unnamed designer of earlier submarine)
- Chalais, Jean François Florent de Laigle, Chevalier de, French naval officer, 659, 723
- Chalard, Monsieur de *or* du. *See* Du Chalard.
- Chamarande (Chamarante), Louis d'Ornaison, Comte de, French army officer, 527
- Chambéry (Chamberi), France, 346, 384, 404
- Chamelin, Monsieur de. *See* Des Nos de Champmeslin.
- Chamillart (Chamillard), Michel de, French Intendant of Finances, 426
- Chamilly, Noël Bouton, Comte de (later Marshal of France), 528
- Chamlay *or* Chanlay (Chamlays, Chanlais, Chanlest, Chanlet, Chanley, Signalay), Jules Louis Bolé, Marquis de, 548
- letter to, 199
- sent to compose differences between French generals in Piedmont in 1691, xciv, 342, 344, 345, 351
- sent with proposals to the Duke of Savoy in 1692, 374, 375, 382, 384, 389, 392, 394, 395, 397, 399, 401, 405
- joins Dauphin on Rhine in 1693, 199, 568, 574
- ill at Strasbourg, 604
- sent to Piedmont again in 1693, 621, 623, 627, 633
- Allied agent would be better placed in his service than that of Luxembourg or Maine, 377
- consulted by Louis XIV, 388, 466, 479, 501, 569
- may replace Barbezieux, 480
- make take charge of munitions and supplies, xxxii, 484, 486
- Chamelin, Monsieur de. *See* Des Nos de Champmeslin.
- Champagne, France, 624
- wine of, cxlv, 401, 448, 513, 538
- regiment of, 453, 562
- Champigny, Monsieur de, French naval officer, 628, 636, 660
- Chanlais, Chanlay, Chanlest, Chanlet, Chanley. *See* Chamlay.
- Channel, English (le Canal, la Manche), *passim*
- Channel Islands, lxxv–lxxvi. *See also* Alderney; Casquets, the; Guernsey; Jersey; Sark.
- Chanter, —, Jacobite, 260
- Chantilly (Chantilli), France, 37, 402, 403, 411, 419, 503, 509, 515, 516, 519, 520, 543, 548, 677
- Chanvallon. *See* Harlay, François de, Marquis de Champvallon.
- Chapus, le, Pointe du Chapus, France, 720, 726, 781, 785
- Charente (Charante, rivière de Rochefort), France, cxxxiv–cxxxv, cxlvii, cxlix, cli, clv, clvii, 373, 374, 704, 720, 724, 730, 741, 781, 783, 784, 802
- plan of river mouth (l'entrée de Rochefort) offered by agent, 778
- commanded by fortress on Ile d'Aix, 669, 736
- Charibbee, Charibby, Charibee Islands. *See* Caribbean.
- Charlemont, fort near Givet, France, 469
- Charleroi (Charleroy, Charles Roy), Belgium, xix, lxxxvii–lxxxix, xciii, xcvi, 15, 141, 146, 150, 153, 162, 172, 212, 230, 231, 232, 234, 240, 245, 246, 253, 254, 256, 258, 312, 423, 433, 449, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491–2, 493, 494, 516, 521, 529, 530, 581, 593, 596, 597, 599, 606, 607, 608, 611, 612, 613, 614, 616, 617, 619, 621, 622, 786
- letter dated from, 248
- capitulation of, 260, 263
- Allied Governor of. *See* Castillo Faxardo; Pimentel.
- French Governor of. *See* Boisseleau.
- Brussels (Brusselles) gate, 248
- Garenne, the, 248
- Orme gate, 248
- Tatarde gate, 248
- Charles I, King of England.
- fatal delay in calling Parliament, lxxviii, 185
- Charles II, King of England, xxxvi, xxxix, xlvii, 816, 826
- Charles II, King of Spain, 20, 40, 364, 392, 448, 457, 567
- note of letters from, 56
- to be written to, 229
- his incapacity, 394, 634
- Charles IV, Emperor, 23
- Charles XI, King of Sweden, lxxxiii, lxxxv, 5, 278, 279, 358, 378, 388, 574, 585, 609
- recredentials to, 61
- fear of, deters Danes from declaring for France, 514, 519
- may provide warships for French service, 724, 773
- as potential mediator, 611, 795
- Charles, Duke of Berry (Monseigneur de Berry), grandson of Louis XIV, 579, 642
- Charles Roy. *See* Charleroi.
- Charolais (Charolois), France.
- regiment of, 562
- Charolois, Mademoiselle de. *See* Condé, Anne Louise Bénédicte de.
- Charost, Armand de Béthune-Charost, Duc de, 699
- Charpentier, François, French Academician, 498, 580 (as reviser of *Dictionnaire* prelims)
- Charron, Monsieur, merchant of Rotterdam, cxlviii–cxlix, 304
- letter to, 668
- Charse, Mademoiselle de la, 488
- Charters, Madam de. *See* Françoise Marie.

- Chartres, Bishop of. *See* Godet des Marais.
 Chartres, Duc de. *See* Philip.
 Chartreux. *See* Paris: Cartusians.
 Chasselet. *See* Chatelet.
 Chasteauregnault, Chateau Renaut, Monsieur de. *See* Château Renaut.
 Chastelet. *See* Chatelet.
 Chastre, la. *See* La Châtre.
 Château-d'Oléron (chateau d'Oleron), le, France, 781
 Châteaulin, France, 737
 rivière de. *See* Aulne.
 Châteaumorant, Jean François Joubert de La Bastide, Marquis de, French naval commander, 722
 Châteauneuf, Balthasar Phélypeaux, Marquis de, French secretary of state, 453
 Chateauneuf, Pierre Antoine de Castagnères, Marquis de, French ambassador to the Porte, xcvi, 388, 406, 459, 584
 Château Queyras. *See under* Queyras.
 Châteaurenault (Châteaurenaud), Chevalier de, French naval officer, nephew of the following, 522
 Châteaurenault or Château Renaut (Chasteauregnault, Chateau Renaut, Chateau Renault, Chateaurenaud, Chateauronaut), François Louis Rousselet, Comte (later Marquis) de, French admiral (later Marshal of France), 37, 346, 351, 359, 427, 521, 547, 627, 635, 650, 652, 658, 659
 squadron of, 322, 627, 635, 719
 Château Thierry (Chateautierry), France, 540
 Chateautiers, Madame de, 578
 Châteauvilain, Michel Adalbert, Comte de Morstein de, French colonel, 524, 531
 his father. *See* Morstein.
 his wife. *See* Chevreuse, Marie Thérèse d'Albert d'Ailly, Mademoiselle de.
 Chatelet (Chasselet, Chastelet), Belgium, 105, 529
 Châtelet, le. *See* Paris: Châtelet.
 Chatham, Kent, 4, 30, 88, 104
 alleged abuses in the dockyard at, lvii, 213
 reasons against construction of wet dock at, 817
 inconvenient for naval preparations against France, 823
 naval commissioner at. *See* Gregory.
 Chatiere, Madame de la, in Paris.
 accommodation address for Braconnier, 377
 Châtillon, Marie Rosalie de Brouilly, Marquise de, wife of Alexis Henri, Marquis de Châtillon, and lady in waiting to the Duchess of Orléans, 578, 585
 Chauder, Comte de, brother-in-law of Imre Tököly, 584
 Chaulnes (Chaulnis, Chaunes), Charles d'Albert d'Ailly, Duc de, French ambassador in Rome, then Governor of Brittany, lxx, 161, 342, 346, 365, 376, 437, 451, 541
 Chaumont, near Susa, Italy, 451
 Chaunes, Duc de. *See* Chaulnes.
 Chaussebert, Monsieur de, French naval commander, 660
 Chavigny, Armand Victor de Bouthillier, Comte de, French naval officer, clii, 522, 527
 Cheeke, John, Marshal of the Admiralty.
 letter from, 116
 Chef de Baye. *See* La Rochelle: Chef de Baie.
 Chelmsford, Essex, 67
 Chemin, Monsieur, 662
 Cherasco (Chiers, Quiers), Italy, 119, 122, 534
 Cherbourg (Cherbourg, Cherbrough, Cherbrugh), France, lv, lxxii, cxxxvi, cliii, 16, 164, 320, 321, 417, 424, 426, 428, 676, 721, 722, 723, 772
 report on its strength, 798
 Chertemps d'Evry. *See* Evry.
 Chester, 204
 Chevreuse, Charles Honoré d'Albert, Duc de Chevreuse and de Luynes, 581
 his son. *See* Montfort.
 Chevreuse, Jeanne Marie Colbert, Duchesse de, daughter of Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay, and wife of the preceding, 581
 Chevreuse, Marie Thérèse d'Albert d'Ailly, Mademoiselle de, daughter of the preceding and wife of Michel Adalbert, Comte de Morstein de Châteauvilain, 531
 Chichester, Sir Arthur, 3rd Bt., 49
 Chiers. *See* Cherasco.
 Chiros, Italy, 494
 Choiseul, Comte de. *See* Choiseul, Claude de Choiseul-Francières, Comte de.
 Choiseul, Catherine Alfonsine de Renty, Madame de, wife of the following, 504, 507, 546
 Choiseul, César Auguste, Duc de, French lieutenant-general, 530
 Choiseul (Choiseuil), Claude de Choiseul-Francières, Comte de, Marshal of France, 410, 417, 528, 540, 544, 568, 775
 Choisi. *See* Choisy-le-Roi.
 Choisy, François Timoléon, Abbé de, French writer and Academician, 531
 Choisy-le-Roi (Choisi, Choysi), France, cxlv, 536, 537, 596, 607, 610, 612, 624, 642
 Chomberg, Monsieur de. *See* Schomberg, Charles.
 Choysi. *See* Choisy-le-Roi.
 Christian V, King of Denmark, lii, lxxxiii, 34, 220, 234, 246, 255, 258, 358, 378, 506, 519, 574, 576, 578, 585, 587, 600, 609, 622
 may provide warships for French service, 490, 724, 773
 as potential mediator, 611, 795
 Church, Thomas, Mayor of Hereford, 133, 145
 Churchill, Brigadier Charles.
 regiment of, 121, 217
 Churchill, Captain (later Admiral) George, 36
 recommended by Shovell, 155

- Churchill, John, 1st Earl (later 1st Duke) of Marlborough (Marleboroug), xxi, cxxiv, clix, 243, 405, 818, 819
said to have many supporters in England, 411
- Cibo, Cardinal Alderano, 411
- Cicero (Ciceron), 509
- Cisteron. *See* Sisteron.
- Clancarti, Clancarty, Lady. *See* Davis.
- Clancarti, Clancarty, Lord. *See* Maccarty, Donogh.
- Clarendon, Lord. *See* Hyde, Edward; Hyde, Henry, 2nd Earl of.
- Clarke (Clark, Clerck), George, Secretary at War, 97, 129, 163, 253
letter to, 96
- Clarke or Clark, Captain Richard, 799
- Clarke (Clark, Clerke, Count Clerke, Morris), Robert (John), Jacobite, 72, 73, 83, 89
- Clement, ———, French military engineer, 431
- Clément, Julien, French *accoucheur*, 428
- Clement XI, Pope. *See* Albani, Giovanni Francesco, Cardinal.
- Clérambault (Clérambaut), Philippe, Marquis de, French brigadier, 620
- Clerck, Mr. *See* Clarke, George.
- Cleremare, Sieur de, former Dieppe pilot in Allied service, 687
- Clerke, John. *See* Clarke, Robert.
- Clifford, Hugh, 2nd Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, 29
- Clignet, Sieur, postmaster of Leyden, cix, cxvii, cxxvi, 285
- Clinton, Francis, 6th Earl of Lincoln (Lincolne), 20
- Clocherie, Monsieur de la, French naval officer, 706
- Coad. *See* Quadt.
- Coblenz (Coblens), Germany, 569, 786
news dated from, 34
- Cockburn, Archibald, xx, xxxvi
letter from, 64
- Codrington, Colonel Christopher, Governor of the Leeward Islands, 186, 706, 710, 732, 740, 828
- Coehorn, Captain, in Allied service, brother of the following, 798
- Coehorn (Cohore, Cohorne), Menno, Baron of, Dutch military engineer and brigadier, 490
regiment of, 798
- Coëtlogon (Cologon, Cottlogon, Coyt-Logon), Alain Emmanuel, Chevalier (later Marquis) de, French admiral, 427, 636, 660, 721, 723, 758, 808
- Coëtlogon (Cottlogon), Louis Marcel de, Bishop of St. Brieuc, brother of the preceding, 758
- Cognac, France, 705
- Cogny, Marquis de. *See* Coigny.
- Cogolin (Caugoulin), Jacques de Cuers de, French admiral, 522
- Cohore, Colonel. *See* Coehorn, Menno, Baron of.
- Cohorne, Général. *See* Coehorn, Menno, Baron of.
- Coigny (Cogny, Coignis), Robert Jean Antoine de Franquetot, Comte (Marquis) de, French general, 17, 637
- coinage.
Dutch, cxxiii, 24
French, xxxii, cxxii–cxxxiii, cxxvi, 372, 408, 416, 449, 483, 512, 514, 515, 516–17, 523, 539, 544, 553, 560, 576, 602, 610, 618, 619, 625, 626, 628, 664, 797, 803, 806
Spanish, 523
- Coislin (Couslin) Louise Marie d'Alègre, Marquise de (d.1692), daughter of the Marquis d'Alègre and wife of Pierre du Cambour, Marquis (later Duc) de Coislin, 527
- Colbert, Charles, Marquis de Croissy (Croissi), French secretary of state (d.1696), xiv, xxxiii–xxxvi, li, lxiii, lxxxvi, xciv, xcvi, 339, 341, 375, 378, 379, 412, 464, 470, 496, 497
- Colbert, Françoise, Marquise de Croissy, daughter of Joachim Béraud and wife of the preceding, 470
- Colbert, Jean Baptiste, Marquis de Seignelay (d.1683), French Finance Minister, xiv, xxx–xxxiii, 321, 339, 341, 535
- Colbert, Jean Baptiste, Marquis de Seignelay (d.1690), son of the preceding. *See* Seignelay.
- Colbert, Marie Françoise (Mademoiselle de Croissy), daughter of Charles Colbert, Marquis de Croissy (and later Marquise de Bouzoles), 470, 471, 523
- Colbert de Saint-Mars (St. Marcq Colbert, St. Mare), François de, French naval officer, 244, 660, 723
- Colchester, Essex, 67, 277
- Colchester, Lord. *See* Savage.
- Colclough, Adam, Jacobite, 283
- Col de la Fenestre. *See* under Fenestrelle.
- Col de Tende. *See* Tende, Col de or Colle di.
- Colepeper, John, 3rd Lord Colepeper (Culpepper), 29
- Colleville, France, clii, 321, 680
- Collier, Colliers. *See* Colyer.
- Collingwood, Colonel Francis.
regiment of, 121, 217
- Collioure, France, 441
Governor of, 441
- Collyer. *See* Colyear.
- Cologne, Germany, 125, 137, 419
news dated from, 494
- Cologon, de. *See* Coëtlogon, Alain Emmanuel, Chevalier de.
- Coloma, Don Manuel de, Marqués de Canales, Spanish ambassador to England, 93, 100, 147–8, 152, 194, 195
- Colombes (Colombe, Coulombe), France, 358, 579, 585
- Colomiers (Colommiers), France, 349

- Colt, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Dutton, 274
- Colt, Sir William Dutton, English envoy extraordinary to Saxony, Celle and Hanover, cxxxiii, 113, 281
- letters to, 12, 31, 39, 48
- credentials for, 26, 27
- ratifications of acts executed by, 62
- death of, 246
- Colyear (Collyer), Brigadier-General Sir David, 2nd Bt. (later 1st Earl of Portmore).
- letter to, 112
- regiment of, 96
- Colyer (Collier, Colliers), Jacobus, Dutch resident at the Porte, xcvi, 128, 461, 584
- letter from, 215
- Combes, Chevalier de, French naval officer (commanding *Brillant* 1692–3), 635, 722
- Combes (Combe), Monsieur de, French naval officer (commanding *Illustre* 1692–3), 427, 660, 723
- Commercy (Comerce, Commerce), Charles François de Lorraine, Prince of, Allied general, 245, 260, 451, 460, 462, 475, 589, 620, 625
- his younger brother. *See* Joyeuse, Jean Paul de Lorraine, Duc de.
- Commissaires de Marine, 773
- Commissioners for Prizes, xx, 179, 249, 823
- Commissioners for Sick and Wounded Seamen and Exchange of Prisoners of War (Office for Sick and Wounded Seamen), lxxiii
- letter from, 16
- proposals by, 825
- estimate supplied by, 825
- accounts supplied by, 825
- proposals to replace, 825
- Commissioners of the Admiralty. *See* Admiralty.
- Commissioners of the Customs. *See* Customs.
- Commissioners of the Great Seal. *See* Great Seal.
- Commissioners of the Post Office. *See* Post Office.
- Commissioners of Victualling. *See* under Navy.
- Committee, the. *See* Cabinet Council.
- Commons, House of, xv, xxi, lxxv, lxxvii–lxxviii, lxxvi, clix, 3, 18, 19, 20, 24, 29, 36, 37, 213, 250, 276–7, 821, 822, 829
- Speaker of. *See* Trevor, Sir John.
- See also* Parliament.
- Compagnie des Fermes, 439
- Compagnie des Indes Orientales (Orientales), 654
- Compiègne (Compiègne), France, 367, 373, 374, 386, 392, 394, 395, 396, 401, 403, 545, 548, 677
- Compriasse, Italy, 494
- Compton, Henry, Bishop of London, 286
- letter from, 200
- Comptroller, the. *See* Wharton, Thomas.
- Conaught. *See* Connaught.
- Concaule Beay. *See* Cancale Bay.
- Condé, Anne (of the Palatinate), Princesse de (Madame la Princesse), wife of Henri Jules, Prince de Condé, 411
- Condé, Anne Louise Bénédicte de, Mademoiselle de Charolais (Charolois), then Duchesse de *or* du Maine, second daughter of Henri Jules de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, cxlv, 398, 400, 401
- Condé, Anne Marie Victoire, Mademoiselle de, eldest daughter of Henri Jules de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, 398
- Condé, Henri II de Bourbon, Prince de, 500 (as grandfather of the Princes of Condé and Conti)
- Condé, Henri Jules de Bourbon, Prince de (Monsieur le Prince), 352, 398, 400, 410, 436, 497, 500, 508, 511, 521, 524, 527, 590, 678, 697
- Condé, Louis de Bourbon, Duc de (Monsieur le Duc), son of the preceding, cxlv, 352, 404, 582, 588, 699
- his wife. *See* Louise Françoise.
- Condé, Louis de Bourbon, Prince de (d.1686) (feu Monsieur le Prince), 588
- Confidente, la. *See* Latouche.
- Coni. *See* Cuneo.
- Coningsby, Thomas, 1st Lord (later 1st Earl of) Coningsby (Conningsby, Cuningsby), former Lord Justice, lxxvi–lxxvii, 89, 146, 159, 164, 169, 171, 208, 222, 233, 236
- letters from, 133, 143, 145, 176
- letters to, 139, 171, 180
- Connaught (Conaught), Ireland, 97
- Conningsby, Lord. *See* Coningsby.
- Conquet (Conquest), le, France, cxl, 751, 752, 756, 762
- Blancs Sablons (Blanc Sablon), 751
- Constantinople, Turkey, lii, xcvi, 337, 358, 434, 463, 506, 521, 525, 585
- letter dated from, 583–4
- Contaudière (Contodière), Marie d'Arambure, widow of the Sieur de la, 379, 397, 402
- Conti, Princesses de. *See* Conti, Marie Thérèse, Princesse de; Marie Anne.
- Conti (Conty), François Louis de Bourbon, Prince de, 36, 347, 352, 395, 404, 437, 449, 454, 571, 593, 697, 698, 699
- his conduct at Steinker, 453, 454, 500
- his conduct at Landen, 588, 590
- his wife *See* Conti, Marie Thérèse, Princesse de.
- Conti, Louis Armand de Bourbon, Prince de (d.1685), 364
- his widow. *See* Marie Anne.
- Conti, Marie Anne, Princesse de. *See* Marie Anne.
- Conti (Conty) (la jeune), Marie Thérèse de Bourbon, Princesse de, daughter of Henri Jules, Prince de Condé, and wife of François Louis, Prince de Conti, 395, 437, 571

- Contodiere, Madame de la. *See* Contaudière.
- Conty, Prince de. *See* Conti, François Louis de Bourbon, Prince de.
- Conty, Princesses de. *See* Conti, Marie Thérèse, Princesse de; Marie Anne.
- Cony. *See* Cuneo.
- Cooke, Rev. Shadrach, 270, 271
printed declaration by, 273
- Cooke, Sir Thomas, Deputy Governor of the East India Company, 73, 75
letter to, 71
- Coote, Richard, 1st Earl of Bellomont (Bellamont, Bellamount, Bellemont), lxxvi, 159, 164, 169, 171, 176, 181, 208, 233, 236
- Copenhagen, lxxx–lxxxiv, 3, 23, 86, 192, 278
- Corantie. *See* Carentan.
- Corbete, Don Pedro, Spanish admiral, 823
- Cork (Corke, Korke), Ireland, 26, 211, 683, 738, 794
proposals for attack on, xxi, 818, 819
convenient for naval operations against France, 823
- Corneille, Thomas, French dramatist and lexicographer, 610
- corn in neutral ships. *See under* France.
- Cornouailles. *See* Cornwall.
- Cornuel, Madame de, 459, 463
- Cornwall (Cornouailles), xxxvii–xxxix, 169, 171, 674
joint lords lieutenants of. *See* Granville, Charles; Granville, John.
- Cornwallis, Charles, 3rd Lord Cornwallis (Cornewallis), First Lord of the Admiralty, 2, 18, 19
memorandum by, 825
- Corte Real. *See* Mendoça.
- Corticelli, ?Angelo, merchant, of London, 802
- Cortil, rivulet of, near Kortijs, Belgium, 697
- Corunna, Spain, lxiv, 65, 85, 174, 196, 218
English consul at. *See* Parker, John.
- Cory, Jack, 175
- Cosimo III. *See under* Medici.
- Cossart, Monsieur, 651
- Coste, Marquis de la, Governor of Guingamp and Lieutenant du Roi in Brittany, 758
- Cotentin, le, France, cxxxvi–cxxxviii, cliii, 680
- Cottier, Jaques, premier médecin of Louis XI, 632
- Cottlogon, Chevalier de. *See* Coëtlogon, Alain Emmanuel.
- Cottlogon, Monsieur de. *See* Coëtlogon, Louis Marcel de.
- Cotton, Captain Andrew, 170, 171
- Cotton, Captain William, xxxix, 82
letter from, 80
- Couarde-sur-Mer (la Couarde), France, 781
- Coulombe. *See* Colombes.
- Council of War, held by Russell in 1692, 477
- Council of War, at Portsmouth in 1693, 117, 173, 174, 182
- Courcelles, Eustache Louis, Marquis de.
cavalry of, 563
- Courière, Baron de.
regiment of, 209
- Couronne, regiment de la, 562
- Cours, Monsieur des, French naval commander, 660
- Courtanvaux, Madame de. *See* Courtenvaux, Marie Anne Catherine, Marquise de.
- Courtebonne, Louis Jacques de Calonne, Marquis de.
cavalry of, 563
- Courtenvaux (Courtanvaux), Marie Anne Catherine d'Estrées, Marquise de, wife of the following, 571
- Courtenvaux, Michel François Le Tellier, Marquis de, 389, 526
- Courtrai (Courtray), Belgium, 627
- Courvalet *alias* St. Germain, suspected assassin from Caen, xxviii–xxix, cxlix, 316, 317, 318, 319, 669, 670, 676
- Couslin, Marquis de. *See* Coislín.
- Coventry, Sir William, secretary to the Lord High Admiral and navy commissioner.
directions issued by, 815
memorandum presented to, 815
- Cowes (Cows), Isle of Wight, 6, 8, 239, 247
letter dated from, 9
- Cowley, Daniel (Daniell), physician, 275
- Cowper, William, Baltic merchant, of London.
letter from, 94
- Cows. *See* Cowes.
- Coxe, Sir Richard (later 1st Bt.), Chief Justice of Common Pleas (Ireland), 183
- Coxe (Cox), Thomas, envoy extraordinary to the Swiss cantons, cix, cxvi, cxx–cxxi, cxxiii–cxxxvii, clv, 46, 63, 67, 78, 106, 288, 307, 308
letters from, 299, 370
instructions to, 61
refuses American mission, civ–cv, cvii, 74, 76
William III's displeasure at, 89
agent in Paris offers to correspond with, 285
gives commissions to Huguenot officers in Italy, 286
intelligence received from, 287, 298
and Braconnier, 368, 369, 370
criticised by agent, 703
- Coy, Colonel John.
his regiment of horse, 96
- Coyt-Logon, Monsieur de. *See* Coëtlogon.
- Craddock, Major, Jacobite officer, 61
- Craggs, James, suspected Jacobite, 283
- Cramahé, Captain de, aide-de-camp of Lord Galway.
letters to, 778, 779
- Crawly, Ned, Jacobite alias, 166
- Creagh, Signor (?Stephen Creagh, merchant of London), 813
- Crenan (Crenant), Chevalier de, French officer in Savoy, 364, 497

- Créqui (Crequi), François Joseph, Marquis de, French maréchal de camp, 345, 382, 529
- Cresset, James, envoy extraordinary to Celle and Hanover, 254
letters from, 251, 280
- Crofts, Captain John, former commander of the *James (Charles)* galley, 271
- Croiset, Monsieur, Président au Parlement de Paris, 533
his daughter. *See* Laugeois, Madame.
- Croissi, Marquis de. *See* Colbert, Charles.
- Croissy, Madame de. *See* Colbert, Françoise.
- Croissy, Mademoiselle de. *See* Colbert, Marie Françoise.
- Croissy, Marquis de. *See* Colbert, Charles.
- Croix Haute, Col de la (passage de la Haute-Croix), France, 472, 475
- Crookhaven, co. Cork.
convenient for naval operations against France, 823
- Crookshanks, John, owner of the *Recovery*, 179
his brother, master of the *Recovery*, 179
- Crosfield, Robert, pamphleteer.
proposals by, lix–lx, 828
- Crouk, Captain, Dutch naval officer, 398
- Croy, Charles Eugene, Duke of, Imperial general, 459, 599
- Crozon (Croyson), France, 762
- Crusca Academy. *See* under Florence.
- Cruy, Monsieur de, French colonel, 248
- Cuba, West Indies.
Governor of. *See* Manzaneda.
Spanish fleet based at, 56
- Cul de Sac. *See* under Martinique.
- Culpepper, Lord. *See* Colepeper.
- Cumbers, —, Jacobite, 260
- Cumiana (Camiane), Italy, 34
- Cuneo (Cauny, Coni, Cony), Italy, xcvi, 23, 35, 119, 383, 394, 395, 450, 460, 506, 548, 602, 614, 615, 619, 622, 623, 625, 627, 628, 634, 641, 786
- Cuningsby, Lord. *See* Coningsby.
currency. *See* coinage.
- Currey, Mr, hatter, of London.
letter addressed to, 814
- Curtis, —, Jacobite conspirator, 14
- Customs, Commissioners of the, lix, 224, 812
letter to, 253
their officer in Guernsey. *See* Hely.
See also London: Custom House.
- Cutts, John, Lord Cutts (Cutz) of Gowran, brigadier-general, Governor of the Isle of Wight, 75
letters from, 239, 247, 249
- Cyprus (Cypruss), 9
- Dace, Edward, Jacobite high constable, of Epping, 260, 261
- Dailon (Dallyon), James, French Protestant minister, 73, 83
- Dairagny, Monsieur. *See* Eragny.
- Dalavall, Sir Ralph. *See* Delavall.
- Dale, Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- Dalençon, S. *See* Alençon.
- Dalival, Chevalier. *See* Delavall, Sir Ralph.
- Dallyon, Mr. *See* Dailon.
- Dalrymple (Dalrimple), Sir John, Master (later 1st Earl) of Stair (Staires, Stare), Secretary of State for Scotland, 108, 200, 231, 233
letters from, 46, 47
letter to, 254
- Damblimont. *See* Amblimont.
- Dammartin-en-Goële (Dampmartin), France, 637
- Damon, Chevalier, French naval officer, 398
- Damont, Sieur, French treasury official, 340
- Danby, Lord. *See* Osborne, Peregrine.
- Danckelmann (D'Ankelman, Dankelman), Eberhard von, Brandenburg statesman, xxix, 101, 102
- Danckelmann (Dankelman), Thomas Ernst von, envoy extraordinary from Brandenburg to England, 24, 60
- Dancourt (Dancour), Florent Carton, Sieur, French actor-playwright, 498
- Danemarc, Danemark, Danes. *See* Denmark.
- Dankelman, Monsieur. *See* Danckelman.
- Dannemarc, Dannemark, Dannemarkq, Danois. *See* Denmark.
- Dantein, Marquis. *See* Antin.
- Danube, river, 609
- Danzig (Dantzig, Dantzicke, Dantzig, Dantzik), 20, 23, 595, 596
- Daquin, —, médecin ordinaire to Louis XIV, son of Antoine Daquin, 632
- Daquin, —, physician and Président à Mortier au Parlement de Paris, 632
- Daquin, Abbé, third son of Antoine Daquin, 631, 632
- Daquin or d'Aquin, Antoine, Comte de Jouy, premier médecin de Maria Theresa, then Louis XIV, cxliiii, 569, 612, 631–3
- Daquin, Joseph, Comte de la Selle, captain in French guards, son of Antoine Daquin, 612, 632–3
- Daquin, Louis Henri, premier médecin of Marie de Medici, father of Antoine Daquin, 633
- Daquin, Marie Thérèse, third daughter of Maximilien Titon and wife of Joseph Daquin, 632–3
- Daquin, Mordecai (Mardochée), Portuguese Jew, apothecary, father of the preceding and grandfather of Antoine Daquin, 633
- Daquin, St. Thomas. *See* Aquinas.
- Darmstadt (d'Armstat, Darmstat), Germany, 581, 598
- Dartmouth, 10, 43, 55
letter dated off, 9
- Dartmouth, Lord. *See* Legge.
- Daubercam, Colonel, in Allied service in Italy, 446, 681
- Daubigny, Mademoiselle. *See* Aubigny.

- Dauffin, Daufin, the. *See* Louis, Dauphin of France.
- Dauphiné, Daupheny. *See* Dauphiné.
- Dauphin, regiment. *See under* Louis, Dauphin of France.
- Dauphin, the. *See* Louis, Dauphin of France.
- Dauphine, la. *See* Maria Anna (d.1690).
- Dauphiné (Dauphiné, Daupheny), France, lxxii, xciv, cviii, cxxx, cxxxiv, 8, 22, 23, 299, 343, 345, 349, 352, 353, 354, 356, 358, 363, 395, 404, 426, 429, 432, 434, 441, 446, 451, 454, 456, 458, 460, 461, 462, 465, 467, 469, 472, 473, 474, 475, 477, 478, 479, 481, 482, 483, 484, 486, 487, 488, 493, 505, 509, 527, 534, 566, 574, 578, 623, 639, 641, 727, 796
- regiment of, 438
- militia of, 456
- Victor Amadeus blames Germans for burnings in, 492
- woman of, enlists in French army, 537
- agent regrets failure to invade in 1691, 703
- guidelines for Allied forces occupying, 804–7
- Intendant of. *See* Bouchu.
- See also under* France: Protestants; France: Roman Catholic converts.
- Davejan, Monsieur de, French officer, 548
- David, barricade of. *See* Pont David.
- Davies, Frank, Jacobite alias, 166
- Davies, Sir George, Bt., English agent and consul at Naples, 128
- Davies, Mrs Rebecca, Jacobite alias, 168
- Davis, Thomas, King's Messenger, 270
- Davis, Elizabeth (née Fitzgerald) (Lady Clancarti), widow of (1) Callaghan Maccarty, 3rd Earl of Clancarty, (2) Sir William Davis, 152, 158
- her son. *See* Maccarty, Donogh.
- Davison, Thomas, Jacobite messenger, 271–2
- Dawson, Richard, Jacobite alias, 168
- Day, Isle. *See* Aix, Ile d'.
- Dayrolle (d'Ayrolles), James *or* Jacques, lxxiv, 113, 141, 145
- Dé, Isle. *See* Aix, Ile d'.
- Deadman, the, Dorset, 11
- Deal (Deale), Kent, xl, xlii, cxxxv, 25
- letters dated from, 107, 111, 117, 133, 140
- De Alet (James C., St. Aubin), Allied agent in France, cxxiii–cxxvi, cxlvi, clv
- reports from, 336–67 *passim*
- memorial from Gaultier introducing, 285
- correspondence between Nottingham and Jurieu about, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 297, 298, 303, 327, 328–9
- letter from Coxé about, 299
- Deane, Captain Robert, 267
- Deanes, Deans. *See* Denmark.
- De Auax. *See* Avaux.
- Decaux, —, merchant of London, 811
- De Charters. *See* Philip.
- Deder, Colonel, 248
- Dee Estre, De Estre. *See* Estrées, Victor Marie.
- Delaforce, Monsieur. *See* La Force.
- De La Fouleresse. *See* La Fouleresse.
- De La Hayé, Monsieur. *See* Haye-Ventelet.
- De la Mothe, de la Motte. *See* La Motte.
- Delany, —, 70
- De la Rougere. *See* La Rongère.
- Delavall (Dalavall, Dalivel, Delaval, de la Val), Sir Ralph, joint admiral, vice admiral of the Red, then admiral of the Blue, xxiv, xxvi, xxxvii, xli, lix–lx, lxvii–lxxi, 19, 25, 64, 71, 88, 139–40, 163, 187, 195, 237, 281, 360, 509
- letters from, 30, 41–4, 154, 155, 189, 190, 238, 277, 279
- letters to, 57, 164, 193, 242
- draft protest by, 829
- Delavall, Major Thomas.
- letter from, 828
- Dele. *See* Dijle.
- De Lorge. *See* Lorges.
- Denant. *See* Dinan.
- Dendermonde, Belgium, 130
- Denis (Dennys, Denys), Corneille *or* Cornelius, naturalized French merchant of London, 281–2, 811
- Denis, Sieur (?Jean-Baptiste), physician, 543
- Denizot, Dr, premier médecin of Philip of Orléans, 633
- Denmark (Danemarc, Danemark, Danes, Dannemarc, Dannemark, Dannemarkq, Danois, Deanes, Deans), li, lxxx–lxxxv, cxxix and *passim*
- armed forces of, 3, 9, 14, 19, 20, 21, 23, 61, 108, 207, 246
- troops in Allied service, lxxxiii, 181, 191
- , deserters from, 705
- ships of, lxvi, lxxxi–lxxxiii, 6, 15, 18, 21, 25, 35, 36, 40, 51, 52, 86, 88, 90, 156, 177, 192, 244, 481, 496, 509, 514, 652, 662, 663, 700, 705, 740, 810, 811
- French buy ships from, lxxxiii, 490, 549, 724, 773
- treaties with, concerning contraband, 51, 52, 142, 145
- false report of contraband trade with France, lxxxi, 655
- threat by, to stop Allied shipping, 212
- at court of James II, 34
- at Versailles, 773
- ambassador from, to France. *See* Meyercron.
- ambassador to, from France. *See* D'Usson, François.
- chargé d'affaires in England. *See* La Fouleresse.
- English chargé d'affaires in. *See* Greg.
- envoy extraordinary from, to England. *See* Skeel.
- envoy extraordinary to, from England. *See* Sutton.
- envoy extraordinary from the States General

- to. *See* Hop.
 King of. *See* Christian V.
 Prince of. *See* Frederick; George.
 Prince Royal of. *See* Frederick.
 Princess of. *See* Anne.
 Dennys, Cornelius. *See* Denis, Corneille.
 Denys, John, French seaman serving in English navy, 746
 De Peray. *See* Peray.
 De Pierrefritte (Madame de Pierefite), secretary of Pierre Jurieu, cxix, 695
 letter from, 288
 Depremont, —, French Roman Catholic merchant, of London, 811
 Deptford, Kent, xcix
 Red House, the, Edward Snellgrove's dockyard at, 170, 171
 Derby, Lord. *See* Stanley, William George Richard.
 Dereham, Sir Thomas, diplomat, liv
 letter from, 826
 memorandum possibly by, 826
 Derlingue, Monsieur. *See* Relingue.
 Desadrets, Baron or Chevalier, French naval officer, 505, 522, 586
 Desaleures, Monsieur de, French officer, 548
 Desarres, Sieur.
 , letters probably from, or copied by, 778, 779–86
 letter of introduction for, 778
 Des Augers (des Oyers), Chevalier, French naval officer, 397, 635, 722
 Desbans, Monsieur, pewterer, of Paris, cxxiv, 348
 Desborow (Desbrough), Captain Charles.
 letter from, 249
 Descaux, Marquise, daughter of Madame de Bregis, 540
 Deschiens, Sieur, French tax collector, 512, 535
 Desclouseaux, Hubert de Champy, Seigneur, Intendant de Marine at Brest, xxxiv, clvi, 489, 745, 746, 748, 749
 Deseada (Dessiade) (now La Désirade), island off Guadeloupe, West Indies.
 letter dated from off, 223
 Des Francs, Monsieur, French naval commander, 522, 660
 Desgrais or Desgrez, François, Sieur, French police officer, clvi, 397, 405, 502, 520
 Desgranges (des Granges), Monsieur, possibly the following, or the Desgranges arrested 1692, 379
 Desgranges *alias* La Cou(s)ture, Pierre de, Paris lawyer and Allied agent arrested 1696, clvi, clviii
 Desherbiers, Monsieur, French naval officer, 522
 Deshoulières, Antoinette du Ligier de la Garde, French poet, 503
 verses allegedly by, 504
 Deslayes, Sieur, French Protestant minister of Thouars, 639
 Desmierre, Pierre, cxlix, cli
 letter from, 668
 Desminières, Monsieur, French Protestant, 483
 Des Nos, Charles, Comte, French naval commander, Tourville's flag captain in *Soleil Royal* at La Hougue, 660, 771
 Des Nos de Champmeslin (Chamelin, Chammelin), Gilles, Comte, French naval commander, brother of the preceding, 628, 660
 Des Préaux, Monsieur. *See* Boileau-Despréaux.
 Dessiade. *See* Deseada.
 Destré, D'Estrée, le compte. *See* Estrées, Victor Marie.
 Destroit, Detroit, le. *See* Gibraltar, Straits of; Mediterranean Sea.
 De Vanjoreux, —, captain of French privateer *Philippe*, 151
 Devon, cxxxvii
 joint lords lieutenants of. *See* Granville, Charles; Granville, John.
 Devry, Monsieur or Sieur. *See* Evry.
 D'Hercourt, military engineer in Allied service.
 maps by, 827
 DHuninguen. *See* Hervart.
 Dick, Jacobite pseudonym, 366
 Dido (Didon), 611
 Die (Dye), France, 461, 472
 Diegem (Dighem, Diegom), Belgium, lxxxviii, 115, 116, 137
 letters dated from, 120, 121, 125, 129
 news dated from, 120, 125, 130
 Dieppe, France, cxl, cliii, 305, 320, 419, 662
 letters dated from, 673, 675, 676, 678
 letter endorsed as from, 648
 Catherine of Braganza arrives at, 404, 418, 673
 news of naval battle received from, 422
 its windows damaged, 423
 militia at, 560, 564
 enemy in sight of, 561
 women and children evacuated from, 564
 Huguenots in detention at, 639
 regular boats to Rye from, xxxix, 640
 peasants driven from, 670
 troops pass through, 674
 proposals for secret correspondence with, cxxxvi, 687
 privateers of, 767
 not difficult to seize, cxxxv–cxxxvi, 790
 Dieren, Netherlands.
 letter dated from, 95
 Diest, Belgium, 203
 Dieu, l'Isle. *See* Yeu, Ile d'.
 Dighem. *See* Diegem.
 Dijkveld (Dikvelt), Eberhard van Weede, Heer van, xc, cxxvii, 298
 Dijle (Dele) river, Belgium, 150
 Dikvelt, Monsieur. *See* Dijkveld.
 Dimant. *See* Dinant.
 Dinan (Denant), France, lxxiii, 27, 637, 724, 821
 Baye or riviere de. *See* Rance.

- Dinan. *See also* Dinant, Belgium.
- Dinant (Dimant, Dinan), Belgium, 34, 144, 343, 345, 353, 382, 423, 431, 434, 442, 529, 556, 562, 637
- Governor of. *See* Guiscard.
- Dinard (Dinart), France, 758
- Directeur, Monsieur le. *See* Finch, Daniel.
- Dixmude (Dixmuden, Dixmunde, Dixmuyde), Belgium, lxxxvii, 3, 8, 17, 20, 22, 246, 248, 476, 492, 611, 627, 783
- Do, 179
- Dolben, (later Sir) Gilbert, M.P., xxvii
- letter from, 243
- Dombes, France.
- principality of, 528
- Dominica (la Dominique), West Indies, 707
- Donellan (Donelan), —, Jacobite, 283
- Dongam, Dongan, Colonel. *See* Dungan, Colonel Thomas.
- Dongeat, Madame, 361
- her daughter, 361
- Donkerque. *See* Dunkirk.
- Dopdam, Mademoiselle. *See* Obdam.
- Dorcelay, Mylord. *See* Berkeley, Charles.
- Dordogne (Dordogne), river, France, 788
- Dordrecht (Dort), 100, 110, 547
- Burgomaster of. *See* Halewijn, Simon.
- Doré, Captain James, 113
- Dormaal (Dormal), Belgium, 202
- Dormer, —, Jacobite, 129
- Dorrington, Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- Dorrington, Major-General William, Jacobite prisoner, 61, 112, 116
- letters from, 264, 274
- Dort. *See* Dordrecht.
- Dotignies (Dotignies, Ottignies, Ottigny), Belgium, xviii, lxxxix, 190, 191
- letter dated from, 191
- Douarnenez (D'Ouarnenes) Bay, France, 638
- Douay, Monsieur, wine merchant, of Paris, cxxiv, 347
- Doublet, —, French arms dealer, 632
- Douglas *or* Douglass, Captain Andrew, lxxix, 177, 192
- Douglas (Douglass), Lord George (Georg), 40, 74, 142, 164, 181
- Douglas, James, Earl of Drumlanrig (Drumlangrig, Drumlanrick) (later 2nd Duke of Queensberry and 1st Duke of Dover), 142, 164
- Douglas-Hamilton, William, 3rd Duke of Hamilton, 57, 58, 169
- Douglass. *See* Douglas.
- Dourlac, Dourlach. *See* Durlach.
- Dover (Douvre), Kent, xxxix–xlii, 1, cxv, 81, 109, 132, 134, 135, 140, 141, 143, 640, 820
- letters dated from, 124
- prisoners of war at, lxxiv–lxxv, 791, 821
- suspected of planning to welcome James II, 801
- proposed hospital at, 825
- Castle, 377
- Governor of. *See* Sydney.
- Downs (Downes, Dunes), the, lxiii, 25, 36, 40, 71, 92, 104, 139, 140, 268, 799, 822
- letter dated from, 68
- Drac, river, France, 469
- Dresden (Dreysden), Germany, 39, 62, 181
- Drumlangrig, Drumlanrick, Lord. *See* Douglas.
- Drummond, John, 1st Earl (and titular Duke) of Melfort (Melford), xxxv–xxxvi, xl, cxvii, 108, 351, 353
- letter from, 21
- D'strees, Count. *See* Estrées, Victor Marie.
- Duart, Captain Emanuel, 68
- Dublin, lxxvii, lxxix, cv, 78, 88, 95, 153, 179, 704, 738
- Council Chamber.
- letter dated from, 97
- Dubocage, Captain, 772
- Dubois, Philippe Goibaud-, French translator and Academician, 557
- Dubourdieu, Rev. Jean, minister of French church in the Savoy, 286, 813
- Ducasse (du Casse), Jean-Baptiste, French admiral, 707
- Du Chalar (de Chalar), François, French naval officer, 628, 807
- Ducros, Théodore, Huguenot minister in Switzerland, 286
- Du Fay, Monsieur, French Governor of Freiburg, 556
- Dufour, François, Fermier Général des Domaines, 806
- Dugroloer *or* Groluere, French captain of infantry on board *Soleil Royal*, 770, 771
- French prisoner of war from company of, 770
- Dulivier, Peter, repatriated French internee, 135
- Du Magnou, Pierre Guérusseau, French admiral, 660, 722
- Duncombe (Duncomb), William, former English envoy extraordinary to Sweden, Lord Justice, lxxvii–lxxix, lxxxiv, 84, 188, 189, 204
- letter to, 250
- Dunes, les. *See* Downs.
- Dungan, Euphemia Maria, Countess of Limerick, 142
- Dungan (Dongam, Dongan, Dungan), Colonel Thomas, brother of the following and claimant to his estate, 130, 137, 142, 162
- Dungan, William, 1st Earl of Limerick (Limmerick, Lymerick), attainted Jacobite, 130, 137, 142, 152, 162
- Dungeness, Kent, xxxix, 81
- Dunkirk (Donkerque, Dunkerke, Dunkerque, Dunkircke, Dunkirke, Dunquerque, Dunquerque, Duynkerke, Duynkirke), France, lviii, lxiii, cxxxviii, cli, clv–clvii, 14, 18, 23, 27, 29, 34, 36, 60, 64, 80, 81,

- 221, 222, 231, 346, 358, 366, 451, 469,
476, 644, 645, 648, 649, 661, 675, 712,
721, 731, 732, 737, 782
instructions dated from, 799
list dated from, 799
letters from, 483, 492
reports on shipbuilding at, 391, 740
Nottingham seeks intelligence about ships of,
lxii, 289
Jurieu recommends seeking intelligence from
Brussels about, 319
ships at, 320, 326, 328, 495, 549, 662, 664,
822
and Allied designs on, lxxxvi, 445, 449, 466,
478, 479
privateers of, lxii, lxx, lxxiv, lxxxiii, 580,
702, 707
Intendant de Marine at. *See* Patoulet.
Dunmore, Lord. *See* Murray, Charles.
Dunquerque, Dunquerqueois. *See* Dunkirk.
Du Palais, Monsieur, French naval officer, 636
Du Passage. *See* Passage.
Duport, ?Simon, merchant, of London, 811
Duppa, Baldwin, former Clerk of Control at
Chatham, 38
Duquesne-Guiton (du Quesne Guitton),
Abraham, Marquis, French naval
commander, 723
Duquesne-Monnier *or* Duquesne-Mosnier (Du
Quesne, du Quesne-Monier), Abraham,
Comte, French naval commander, 522,
527
Duquesne-Monros (Comte Moraut, Moreau),
Jacob, younger son of Admiral Duquesne,
Protestant refugee, later Roman Catholic
convert and French naval officer, xlv–xlv,
lxiii, cxvii, cxlviii, 293, 652
his brother, xlv–xlv, 293
Durance, river, France, 456, 469, 475
Durand, ———, Huguenot officer taken in
Ireland, 345
Duras, France, 800
Duras, Jacques Henri de Durfort, Duc de Duras,
Marshal of France, 390, 391, 487, 528
Duras, Louis, 2nd Earl of Feversham, 61, 70
Durfort, Marie Gabriel de, eldest daughter of
the Duc de Lorges, later Duchesse de St.
Simon, 491
Durham, late Dean of. *See* Granville.
Du Rivau-Huet (du Rivaux), Amateur, French
naval officer, 636, 723
Durlach (Dourlac, Dourlach), Germany, 336, 637
Durseley, Dursley, Lord. *See* Berkeley, Charles.
D'Usson, François, Marquis de Bonrepaus *or*
Bonrepos (Bon Repau, Bonrepaux, Bon
Repos, Bonrepose), French ambassador to
Denmark and Intendant Général of the
French navy, xxx–xxxi, lxxxiii–lxxxiv,
cxxx, cxli, 14, 21, 37, 312, 368, 369, 378,
379, 397, 401, 485, 488, 490, 491, 493,
496, 502, 509, 516, 600, 693, 695
D'Usson (Dusson), Jean, Marquis de Bézac,
French *maréchal de camp*, brother of the
preceding, 378, 397, 493, 529, 574, 641
Dutch. *See* United Provinces.
Du Vignau *or* du Vigneau, Monsieur, French
naval officer, 398
Duynderke, Duynderke. *See* Dunkirk.
Duzet, Duc. *See* Uzès, Emanuel II de Crussol,
Duc d'.
Dye. *See* Die.
Dykveldt. *See* Dijkveldt.
East India Company, cviii, 71, 75, 93, 95–6,
110, 114, 116
discussion of its charter, 73–4, 102–3
case papers concerning its dispute with Navy
Board, 816
East India Company (French). *See* Compagnie
des Indes Orientales.
East Indies (Indes, Indes Orientales), lviii,
lxi–lxii, cviii, 73, 83, 93, 95, 99, 353, 371,
708
Eaton, Captain. *See* Eden.
Ebernburg (Ebernbouurg) Castle, Bad Münster-
am-Stein Ebernburg, Germany, 489, 494
Governor of. *See* Kirk.
Ecosse. *See* Scotland.
Ecouen (Ecouan), France, 419
Eden (Eaton), Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas, 253
Edinburgh (Edinbourg, Edinbrugh, Edinburg),
lxxx, 171, 175
letters dated from, 57, 177
news dated from, 169
Egerton, John, 3rd Earl of Bridgewater, 29
Elbeuf *or* Elboeuf, Henri de Lorraine, Duc *or*
Prince d', French *maréchal de camp*, 414,
521, 529
Eldwick, Hans, of Brunswick (Brumswyck),
escaped prisoner of war, 798
Eliksem (Elixom), Belgium, 202
Elizabeth Charlotte (of the Palatinate)
(Madame), Duchess of Orléans, second
wife of Philip of Orléans, cxlv, 364, 383,
386, 390, 391, 393, 396, 403, 409, 426,
437, 438, 442, 526, 548, 552, 561, 578,
579, 585, 588, 623
her daughter. *See* the following entry.
her son. *See* Philip, Duc de Chartres.
Elizabeth Charlotte (of Orléans) (Mademoiselle)
(later Duchess of Lorraine), daughter of
Philip of Orléans and the preceding, cxlv,
508, 536
proposal to marry her to Louis, Duke of
Burgundy, 364, 442, 675
proposal to marry her to the Duc de Maine,
383, 384
proposal to marry her to the Prince Royal of
Denmark, 509, 513
Elland, Lord. *See* Savile.
Elmberger (Elleberg), Johan Anton, Hessian

- major-general commanding Danish troops in Allied service, 190
- Elorn, river (rivière de Landerneau), France, 755
- Elorn, estuary (Baye de Landerneau), 724
- Elphinstone, John, 8th Lord Elphinstone (Elphinston), 148
- Ely, Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- Embrun (Ambrun), France, 383, 439, 451, 454, 456, 457, 458, 460, 461, 462, 464, 465, 467, 468, 469, 470, 472, 473, 475, 478, 481, 482, 484, 486, 727, 729
- Archbishop of. *See* Brulart de Genlis, Charles.
- Empire, Imperialists, *passim*
- avocatories of, lxxxii, 51, 86, 104
- See also* Germany; Leopold.
- England (Angletere, Angleterre, Anglois, Engleterre), *passim*
- Louis XIV hopes to incite civil war in, 305
- plans to invade, 376, 377, 408, 409, 413, 683, 769, 775–7
- malcontents in north of, to join Princess Anne and Scots at York, 694
- invasion not expected to succeed, 419, 421
- invasion off, 422
- no plans to invade, lxiv, 516, 520, 773
- Dutch warships feared more than English, lvi, 456
- English less war-weary than Dutch, 510
- English now worse than Irish, 701
- English no longer know how to fight, 715
- English less brave than Dutch, 717
- English resistance at La Hougue surprises French, 768
- Reine douairière of. *See* Catherine of Braganza.
- Englefield (Englefeild), Anthony, 18
- Englefield (Englesfeild), Sir Charles, 5th Bt., 18
- Englesfeild v. Englesfeild. *See* Englefield, Anthony; Englefield, Sir Charles.
- Engleterre. *See* England.
- English Channel, *passim*
- Enneval. *See* Esneval.
- Enrichemont, Maximilien Pierre François Nicolas de Béthune, Prince d', 256
- Epernon, Anne Louise Christine de Foix de La Valette d', Soeur Anne Marie de Jésus, Carmelite nun, first cousin of the Duchesse de Montpensier, 536
- Epigem, Epighem. *See* Eppegem.
- Epinay, Epinoy, Madame d'. *See* Espinoy, Elisabeth de Lorraine, Princesse d'.
- Epinay, Prince d'. *See* Espinoy, Louis de Melun, Prince d'.
- Eppegem (Epigem, Epighem), Belgium, lxxxix–xc, 220
- letters dated from, 201, 206, 215
- news dated from, 207, 216
- Epping, Essex, 260
- King's Arms (King's Armes), 260
- Eragny (Dairagny), Monsieur d', French officer, 707, 708
- Erickson, Laurence, Swedish seaman, 21
- Erle, Brigadier-General Thomas, 74, 83
- regiment of, 121, 217
- Ernest Augustus, Duke and Elector of Hanover (Hannover) (Elector of Brunswick, Brunzuik), Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg (Luneborg, Lunenburg, Lunenburgh), lxxxv–lxxxvi, 27, 34, 39, 147, 246, 255, 258, 385, 388, 423, 574, 576, 585
- letters to, 48, 53
- ratification of treaty regarding, 62
- expresses regret at Nottingham's dismissal, 281
- breaks with French, 410
- French hopes of divisions inspired by, 639
- information sought about French hopes from, 795
- Ernest Augustus (later Duke of York and Albany), youngest son of the preceding, 150
- Ervaux, Monsieur d'. *See* Hervault.
- Esat, Père, suspect in assassination plot, xxix, 101, 102, 109
- Esclavonie. *See* Slavonia.
- Escosse. *See* Scotland.
- Esneval (Enneval), Robert le Roux, Vidame d', French ambassador to Poland, 526
- Espagne, Espagne. *See* Spain.
- Espanola. *See* Haiti.
- Espinoy (Epinay, Epinoy), Elisabeth de Lorraine, Princesse d', daughter of François Marie de Lorraine, Comte de Lillebonne, and wife of the following, 403, 579
- Espinoy (Epinoy), Louis de Melun, Prince d', 580
- Essek. *See* Osijek.
- Essex, xxxix, 259, 260
- Essex, Earle of. *See* Capell.
- Este, Cardinal d' (later Rinaldo III, Duke of Modena), 351
- Estinnes (Estines), Belgium, 240, 546
- Estrades (Estrade), Gabriel Joseph, Chevalier d', French colonel, 453, 455, 456
- Estrées (Etrées), César d', Cardinal, 343, 552, 562, 578, 606, 608
- Estrées (Etrées), Jean, Abbé d', French ambassador to Portugal, 403
- extract from letter from, 467
- Estrées (Estré, Estreez, Etrée, Etrées), Jean, Comte d', Marshal of France and Governor of Nantes, 376, 431, 476, 484, 485, 528, 541, 545, 666, 669, 720, 724, 733, 736, 737, 780, 785
- Estrées, Marie Marguerite Morin, Maréchale d' (Mareschale d'Etrées), wife of the preceding, 571
- Estrées (Dee Estre, De Estre, Destré, D'Estrée, D'strees, Estré, Estrée, Estreez, Etrée, Etrées), Victor Marie, Comte (later Duc)

- d', French admiral, son of Marshal d'Estrées, clii, 36, 80, 119, 158, 653, 659, 696, 736
- movements in 1691, 336, 701
- movements in 1692, 366, 373, 385, 392, 415, 417, 419, 420, 421, 427, 474, 476, 481, 491, 493, 494, 495, 718, 719, 728, 729, 738, 770
- movements in 1693, lvii, lxiv, lxvii, lxx, ciii, 37, 120, 127, 146, 150, 156, 222, 244, 510, 519, 522, 524, 527, 530, 534, 538, 544, 546, 551, 556, 557, 560, 561, 563, 565, 566, 567, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 580, 584, 586, 589, 591, 608, 646, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 669, 683, 684, 784
- has an interest in a privateer, 398
- list of ships under his command, 522
- criticised for missing attack on convoy, 586
- proposal to reinforce his squadron from Denmark and Sweden, 773
- Estreham. *See* Ouistreham.
- Etan, Monsieur de l', 379
- Etrée, Etrées, Comte d'. *See* Estrées, Victor Marie, Comte d'.
- Etrée, Etrées, Marechal d'. *See* Estrées, Jean, Comte d'.
- Etrées, Mareschalle d'. *See* Estrées, Marie Marguerite Morin, Maréchal d'.
- Etrées, un jeune. *See* Estrées, Jean, Abbé d'.
- Eugene (Ugennes) of Savoy, Prince, Allied general, xciv, cxxx, 219, 245, 451, 462, 464, 494, 512, 516
- Europe, 466
- Evans, Captain John, cvii
- letter to (as Captain of the *Richmond*), 205
- Everard (Everot), Sir John, 34
- Everden, Mr, merchant of London, 141
- Everot, Sir John. *See* Everard.
- Every, Sir John, 130, 136, 172
- Evry (Devry, Ivry), Chevalier de Chertemps d', French naval officer, 476, 723, 807
- Exeter, 66
- letter dated from, 237
- Fagon, Guy Crescent, premier médecin of Louis XIV, cxliii, 632, 633
- Falaix, Comte de, in Allied service.
- Walloon regiment of, 191
- Falkland, Lord. *See* Cary.
- Fallet, Michael, merchant of London, 281–2
- Falmouth, Cornwall, 10, 11, 68
- Fane, Vere, 4th Earl of Westmorland (Westmerland), 29
- Faneuil, Monsieur, 369
- Faneüil, Pierre, of La Rochelle, 661
- Fardela, Chevalier, Knight of Malta, 518
- Faro, Portugal, 807
- Farr (Farre), Thomas, Jacobite printer, 175
- Faulconbridge, Earl of. *See* Belasyse.
- Fawkener, William, Husband of the Levant Company.
- letter to, 94
- Fay, Sieur du, former French naval captain in Allied service in Cambon's regiment, 687
- Fécamp, France, 420
- Fedel de la Tour, Baron. *See* La Tour.
- Feilding, Israel. *See* Fielding.
- Felton, (later Sir) Thomas, Master of the Household, 243
- Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe, Abbé (later Archbishop), French theologian, writer and Academician, cxliv, 513, 531, 532
- Fenestrelle (Fenestre, Fénestrelles), Italy, 245, 641
- pass of (Col de la Fenestre, Passé de Fénestrelles), 358, 603, 605
- Fenille, Comte de, of Piedmont, 545
- Fenwick, Sir John, 3rd Bt., clvii, 61, 70, 109
- Ferdinand I, Emperor, 412
- Ferguson, Robert, 'the Plotter', 83, 108
- Fériol, Monsieur. *See* Ferriol.
- Fermêze, river, France, 444
- Ferrandy, Chevalier, Knight of Malta, 518
- Ferriol (Fériol), Charles de, Baron d'Argental, then Marquis de Ferriol, envoy extraordinary from France to the Porte, 466, 474, 479, 512
- Ferté. *See* La Ferté.
- Ferville, Monsieur de, French naval officer, 722
- Feuillade, Monsieur de la. *See* La Feuillade.
- Feuquières, Simon de Pas, Chevalier de, French naval officer, 426, 427, 432, 722
- Feversham, Earl of. *See* Duras.
- Feyzullah Efendi, Mufti 1690–2, 1692–4, 422, 544, 552
- Fez, Morocco, 519
- Fielding or Feilding, Israel, Commissary General of Provisions and Commissioner of Victualling.
- calculation by, 96
- petition by, 65
- letters to, 94, 97
- information received from, 283
- appointment as Commissioner of Victualling, 66, 84, 90
- Fiesque, Gillone de Harcourt, Comtesse de, 539
- Filpot, Colonel. *See* Philpot.
- Fimarcon, Jacques de Cassagnet de Tilladet, Marquis de, 453, 455
- Finale (Final), Italy, 521, 524, 614, 681
- Finch, Anne (Hatton), Countess of Nottingham, 2nd wife of the following, xvi, xxii, ciii, cxliv–cxlv, 180
- Finch, Daniel, 2nd Earl of Nottingham (Monsieur le directeur, Notinham, Nottingham), Secretary of State, *passim*
- general correspondence, v, vii–xi, xix–xxvii, liii, lxxxvii, 1–284
- secret service correspondence and papers, v,

- vii–xii, xix, xxvii, liii, lv–lvi, lxxxv, lxxxvii, xciii, cxiv, 285–814
- naval and military papers, v–vi, x–xi, liii–lv, lxxii–lxxiii, 815–29
- authorises overseas payments for bribes or presents, lxxxv, c, cxx–cxxi, 26, 33, 39, 44, 50, 53, 58, 84, 94
- authorises overseas payments for intelligence, cix, cxix–cxxiii, cxxvi, cxxxii, cxlii–cxliii, cxlvi–cxlviii, clii, 59, 287–335 *passim*
- rumour of his appointment as Lord Chancellor, xxv, 60
- counterfeiting of his seal, xxviii, 64, 262, 270, 271–2, 273
- his cipher collection and interest in cryptography, viii, xxi, xlix–liii, cxviii, 813–14
- and his officials, xiv–xx, clviii–clix works hard, xvi, 91
- his conduct of naval affairs, liv–lxxxiii, xcix as member of the Admiralty Commission, liv–lv
- his views on promoting naval officers, lx–lxii and Russell, xv, xxiv, xxvii, lxi, c, 243, 822, 824
- and Trenchard, xxi, xxv–xxvii and Portland, xxiv–xxv
- and Blathwayt, xix–xx, xxiii–xxiv and William III, xix–xxi, xxiv, lxvi–lxix, lxxi–lxxiii, lxxvii–lxxix, lxxxii–lxxxiii and Mary II, xxi, xxvii, lxvi, lxix, lxxiv, cxliv
- and the sailing of the Brest fleet, xxi, lii–liii, lxviii–lxix, cliii
- and Jurieu, cix, cxvii–cxxxiii, cxxxii, cliii–cliv
- willing to spoil but not poison French flour magazines in Germany, 313
- his attempts to reconcile French ship lists, cli–cliv, 118, 323–7, 554, 567–8, 696, 818. *See also* France: fleet: lists of, among Nottingham's papers; France: fleet: Nottingham seeks intelligence about ships being laid up or built for.
- his advice that Rooke's squadron should either be reduced or reinforced, lxvii, lxxi, 115, 126–8, 131, 173–4, 182
- his views on proroguing or dissolving Parliament of Ireland, 110, 117–18, 137–8, 178, 183–5, 187, 188–9
- suspected traitor in his office, xix, xlii, 135, 140, 152, 153
- referred to as James Norris, 168, 175
- his kindness remembered by Catherine of Braganza, clii, 180, 219
- his views on payments to consuls, 188
- his questions for the admirals about their conduct of the fleet, 193
- his private comments on the admirals, xxiv, xli, 195
- verses against, lxix, 235
- refers to rumours of his own dismissal, 242
- cabal at Althorp for his replacement by Sunderland, xxvii, 243
- Cresset's patron, 251
- Wharton plots against, xxvii–xxviii, 261–3, 264–5, 270–1
- surrenders his seals, xix–xx, 280
- expressions of regret at his dismissal, xx, 280–1, 334
- Finch, (later Rev.) Edward, under secretary of state and M.P. for Cambridge University, brother of 2nd Earl, xvi–xvii, xxv, clviii
- letters from, 91, 257, 275
- Finch, Heneage, 1st Earl of Nottingham, father of 2nd Earl, v, xxv, liv
- defence drafted by, 815
- report by, 816
- Finch, Heneage, Lord Finch (d.1701), son of 2nd Earl, 211
- Finch, Heneage (later 1st Earl of Aylesford), M.P. for Oxford University, brother of 2nd Earl, xvi, xxv, 227
- Finch, Rev. Henry (Harry), prebendary of Ely and rector of Winwick, brother of 2nd Earl, xvi, 257, 258
- Finch, John, Lord Finch (d.1691), son of 2nd Earl, 292
- Finch, Sir John, physician and diplomat, uncle of 2nd Earl, v, 826
- Finebet, Italy, 497
- Finedon (Thingdon), Northants. letter dated from, 243
- Finston, Lieutenant-Colonel de, 248
- Fitzgerald (Fitzgerald), Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- Fitzharris, Major, 254, 259
- Fitzjames, James, Duke of Berwick (Barouik, Berrick), 13
- ordered by James II to remain in Flanders in 1691, 355
- movements in 1692, 365
- captured at Landen, 203, 210
- his exchange, lxxiv, 207, 228
- referred to as Mr Jackson, lii, 813
- Fitzpatrick (Fitz-Patrick), Colonel Edward. regiment of, 121, 217
- Fiorelli or Fiorillo, Tiberio, called Scaramouche, Neapolitan actor in Paris, 596, 597
- his wife, 596, 597
- Flacour (Flacour), Pierre Le Bret, Chevalier de, French admiral, 464, 469, 660, 729
- Flanders (Flandre, Flandres) [generally used for Spanish Netherlands], lxxxv–xciii, cxv–cxvi and *passim*
- Braconnier's memorial of the intelligence required from La Confidente about, 372
- French plans for, in 1692, 383, 388, 393, 394, 404, 408, 409, 421
- , in 1693, 514, 529, 546, 563

- combat de. *See* Steinkerke.
- Intendant of French army in. *See* Péletier de Souzy.
- Fléchier, Esprit, Bishop of Nîmes (Nîmes), 540
addresses by, 500
- Fleet, Sir John, Lord Mayor of London, 229
- Flensburg (Flensburgh), Denmark (now Germany), 177, 192, 252
- Flerus. *See* Fleurus.
- Flessingue. *See* Flushing.
- Fletcher, Colonel Benjamin, Governor of New York, civ–cv, 46, 75, 76, 205
letters to, 46, 63, 77
- Fleurus (Flerus, Fleury), Belgium, 137, 349
battle of, cxxxvi, 798
- Florence, 384
letters dated from, 826
Crusca Academy, 500
Duke of. *See* Medici, Cosimo III de.
- Florennes (Florene), Belgium, 355
- Florensac, Marie Thérèse Louise de Senneterre, Marquise de, daughter of Henri, Marquis de Châteauneuf and wife of Louis de Crussol, Marquis de Florensac, 582
- Florival, on river Dijle, Belgium, 150
- Flushing (Flessingue), Netherlands.
privateers of, 598
- Folkestone (Foulstone), Kent, xl, 155
- Fontainebleau (Fontaineblau), France, cxliii, 347, 348, 350, 353, 354, 356, 393, 470, 483, 484, 485, 486, 489, 490, 579, 596, 607, 610, 612, 613, 614, 620, 624, 642
- Fontaine, Pierre, Conseiller du Roi, father of Peter Fontaines, cxxxvii–cxxxviii, 748
- Fontaines or Fontaine, —, Lieutenant-General of the Pays de Caux and of the Vicomté de Montvilliers, Conseiller du Roi, eldest brother of Peter Fontaines, cxxxvii, 745, 748, 774
- Fontaines, Peter (La Fontaine), French naval surgeon and Allied agent, x–xi, cxxxvii–cxli, cxlvii, clvi, 4
letters and reports from, 744–74
dumb relative of, 768
- Fontarabie. *See* Fuenterrabia.
- Fontarcada, Manuel Jago Magalhães, Visconde de, Portuguese envoy extraordinary to England, 3, 85, 104, 249
memorial from, 105
- Fontenay[-le-Comte], France, 724, 739, 741
- Fontenay, regiment of, 562
- Fonton, Captain Pierre, Huguenot officer in Allied service in Italy, 286
- Forant (Foran, Forent), Job, French admiral, 469, 660, 729
- Forbes, Arthur, Viscount Forbes (later 2nd Earl of Granard), 61, 283
- Forbin or Forbin-Gardanne (Fourbin), Claude, Chevalier, then Comte de, French naval commander, 476, 722
- Forbin-Janson (Cardinal de Fourbin, Cardinal de Janson), Toussaint de, Cardinal, French chargé d'affaires in Rome, 3, 75, 510, 515, 526 (as former ambassador to Poland), 606, 619
- Forent, Monsieur. *See* Foran.
- Forrester, Sir Andrew, 83
- Forsheim. *See* Pforzheim.
- Fort de la Prée (Brée), Ile de Ré, France, 720, 781, 783
- Forth, river, 177, 192
- Fort Louis, near Strasbourg, France, 581
- Fort Médoc, France, 156
- Fort Pâté (fort en l'Isle de Cazaux), France, 727
- Forzey. *See* Pforzheim.
- Foster, Major, Jacobite officer, 61
- Fotherby, Thomas, Commissary-General for provisions for West Indies squadron, 7, 68, 69
- Foucault, Nicolas Joseph, Intendant of Caen, xxviii, 319
- Fouleresse, Jean de la. *See* La Fouleresse.
- Foulkes (Foulks), Colonel John, commander of troops in West Indies, cvi, 125, 186
- Foulstone. *See* Folkestone.
- Fountain, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 13, 61
- Fouquiere, Monsieur de, French general, 345
- Fouras (Fourras), France, 728, 739
view of tower offered by agent, 780
reports on camp and fortifications at, 727, 781
- Fourbin, Cardinal de. *See* Forbin-Janson.
- Fourbin, Chevalier de. *See* Forbin or Forbin-Gardanne.
- Fourras. *See* Fouras.
- Fowey (Fowy), Cornwall, xxxix, 81–2, 87
- Fowle, Robert, London banker, 257
- Fowlis, Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- Fowy. *See* Fowey.
- Fox, John, collector of light money at Deal.
letter from, 25
- Foy, Foye. *See* Fowey.
- Fraissinet du Po. *See* Frassineto Po.
- Fraissiniere, valley, France, 460
- France (French), *passim*
Allied descent on, fears or hopes of, xxiv, lxiv, lxxii, 27, 213, 375, 376, 441, 459, 462, 464, 477, 547, 551, 565, 575, 655, 677, 679, 772, 796, 800
—, proposals for, lxxii, cxxx, cxxxiii–cxxxvii, cxlvi, cliii, 787–90, 791–4, 802–7
army, *passim*
Maison du Roi (Roy), 321, 355, 373, 374, 516, 545, 698, 699
sickness in, 352
recruitment for, 386, 402, 488, 499, 517, 519
appointments in, 405, 487, 528–30
report on its strength in Flanders, 421
report on its strength in each theatre, 550
reforms in, 499, 619, 627, 634, 639
coats of mail made secretly for cavalry, 692
budget for 1693, 530

Chancellor of. *See* Boucherat.

coinage of. *See under* coinage.

Conseil de, 406, 410, 422, 449, 523, 524, 790, 792

Conseil de Marine, 405, 646

Conseil Secret, 404, 674

Constable of, 392

contraband trade with England, 82–3, 87, 134–5, 141, 253, 809–12

contraband trade with Ireland, 179

—, proposed as cover for espionage, 704

measures against trade with, especially in naval stores, lxxx–lxxxii, 5, 11, 12, 39, 48–9, 50–2, 86–7

measures against corn bound to, in neutral ships, lxxx–lxxxiii, 86, 113, 120, 121, 128, 131, 142, 145, 147, 253, 254, 256, 258, 265

Estates General, 792, 793

famine or high cost of provisions in

provinces of, lxxxii–lxxxiii, c–ci, cxlv, 27, 121, 257, 321, 441, 446, 499, 502, 525, 528, 541, 598, 599, 601, 604, 612, 613, 614–15, 617, 619, 622, 623, 625, 627–8, 640, 655, 671–2

and severe weather, 396, 401

fleet, navy, xxx–xxxiii, lviii, lxii–lxiii, lxx, cli–clii and *passim*

lists of, among Nottingham's papers, xi, lviii, cli–cliv, 117, 118, 323–6, 426–7, 521–3, 649–50, 652–3, 656–60, 722–3, 816, 818. *See also* Finch, Daniel: his attempts to reconcile French ship lists.

—, requested by Shovell, 114, 118

line of battle, 179, 563

numbers in Mediterranean, 228, 291, 522, 530, 535, 546, 784. *See also* Toulon:

French squadron based at.

sickness in, lvii, 244, 273, 339, 602, 604, 763–6

Nottingham seeks intelligence about ships being laid up or built for, lxii–lxiii, 289, 291, 295, 313, 796

Braconnier's memorial of intelligence required from La Confidente about, lxiii, cxxvii, 371

manning of, lviii, lxii–lxiii, cli, 374, 504–5, 510, 530, 643, 645, 647, 648, 654, 669, 691, 693, 700, 703, 712, 714, 731–2, 735, 773, 779, 782, 785

promotion of officers in, xxxii–xxxiv, lx, 384, 505, 733

thickness of ships' sides in, 391

galleys not to be used in Atlantic, 392

prize system thought unfair by officers, 396

rivalry among officers in, 431

report on gun-loading device, xlv, 431

sheltering in Aulne, lv, 439, 441, 450, 737

James II against first rates for, 444

masts for, lxxx–lxxxii, 444, 505

testing hollow shot, xlv, 481

report on submarines for service in, xlvi, 549

few spies or traitors in, 583

report on reversible warship, xliv–xlvi, 667, 717, 719–20

report on French naval academy, xxxi, lx, 693

report on French naval medicine,

cxxxvii–cxxxix, 763–6

Trésorier de la Marine, 703

Gazette de. *See* Paris: Gazettes.

national character described, 429, 563, 639

nobility of.

letter to, 792

people of.

letter to, 793

not expected to rise, 797

Protestants or Huguenots in, cxxx–clviii, 389, 444, 467, 470

Louis XIV urged to be more liberal

towards, 402, 405, 480, 567

Louis XIV postpones consideration of concessions towards, 411, 479, 480, 486, 492, 496

still imprisoned, 412, 415, 446, 483, 484, 567

not allowed arms, 448

Père La Chaise and Pelisson refuse to help, 480

preachers exhort to patience, 520

arrests and harsh treatment of, 567, 616, 639, 800

fined for nonconformity of servants and children, 596, 606

possible risings of, xxiv, lxxii, cxxvii, cxxx, cxxxiii–cxxxiv, 639, 770, 792

in contact with England, 687, 813

letter from pastor describing ministry among, cxxxi, 688

edifying zeal among actors of the opera, 689

intelligence sought on Louis XIV's

intentions towards, 796–7

of Claye (Clayes), 689

of Crécy (Cressi), 689

of Dauphiné, 478, 479, 639

of Dieppe, cxxxvi, 639, 687

of Languedoc, 435, 485, 616

of La Rochelle, 448, 770

of Lizy (Lisi), 689

of Meaux (Maux), 689

of Metz, 448

of Nanteuil, 689

of Nîmes, 534

of Orléans, 596

of Thouars (Touars), 639

Protestant refugees from.

in England, 71, x–xi, xviii–xxiv, xxviii,

xlvi–xliii, cxxxvii, cxlvi, 124, 170, 305

treatment of, when captured by French, lxxiii, cxxxv, 71

in Allied service in Savoy, 338

- in Switzerland, cvii, 396, 578
 in Ireland, 396
 in the United Provinces, cx–cxix
 may be allowed back, 408, 412, 425, 467, 476, 547
 to be arrested on return, 578
 killed without quarter at Marsaglia, 620, 622
 with knowledge of Dieppe, 687
 on St. Kitts (St. Christophle), 690
- Roman Catholic converts *or* nouveaux convertis in, cxxxi–cxxxii, 415, 629, 797
 ill treated, 644, 709, 715, 725
 extra taxes on, 349, 353, 430, 437
 how buried, 411
 outcry against, 425
 under suspicion, 430, 432, 444, 448, 538
 and possible rising in Dauphiné, 461, 463, 465, 469, 472, 474
 embark in Swedish and Danish ships, 740
 forbidden to keep arms in their houses, 783
 of Dauphiné, 349, 353, 432, 461, 465, 469, 487
 of Guyenne, 487
 of the Ile de Ré, 740
 of La Rochelle, 437, 444, 448, 485, 709, 725
 of La Tremblade (La Tramlade), 740
 of Le Havre, 425, 430
 of Marennes, 740
 of Montauban, 353, 430
 of Paris, 474, 552–3
 of Poitiers, 444
 of Poitou (Poittou), 644, 715
 of Rouen, 353, 425
- ambassador from, to Denmark. *See* D'Usson, François, Marquis de Bonrepos.
 ambassador from, to Sweden. *See* Avaux; Béthune, François Annibal, Marquis de.
 ambassador from, to the Pope. *See* Chaulnes.
 ambassador to, from Sweden. *See* Meyercron.
See also under Paris.
- Francfort. *See* Frankfurt-am-Main.
- Franche Comté, France, cxxx, 406, 627, 629, 637
- Francis II d'Este, Duke of Modena, 119
- Frankckfort. *See* Frankfurt-am-Main.
- Frankclin, Mr. *See* Frankland.
- François I, King of France, 537
- Françoise Marie de Bourbon, daughter of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan, Mademoiselle de Blois, then Duchesse de Chartres (Charters) (later Duchess of Orléans), cxlv, 36, 364, 366, 383, 387, 393, 398, 486, 640
- Frans, Monsieur des. *See* Des Frans.
- Frankfurt-am-Main (Francfort, Frankfort, Frankfort), 125, 130, 137, 236, 325, 436, 495, 559, 581, 599
- Frankland (Franklin), (later Sir) Thomas, joint postmaster-general, xlii, 61
- Franlieu, ———, French military engineer, 431
- Frassineto Po (Fraissinet du Po), Italy, 478, 487
- Fraulé, Comte de. *See* Froulay.
- Frederick III, Elector of Brandenburg (Brandebourg) (later Frederick I, King of Prussia), li, cviii, 24, 25, 60, 88, 378, 420
- Frederick, Prince (Royal) of Denmark (Danemarq), later King Frederick IV, lxxxiv, 22, 24, 36, 72, 75, 502, 506, 508, 509, 512, 513, 514, 515
 battalion of (Danish foot in Allied service), 217
 said to have asked for release of Huguenots, 567
 said to have offered Danish warships for French service, 773
- Frederick Christian of Plettenburg-Lenhausen, Bishop of Münster, 234, 278, 378, 388, 448, 551, 622
 information sought about French hopes of, 795
- Freiburg (Fribourg), Baden, Germany, 556, 582, 611
 Governor of. *See* Du Fay.
- Freke, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert, 74
- French army. *See under* France.
- French fleet. *See under* France.
- Fribourg (Fribourgeois), Switzerland, 412
- Fribourg. *See also* Freiburg.
- Friesland, Stadtholder of. *See* Nassau, Prince Henry Casimir of.
- Froulay, Emanuel de, canon and Comte de Lyon (Comte de Fraulé), uncle of the Chevalier de Tessé, 359
- Frozasque, Italy, 451
- Feuillade, Monsieur de la. *See* La Feuillade.
- Fuenterrabia (Fontarabie), Spain, 460, 474
- Funen, Denmark.
 Danish foot in Allied service from (Funist battalion), 217
- Furetière, Antoine, French writer, 579
- Furnes (Furness, Furnesse), Belgium, lxxxvii, 3, 8, 20, 22, 24, 37, 246, 248, 476, 478, 492, 506, 611, 783
- Gabaret (Gabarret), Jean, French admiral, 424, 427, 586, 604, 636, 660, 663, 664, 665, 666, 668, 670, 719, 721, 723, 724, 736, 737, 738, 743 (as admiral bleu), 744, 745, 769, 807
- Gaeta (Cajette, Gaietta), Italy, 127, 527
- Gaffney (Gafney), ———, executed servant of Sweetnam, 159
- Gaietta. *See* Gaeta.
- Galaway. *See* Galway.
- Gales, Prince de. *See* James Edward.
- Galey, John, of Jersey, 809
- Galicia, Spain, 823
- Galissoniere, Monsieur de La. *See* La Galissonière.
- Gallant, Mrs. Jacobite widow living at Dover, 135

- Galloway. *See* Galway.
- Galles, Prince de. *See* James Edward.
- Gallissonniere, Monsieur de la. *See* La Galissonnière.
- Galloway, Galloway. *See* Galway.
- Galmoy, Lord. *See* Butler, Piers.
- Galoway, Lord. *See* Massue de Ruigny.
- Galway (Galloway, Gallaway, Galloway, Gallway, Golloway), Ireland, cv, 54, 55, 77, 78, 89, 92, 93, 106, 142, 172, 342, 351, 701
letters dated from, 90, 120
Governor of, 78, 130
his deputy. *See* Every.
Mayor of, 78
- Galway, Lord. *See* Massue de Ruigny.
- Gand. *See* Ghent.
- Gap, France, xciv, 456, 461, 462, 468, 472, 475, 477, 478, 481, 484, 486
- Gardeloupe, Gardeloupe. *See* Guadeloupe.
- Garneze, Garnsey. *See* Guernsey.
- Garnier, Madame, in Paris.
accommodation address for Braconnier, cxxviii, 377
- Garonne, river (rivière de Bordeaux, Bourdeaux), France, cli, 712, 717, 732, 737, 782, 788
- Gascony (Gascogne), France, 487
- Gassé, Henri, Comte de, French lieutenant-general, 529, 562
- Gassion, Jean de, French maréchal de camp, 414, 482, 529, 589
- Gauden, Jonathan, naval agent at Cadiz, 38
- Gaultier, Captain Barthelemy de, in Allied service in Italy, brother of the following, 286
- Gautier (Gautier), François de, Sieur de St. Blancard (Blancart, Blanhard), cviii–cx, cxxii–cxxiii, 287, 322, 323
memorial from, cix, 285
Jurieu's friend, 295, 334
- Gaurnsey. *See* Guernsey.
- Gautier, Monsieur. *See* Gaultier, François de.
- Gazette de France. *See* Paris: Gazettes.
- Gazette de Hollande. *See* Holland: Gazette of.
- Gazette de Paris. *See* Paris: Gazettes.
- Gazette de Rotterdam. *See* Rotterdam: Gazette of.
- Gazette d'Hollande. *See* Holland: Gazette of.
- Gavere (Gavre), Belgium, 248
- Geer (Jar, Jecker), river, Belgium, 197, 201, 697
- Geete (Geette, Gheete), Little, river, Belgium, 202, 697, 698
- Geluckstadt. *See* Glückstadt.
- Gély, —, French financier, 510
- Genappe (Genap), Belgium, 132, 137, 220, 492
- Général, pilot, 420
- Genes. *See* Genoa.
- Geneva (Geneve, Genève), xlv, cix, cxvi, cli, 352, 361, 412, 578, 645
letters dated from, 396, 412, 413, 419, 595, 681, 682, 683
intelligence from, 285, 286, 292, 299, 302, 318, 345, 346, 388
suspect intelligence from, 356, 408
alleged Allied designs on, 375, 376
alleged French designs on, 684
French resident in. *See* Iberville.
- Geneva, Lake (Lac de Geneve), 363
- Geneve, Genève. *See* Geneva.
- Genlis, Monsieur de, French naval officer, 635
- Genne, Gennes. *See* Genoa.
- Gennes, Jean-Baptiste, Sieur (later Comte) de, French agent and inventor, xlv–xlvi, lxiii, cxvii, 292, 293, 717, 719, 720
his machine ship. *See* ships: *Soleil d'Afrique*.
- Genoa and Genoese (Genes, Genne, Gennes, Gennois, Genoïs, Genoua, Gesnes), 150, 230, 244, 385, 398, 416, 464, 465, 490, 493, 494, 519, 616, 681, 826
ships of, 175, 359, 586, 592
Senate of, 494
peas of, 514
- George, Prince of Denmark, lii, 21, 73
said to have seized the Tower of London, 718
- George Louis, Electoral Prince of Hanover (later George I), 150, 202
regiment of, 190, 202
his youngest brother. *See* Ernest Augustus (later Duke of York and Albany).
- George William, Duke of Celle (Cell, Zell), Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg (Lunebourg, Lunenburg, Lunenburgh), lxxxi, 12, 27, 39, 147, 220, 246, 255, 258, 281, 385, 423, 576
ratification of treaty regarding, 62
- Germany (Allemagne, Alemans, Allemagne, Empire, Germains, Germans, Tedesques), lxxxv–lxxxvi, lxxxviii and *passim*
sickness among French and Allied forces in, 352
proposal to spoil French flour magazines in, 380–1
troops of, in Savoy, xciv–xcvi, 389, 392, 404, 416, 424, 431, 435, 437, 445, 457, 469, 487, 493, 534, 620
troops of, in Dauphiné, 460, 462, 472, 492
troops of, wintering in Italy, 465, 474, 478, 496, 515
French diversion in, requested by Turks, 406
French tactics regarding, in 1692, 410, 419, 444, 637, 638
French tactics regarding, in 1693, 517, 521, 529, 530, 544, 545, 546, 548, 550, 559
agent from, offers to seduce French officers, 467
See also Empire; Leopold.
- Gerona (Gironne), Spain, 566
- Gerpines (Gerpine), Belgium, 343
- Gersey, Gerzay. *See* Jersey.
- Gesnes. *See* Genoa.
- Gheete, river. *See* Geete.
- Ghent (Gand), Belgium, 34, 38, 105, 115, 125, 130, 210, 433

- Gibraltar (Gilbatar), lxiv, lxxi, civ, 198, 222, 229, 244, 586, 592, 594, 598
 —, Straits of (Destroit, Détroit, Streights, Streights mouth), 20, 23, 28, 37, 48, 106, 127, 154, 156, 157, 160, 175, 222, 319, 322, 395, 455, 468, 519, 524, 527, 530, 538, 546, 549, 561, 572, 573, 582, 586, 604, 613, 621, 636, 665, 728, 741, 742, 808. *See also* Mediterranean Sea.
- Gibson, Colonel (later Sir) John, Lieutenant-Governor of Portsmouth, 1
 letter to, 38
- Gilbatar. *See* Gibraltar.
- Ginkel, Frederick Christian, Lord Aghrim (later 2nd Earl of Athlone), 220
- Ginkel, Godert de, 1st Earl of Athlone (Atelonne), xlv, 37, 115, 116, 125, 129, 137, 142, 152, 158, 209, 216, 220
 letters from, 130, 162
- Girardin, —, Intendant General of the French fleet, 749
- Giraud, Madame, 543
- Giraud, Elisée, French Protestant minister, cxxvii–cxxix, 307 (as ‘ministre’), 377 and 379 (as ‘valet de chambre’)
- Gironde estuary (rivière de Bourdeaux), France, cxxxiii, 727, 736, 737
- Gironne. *See* Gerona.
- Giula. *See* Gyula.
- Givry, Belgium, 121
- Glasgow (Glasco), Archbishop of. *See* Paterson.
- Gloucester, Duke of. *See* William.
- Glückstadt (Geluckstadt), Denmark (now Germany), lxxxii, 192, 822
- Goa, India, 816
- Gobert, Thomas, French architect and engineer, 431, 447
 his son, 431
- Goddard (Godar, Goddards), Edward, son of Edward Goddard of Ogbourne St. Andrew, Wilts., student at Angers interned in France, lxxiv–lxxv, 21, 22
- Godet, Gideon, Huguenot refugee, cxlvi
 letter to, 801–2
- Godet des Marais, Paul, Bishop of Chartres, 607
- Godfrey, Colonel Charles, 38
- Godfrey, Sir Edmund Berry (Sir Edmundberry Godfery), lvii, 214
- Godolphin, Sidney, 1st Lord (later 1st Earl of), lii, lxii, lxxviii, 4, 183, 188, 243
 letter to, 57
 being considered as a lord lieutenant, 66
- Goeree, Netherlands, 265, 273
- Goldsborough, Captain John, 820, 821
- Golloway. *See* Galway.
- Gommessin [?Goncelin], France, 363
- Gonesse, France, 506
- Gonzaga, Charles IV, Duke of Mantua (Mantoue), 418, 457, 478
- Goodlad, James, merchant in St. Malo, lxxvi
 letter to, 160
 newsletter sent to, 170
- Goodricke, Sir Henry (Hary), 2nd Bt., former envoy extraordinary to Spain, 58
- Goodwin, Colonel. *See* Goodwyn.
- Goodwin Sands, off Kent, lxiii, 117, 798
- Goodwyn (Goodwin), Lieutenant-Colonel Robert, cvi, 274
 regiment of, 172, 178
- Gordon, George, 1st Duke of Gordon (Gourden, Gourdon), 37, 70, 145, 160, 161, 169, 171, 501
- Gore, Sir William, merchant and financier, 39, 171
- Goree (Gorray) island, Senegal, 245
- Gosport, Hants., 825
- Goulet [de Brest], the, France, 761
- Gourden, Gourdon, Duke of. *See* Gordon.
- Gourgas, Abbé, 474, 520, 629
- Graham, Sir Charles.
 regiment of, 217
- Graham, Richard, 1st Viscount Preston, xvi, 702
 plans to join James II, 61
- Graham, Dr William, Dean of Carlisle, 61
 his brother. *See* the preceding.
- Grammont (Grammen), Belgium, 101
- Grammont, Comte de. *See* Gramont, Philibert, Comte de.
- Grammont, Monsieur de. *See* Gramont, Antoine Charles, Duc de.
- Grammont Vedeau, Monsieur de. *See* Vedeau de Gramont.
- Gramont (Grammont), dragoons of, 563
- Gramont (Grammont), Antoine Charles, Duc de, 564, 582, 612
- Gramont (Grammont), Elizabeth Hamilton, Comtesse de, wife of the following, 419
- Gramont (Grammont), Philibert, Comte de, 389, 410, 509
- Grancey, François Rouxel de Médavy, Marquis de, French brigadier, half-brother of the Comte de Médavy, 472
- Grancey, Jacques Rouxel de Médavy, Comte de, Marshal of France (d.1680), 502
 his daughter. *See* Rouxel de Médavy.
- Grand, Monsieur le. *See* Lorraine, Louis de.
- Grand Combe or Grand Comte, Sieur de, 303
- Grand Duc. *See* Medici, Cosimo III de.
- Grandfontaine, Monsieur de, French naval commander, 660
- Grand Prieur. *See* Vendôme, Philippe de.
- Grand Seigneur, Seignior, Signor. *See* Ahmed II.
- Grandval (Granval), Barthélemi de Linière, Chevalier de, conspirator, xviii, xxx, cxv, 278, 316, 465, 466
- Grand Varadin. *See* Oradea.
- Grand Vey, le. *See* Vey's Bay.
- Grandvill in France. *See* Granville.
- Grand Visier, Visir, Vizir. *See* Ali Pasha; Köprülü, Mustafa; Mustafa Pasha Bozoklu.

- Grand Waradin. *See* Oradea.
- Granges, Monsieur des. *See* Desgranges.
- Granville. *See* Granville.
- Granval. *See* Grandval.
- Granville (Grandvill, Grantville), France, 179, 647, 648
 letter dated from, cl, 645
 privateers of, 767
- Granville, Madame de, 504 (as suspected poisoner), 507
 her brothers, 504
 her late husbands, 504, 507
- Granville, Monsieur, invented correspondent in Paris, 651
- Granville, Charles, Viscount Granville of Lansdown (Lord Lansdowne) (later 2nd Earl of Bath), 66
- Granville *or* Grenville (Greenvil), Dr Dennis, nonjuror, formerly Dean of Durham, 107
- Granville, John, 1st Earl of Bath, 66, 107
 regiment of, 181, 309
- Grave, Jean de, merchant of London, 811
- Gravenmoer (Scravemoer, Sgravemoer, Sgravemoor, Skravemoors), Adam van der Duyn, Heer van 's, Dutch lieutenant-general, 203, 207, 209, 225
- Gravesend, Kent, 72
- Gravisset, Paul, Huguenot refugee minister, 813
- Gray, Dr, 13
- Great Seal, 27, 90, 98
 Commissioners of the, 27
- Great Wardrobe, 53
- Greece (Grece), 509
- Greenaway (Greenway), Captain James, 267, 268
- Greenhill, Captain David, cv, cvii, 78, 92, 106, 142, 150
 letters from, 90, 120, 151
 letters and orders to, 77
- Greenhill, Captain Henry, naval commissioner at Plymouth, cxxxvii, 56, 58, 71, 81–2
- Greenvil, Dr. *See* Granville.
- Greenville, Mr, 160
- Greenway, Captain. *See* Greenaway.
- Greenwich, Kent.
 memorandum dated from, 815
 hospital proposed at, 825
- Greg, Hugh, English chargé d'affaires in Denmark, lxxxiv, 51
 letters to, 40, 44
- Gregory, Sir Edward, naval commissioner at Chatham.
 letter from, 213
- Grenada (La Grenade), West Indies, 690
- Grenezay. *See* Guernsey.
- Grenoble, France, 337, 401, 456, 458, 460, 462, 469, 472, 473, 475, 477, 482, 483, 484, 486, 501, 612, 641, 706
 news from, 451
 Carmelites, 472
 Faubourg de la Poste de Bonne, 460
 Faubourg des Trois Cloîtres, 460
- Parlement of, 484
- Recollects, 472
- Gresivaudan, Vallée de [?Isère valley above Grenoble], France, 363
- Griffin, Captain, English prisoner of war in Newfoundland, 267
- Griffin, Edward, 1st Lord Griffin, 61
- Grignan, Monsieur de, 462
- Grimaldi, Anne Hippolyte, daughter of Louis Grimaldi, Prince of Monaco (and later Duchesse d'Uzès), 631
- Grimes, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Gritton, Mr, clerk to William Wardour, 70
- Gröben, Colonel Johan Wolf von.
 regiment of, in Allied service, 121
- Groluere, Captain. *See* Dugroloer.
- Grosswardein. *See* Oradea.
- Guadeloupe (Gardeloupe, Gardeloupe, Guadeloupe), West Indies, cvi, 665, 667, 703, 709, 710, 711, 725, 741, 742
 letter dated from, 706
 description, 690
 proposals for attack on, 692
 descriptions of attack on, 707, 708
 rumour of its capture, 734
 Basse Terre, 706, 707
 Galions, river, 707
 Gosier (Gousier), 707
 Gouïabec, 707
 Grande Terre, 707
 Ste. Marie, 707
 See also Amérique, Iles d'.
- Guernsey (Garneze, Garnsey, Gaurnsey, Grenezay, Guarnezey, Guernesey, Guernezey), xlv, lxxv, cxxxviii, 64, 65, 69, 198, 206, 211, 224–5, 256, 257, 456, 674, 712, 749
 letter dated from, 247
 Bailliff and Jurats of, 224
 letter from, 247
 Governor of. *See* Hatton.
 Lieutenant-Governor of, 211
- Guiche [?Henri de la], Chevalier de la, French naval officer, 420
- Guienne. *See* Guyenne.
- Guiguer, Isaac, merchant and banker, of London, cxvi, 813
- Guilbert, Monsieur, of Calais, 791
- Guillaume (Guilliams), Thomas, merchant and pilot, of Jersey.
 information from, 808
- Guillaume Premier. *See* Nassau, William I of.
- Guillestre, France, 451, 456, 457, 465, 475, 484
- Guinea (Guiney), Africa, 25, 212
- Guingand (Guingamp), France, 758
- Guion, —, French Protestant minister, 616
- Guiscard, George de, Comte de la Bourlie, father of the following, 382
- Guiscard (Guiscar, Guiscart), Louis de, Comte de la Bourlie, French lieutenant-general, Governor of Dinant, then Namur, 345,

- 356, 382, 401, 406, 436, 466, 469, 494, 575, 596
- Gunfleet, the, sandbank off Essex, 263
- Guy, Captain John, 744
- Guyenne (Guienne), France, 433, 437, 446, 466, 474, 531, 737
address to inhabitants of, 789
Roman Catholic converts in, 487
proposals to invade, cxxxiii–cxxxv, 787
- Gyllenborg (Gyldenborg), Count Jacob, Swedish councillor, 279
- Gyula (Giula), Hungary, 568
- H. H., initials used by Allied agent, 725
- Ha, grand et petit [?Great and Little Geete, rivers], Belgium, 697
- Hacket, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Haddock, Sir Richard, Comptroller of the Navy. erroneous reference to, 829
- Hadrian (Adrien), Roman emperor, 509
- Hague, la. *See* La Hougue.
- Hague, the (La Haye), xxviii, xli, xlv, li, lxxiii, lxxxiii–lxxxiv, lxxxvii, cviii–cix, cxvii, cxxvii, 5, 90, 106, 219, 221, 255, 279, 442
letters dated from, 72, 75, 78, 110, 113, 119, 121, 122, 123, 147, 186, 234, 251, 260, 263, 265, 273, 288, 304
news dated from, 15, 24, 32, 34, 36, 37, 260, 263, 265
treason trial at, 100
spy at, lxiii, 709
Treaty of, xxii
English envoy at. *See* Berkeley, Charles.
Polish envoy at. *See* Moreau.
Portuguese envoy at. *See* Mendoça.
Spanish minister at. *See* Quiros.
- Hailbron. *See* Heilbronn.
- Hainault (Hainaut, Haynaut), Belgium, 240, 490
- Haine, river, Belgium, 494
- Haiti (Espanola, Hispaniola, St. Dominge, St. Domingo, St. Domingue), West Indies, 99, 245, 344, 662, 691, 703–4, 742
Spanish governor of, 5, 56
French buccaneers on, 690
le Cap. *See* Cap Haitien.
- Halefeld. *See* Ahlefeldt.
- Hales, Colonel John.
regiment of, 131, 172, 178
- Halewijn (Alewiin, Alewijn, Alewyn, Aluyn), Cornelis Terestyn van, member of the court of Holland, 100, 110, 111, 113, 120, 546, 587, 640
- Halewijn (Alewiin, Alewijn, Alewyn, Aluyn), Simon van, burgomaster of Dordrecht, younger brother of the preceding, 100, 110, 111, 113, 546, 547, 587, 640
- Halle (Hall), Belgium, 225, 576, 599, 638
- Hallewins. *See* Halewijn, Cornelis Terestyn van; Halewijn, Simon van.
- Halost. *See* Alost.
- Halstine, Duke of. *See* Holstein-Plön.
- Hambleton, Captain. *See* Hamilton, Captain Hugh.
- Hamburg (Hambourg, Hamburgers, Hamburg, Hamburgers, Hamburgo), xxxix, li, lxxxii, 39, 49, 82, 181, 254, 281
letters dated from, 79, 280
ships of, lxxxi–lxxxii, 12, 39, 40, 49, 50, 62, 105, 156, 157, 583
contract for transport of Irish soldiers to, 818
Senate of, 32, 48
letter to, 62
envoy from. *See* Bostel.
- Hamburg Company or Merchant Adventurers, 83
- Hamelot, Monsieur. *See* Amelot.
- Hamilton, Duke of. *See* Douglas-Hamilton.
- Hamilton, Colonel Frederick, 88, 130
regiment of, 96
- Hamilton, Colonel Lord George (later 1st Earl of Orkney), 209
- Hamilton (Hambleton), Capain Hugh, 72, 73, 108
- Hamilton, Captain James, Jacobite, 73
- Hamilton, Colonel James, 159, 164, 171, 181, 236
- Hampden, John, 243
- Hampshire (Hantsire), 105
proposed quarters for regiments in, 114
map of, 828
- Hampton. *See* Southampton.
- Hampton Court, Herefordshire (Herifordsheir).
letter dated from, 133
- Hampton Court, Middlesex.
furniture taken from, 73
- Hanau, Germany, 137
- Hannover. *See* Hanover.
- Hannut (Hannuy), Belgium, 207, 217
- Hanover (Hannover, Hanovre), Germany, li, 53, 62, 281
troops of, 202, 209, 229, 246
Duchesse or Madame de. *See* Benedicta Henrietta.
- Duke or Elector of. *See* Ernest Augustus, Duke and Elector of Hanover.
- Electoral Prince of. *See* George Louis.
- Electorate of, lxxxv–lxxxvi
Papal objections to, 23, 477
German objections to, 24, 34, 35, 37, 459, 477, 485, 496, 512, 521, 559, 639
Danish objections to, 60, 496, 506, 512, 514
no Danish objections to, 576
no Swedish objections to, 60
Swedish objections to, 496, 512, 514
- Hantshire. *See* Hampshire.
- Harambure, Madame d'. *See* Arambure.
her daughter. *See* Contaudière
- Harbord (Harbort), William, English ambassador to the Porte (d.1692), xcvi, 461, 474
- Harcourt (Harcour), Henri d', Marquis de Beuvron (Marquis d'Harcourt) (later Duc d'Harcourt and Marshal of France), 194, 476, 483, 530, 561, 589, 592, 593, 596

- Harlay, Achille III de, Premier Président of the Parlement de Paris, 400, 536, 632
- Harlay, Achille IV de, son of the preceding and grandson of Boucherat, 400, 448
- Harlay, François de, Marquis de Champvallon (Chanvallon), great-nephew of the following, 589
- Harlay de Champvallon, François de, Archbishop of Paris, 361, 404, 525, 553, 565, 589, 630
his chancellor, 361
his confessor, 361
- Harlebeke (Harlebeck), Belgium, 111
- Harper, Peter, Jacobite alias, 169
- Harriot, Justice, of Islington, 169, 171
- Harris (Harrys), Edward, Lieutenant-Governor of Jersey, lxxiv–lxxv, 214, 219
letters from, 99, 161, 223, 251, 252, 256
note by, 257
information laid against, 808, 809
- Harteloire, La. *See* La Harteloire.
- Hartfordshire. *See* Hertfordshire.
- Harwich, Essex, xxxix, xlv, cxvii, cxix, 60, 74, 75, 121, 145, 161, 175, 253, 277
letter dated from, 67
letter received via, 529
Mayor of, 60
- Hasfelt. *See* Bidal.
- Hastings, Major, Jacobite officer, 61
- Hastings, Colonel Ferdinando.
regiment of, 88, 95, 96, 131, 170, 178
- Hastings, Theophilus, 7th Earl of Huntingdon (Huntington), 133, 139, 143
- Hatton, Christopher, 1st Viscount Hatton, Governor of Guernsey, Nottingham's father-in-law, xxii, lxix, 198, 207, 224
- Haute-Croix, passage de la. *See* Croix Haute, Col de la.
- Hautefort, Gilles de Gontaut, Comte d', French naval commander, 636
- Haute Normandie. *See* Normandy, Upper.
- Haut Rhin. *See* Rhine, Upper.
- Havre, le (Haverdegrace, Havre de Grace), France, xlii, lxiii, lxxii, clii–cliii, 319, 321, 366, 401, 417, 425, 426, 431, 673, 772, 775, 782, 790, 799
ships at, 80, 118, 320, 326, 328, 427, 544, 549, 662, 664, 674, 675, 676, 712, 713, 716, 717, 718, 721, 732, 737
reports on shipbuilding at, 391, 740
plan to expand its port, 392, 447
news of naval battle received from, 422
bombarded, 423
outcry against Roman Catholic converts in, 425, 430
Vosges timber brought by river to, 444
vulnerable to attack, 670
privateers of, 740
Governor of, 425. *See also* St. Aignan.
Intendant of Marine at. *See* Louvigny d'Orgemont.
- Hawkins, Mrs, receiver of smuggled goods, 141
- Hawkins, Captain Charles, 267
- Haye, La. *See* Hague, the.
- Haye-Ventelet (De La Hayé), Denis de, French ambassador in Venice, 375, 459
- Haynaut. *See* Hainault.
- Hays, Monsieur, 662
- Heckeren, Baron *or* Monsieur. *See* Heeckeren.
- Hedges, Sir Charles, Judge of the Admiralty, lxxx, lxxxi, 6, 12, 39, 86, 87, 88, 231, 232
letters and reports from, 5, 30, 104–5, 192, 252
draft annotated by, 90
- Hedges, Sir William (Sir John Hodges), merchant and financier, sheriff of London, 171, 175
- Heeckeren (Heckeren), Walraven (Walravus), Baron van, Heer van Netelhorst (Lord of Nettelhorst and Count Zutphen), envoy extraordinary from the States General to Saxony and Sweden, lxxxiv–lxxxv, 24, 31, 62, 278
- Heemskerck (Heemskerk, Heemskirk, Heemskirke, Hemskerk), Coenraad van, Anglo-Dutch envoy extraordinary to the Porte, xcvi–xcviii, 128, 129, 131, 226, 244, 568, 584
letter from, 215
to confer with Mavrocordato at Belgrade, 496
- Heidelberg (Heidelberg, Heydelberg, Heydelburg), Germany, lxxvii, lxxviii, 37, 125, 129, 130, 132, 137, 551, 556, 559, 561, 565, 569, 573, 593, 678, 679
Governor of. *See* Heydersdorff.
- Heilbronn (Hailbron, Heilbron), Germany, 137, 246, 570, 582, 585, 592, 641
- Heidelberg. *See* Heidelberg.
- Heinsius, Antonie, Grand Pensionary of Holland (the Pensioner), xxiv, xxviii, l–li, lviii, lxxxv, cxv, cxxi, cxlix–cl, cliii, clviii, 10, 31, 49, 64, 95, 113, 120, 125, 130, 131, 136, 174, 180, 186, 215, 304, 310, 316, 685–6
letters from, 121, 147, 186
letters to, 173
to share intelligence at Jurieu's discretion, 297
Allied agent sent to Normandy on his instructions, 317
- Heister (Heusler), Count Siegbert von, Imperial commander-in-chief in Hungary, 35, 147, 441
- Hely, William, collector of customs in Guernsey, 224, 247, 809
- Hempson, Peter, Jacobite alias, 168
- Hemskerk, Monsieur. *See* Heemskerck.
- Hen, Marquis d', 695
- Henley, Robert, Commissioner of Transport.
letter to, 81
- Henri III, King of France, 352
- Henri IV, King of France, 805, 828

- Henrietta Maria, Queen, 579, 633
- Herbert, Arthur, Earl of Torrington, liv–lv, lxii, civ, 702, 813, 818
 letter from, 820
 letters to, 820
 orders to, 820
 legal opinions in relation to trial of, liv, 820
 regiment of, 819
- Herbert, Sir Edward, titular Earl of Portland, former Lord Chief Justice.
 letter from, summarised, 109
- Herbert, Mary (née Preston), Lady Montgomery (later Marchioness of Powis), 284
- Herbert, Thomas, 8th Earl of Pembroke (Pembroke), Lord Privy Seal, former First Lord of the Admiralty, lxxvii, 9, 19, 117, 183, 819
- Herbert, William, Viscount Montgomery (later 2nd Marquis of Powis), 284
- Hercourt, D'. *See* D'Hercourt.
- Hereford (Herefford, Heriford), 133, 139, 143, 145
 Mayor of. *See* Church.
- Herefordshire (Hereford sheir, Heriford-sheir, Herifordsheir), xxxvii, lxxvi
 letters dated from, 133, 145, 176
- Heriford. *See* Hereford.
- Heriford-sheir, Herifordsheir. *See* Herefordshire.
- Hermanville, France, cliii, 680
- Herne, Kent, xlii, 134
- Herne, Sir Joseph, merchant and financier, lxxi, c, cxx, 26, 27, 39, 139, 287, 291, 330
 letters of exchange issued by or for, 311, 331, 332
- Héron, regiment of, 461
- Herring, Captain, 146
- Hertfordshire (Hartfordshire), 167
- Hervart, Philibert d', Baron de Heuningen (DHuninguen), English envoy extraordinary in Switzerland.
 letter from, 281
- Hervault (Ervaux, Nervaux), Chevalier de, French naval commander (d. Nov. 1692), 660, 723
- Hesse-Cassel (Hesse), Charles, Landgrave of, lxxxvi, 130
 cavalry and troops of (Hessons), 130, 137, 212, 392
- Hesse-Darmstadt (Hesse), George, Prince of, general in Allied service.
 regiment of, 96
- Heudicourt (Hudicourt, Udicour), Bonne de Pons, Marquise d', 403, 470
- Heuningen, Baron de. *See* Hervart.
- Heusler, General. *See* Heister.
- Hexham (Hexam), Northumb., 201
- Heydelberg, Heydelburg. *See* Heidelberg.
- Heydersdorff, General, Allied Governor of Heidelberg, 573
- Heylisssem, abbey of, near Velm, Belgium, 194
- Hières, Isles d'. *See* Hyères.
- Higgins, Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- Hill, —, Jacobite, 260, 261
- Hill, Captain John, Navy Commissioner, lxi, 821
- Hill, Joseph, minister of the English Presbyterian church in Rotterdam, 694
 letter from, 212
- Hill, Oliver, English resident of Corunna, 85
- Hill, Robert, merchant of Cork and Dutch consul in Ireland, 118, 125, 130, 145, 147
- Hingelem, Belgium, 194
- Hispaniola. *See* Haiti.
- Hocquincourt, Marquis d', 466
- Hodges, John, London merchant confused with Sir William Hedges, 171
- Hogben, Thomas, suspected Jacobite living at Dover, 135
- Hogue, the. *See* La Hougue.
- Hoguette, Monsieur de la. *See* La Hogue.
- Holder, Richard.
 letter from, 27
- Holland (Hollande), xl, xlv, lvi, lxxxiii, cviii–cxxiv, cxxvii, cxlix, clvi, clviii, 17, 18, 20, 23, 29, 34, 35, 49, 51, 53, 62, 76, 79, 115, 117, 131, 132, 145, 162, 169, 170, 173, 179, 181, 235, 249, 257, 307, 308, 312, 319, 372, 374, 547
 intelligence from France to be routed through, 287
 Portuguese envoy in. *See* Mendoça.
 Gazette of, 634, 652, 655, 666
 States of, 15, 110, 622
See also United Provinces.
- Holland, Richard, xxvii
 letters from, 259, 264
 deposition by, 260
 information from, 261, 270
- Holman, Captain William, privateer, 59
- Holmes, Mr, receiver of smuggled goods, 141
- Holmes, Admiral Sir Robert, Governor of the Isle of Wight, 798
- Holsteen, Duke of. *See* Holstein-Plön.
- Holstein, Denmark (now Germany), 220
- Holstein-Plön (Halstine, Holsteen, Holstein Ploen, Holsteyn, Holstin, Holstine Blane), John Adolphus, Duke of, Allied general, lxxxvi, 34, 35, 232, 246, 281
 false report of his death at Landen, 209
 returns to Allied camp from Denmark, 235, 240
- Holt, Colonel Henry, 828
- Holt, Sir John, Lord Chief Justice, 72
- Homer (Homère), 509, 532
- Homrigh, Bartholomew van. *See* Vanhomrigh.
- Honfleur, France.
 privateers of, 767
- Hongrie, Hongroie, Hongrois. *See* Hungary.
- Hoo, Kent, 214
- Hook of Holland, cxvii, 72
- Hooke, Nathaniel, 813
- Hop, Jacob, Dutch envoy extraordinary to Denmark, 35, 37, 51

- Hopertingue (Popertingue), between St. Trond and Tongres, Belgium, 195, 197, 201
- Hopson, Captain (later Sir) Thomas, 43
- Hoquetz, les, Italy, 487
- Horace, 414, 421
- Horn (Horne), Count, Dutch officer, 34
- Horse, William, of Weymouth, 206
- Horneck, Dr Anthony, 169
- Houblon, Sir John, Assistant of the Levant Company.
letter to, 94
- Houffalize (Onfalite), Belgium, 569
- Hougue. *See* La Hougue.
- Hounslo (Hounslo) Heath, Middlesex, 95, 96, 97, 105
- House of Commons. *See* Commons, House of.
- House of Lords. *See* Lords, House of.
- Howard, Colonel Lord Bernard, 61
- Howard, Charles, 3rd Earl of Carlisle, Governor of Carlisle, 138
- Howard, Henry, 7th Duke of Norfolk, 8, 16, 145, 172, 178
- Howard, Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, wife of the preceding, 16
- Howe (How), James, Commissioner of Victualling, 66, 84
- Hubaye. *See* Ubaye.
- Hudicourt, Madame d'. *See* Heudicourt.
- Hudson's Bay Company, 29
- Hughes (Hughs, Hugius), Hugh *or* Hugo,
English agent at Ratisbon, xxix, cxxi, 109, 110, 115
letter from, 100
letter to, 100
memorandum by, 101
- Huguenots, Huguenots. *See* France: Protestants
in; France: Protestant refugees from.
- Hugyens, Monsieur. *See* Huygens.
- Hull, Yorkshire, 702
- Hume, Mr, 44
- Humières, Louis de Crevant, Duc d', 392 (as senior Marshal of France), 394, 408, 528, 545
- Hungary (Hongrie, Hongroie, Hongrois), xcvi, 3, 147, 348, 350, 352, 426, 461, 470, 474, 482, 484, 485, 487, 491, 544, 584, 596, 638, 740, 794
- Huningue, France, 582
- Huninguen, Baron D'. *See* Hervart.
- Hunter, Samuel, Secretary of Trinity House.
proposals signed by, 825
- Huntington, Lord. *See* Hastings, Theophilus.
- Hurst, Major, Jacobite officer, 61
- Huy, Belgium, lxxxvii–lxxxix, 3, 141, 172, 191, 193, 194, 200, 212, 423, 483 ?487 (as Nuits), 530, 548, 581, 583, 585, 587, 589
its surrender to the French, 195, 197, 201
- Huygens (Hugyens), Constantin, secretary of William III, xxix, 101
- Hyde, Edward, 1st Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor, 813
- Hyde, Henry, 2nd Earl of Clarendon, former Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 143
- Hyde, Henry, Viscount Hyde (later 2nd Earl of Rochester and 4th Earl of Clarendon), son of the following, 186
- Hyde, Lawrence, 1st Earl of Rochester,
lxxvii–lxxviii, 29, 117, 178, 183, 188
letter from, 189
rumour of his appointment as Lord Treasurer, 60
described by Nottingham as constantly active for the advantage and interest of their Majesties, 186
- Hyères, Iles d' (Isles d'Hières, isles d'Yères), France, 494, 495, 613, 619, 664, 738
- Hythe (Hyth), Kent, 140
memorial by Custom House officers of, 141
- Iberville, Charles François de la Bonde d',
French resident in Geneva, cix, 375, 412, 681, 682, 684
- Iles d'Amérique, les Illes. *See* Amérique, Iles d'; Guadeloupe; Martinique.
- Imhoff, Rudolf Christian von, envoy extraordinary from the Bishop of Munster to Sweden, 278
- Imperialists. *See* Empire.
- Indes. *See* East Indies; West Indies.
- Indes, flotte des. *See* under West Indies.
- Indes Occidentales. *See* West Indies.
- Indes Orientales. *See* East Indies.
- Ineu, Romania (Jena, Hungary), 147, 568
- Infreville de St. Aubin, Louis Le Roux d',
Chevalier d'Infreville, French admiral, 427, 723
- Ingoldsby, Colonel Richard.
regiment of, 96
- Ingram, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Innocent XI (formerly Benedetto Odescalchi),
Pope, 351, 411
- Innocent XII, Pope, 486, 492, 511, 602
his opposition to the ninth electorate, lxxxvi, 23
and James II, 37, 351, 353
and the Duke of Savoy, 122, 342–3, 603, 627
and Avignon, 346–7, 351
and relations with France, 361, 365, 390, 424, 446, 457, 493, 494, 496, 512, 515, 533, 552, 608, 609, 610, 615, 629
and the Emperor, 404, 465, 482, 561
and Venice, 459
his Council, 608
French ambassador to. *See* Chaulnes.
his nuncio to France. *See* Cavallarini.
his nuncio to Savoy. *See* Strozzi.
his nuncio to the Emperor. *See* Tanara.
Imperial ambassador to. *See* Liechtenstein.
See also Rome.
- Ipres. *See* Ypres.

- Ireland (Ireland, Irlande, Irlandois, Irish, Yrlande), v, xlv–xlvii, lxiii, lxxii–lxxiii, lxxxvi–lxxxix, lxxxiii, cv, cxvi, cxxiii, cxxxiii, cxl, 21, 55, 58, 63, 81, 82, 99, 110, 116, 129, 132, 137, 151, 160, 162, 163, 176, 178, 179, 205, 206, 236, 248, 249, 250, 254, 256, 273, 305, 318, 341, 342, 345, 348, 349, 354, 356, 359, 369, 410, 426, 622, 701, 702, 709, 818, 828
disorderly conduct of troops in, 111, 116, 123, 821
Dutch consul in, 118, 125
proposed pensions in, xxiv, cxli, 126
proposal to banish Roman Catholic clergy from, 137, 144, 150
French refugees to settle in, 170, 286, 327
Palatine refugees to settle in, 326–7
alleged proposal to send Turkish prisoners to, 350
Jacobite troops from, xxxviii, lxxiv, 360, 382, 385, 674, 705, 713, 794
Protestant refugees in Switzerland possibly to settle in, 396
troops from, in Savoy and Dauphiné, 409, 461
ships of, 479, 715
possible French plans to invade, 674
no French plans to invade, 773
English worse than Irish, 701
trade between Rochefort and, 720
trade between La Rochelle and, 738
Allied troops from, to invade Guienne, 787
memorial urging greater use of Irish ports against France, 823
Council of, 112, 137, 164, 184
letter from, 97
Court of King's Bench, 97
Lord Lieutenant of. *See* Sydney.
Lords Justices of, 77, 98, 118, 143, 148–9, 158, 159, 163, 164, 170, 178, 181, 183–4, 204, 250. *See also* Capell; Coningsby; Duncombe; Porter; Wyche.
Parliament of, lxxvi–lxxix, 110, 112, 115, 116, 117–18, 123, 125, 137–8, 152, 158, 159, 164, 173, 178, 183–5, 187, 188–9, 197, 204
Roman Catholics of, lxxvi, 479
Irish Channell. *See* St. George's Channel.
Irish Sea, Irish seas, 54, 55, 56, 153, 179
Ireland, Irlande, Irlandois. *See* Ireland.
Isère, river, France, 345
Isham, John, under secretary of state, xvi–xvii, clviii, 91, 257, 275
Isigny, France, 321
Isle Marie, near Cherbourg, France, 417
Isles, les. *See* Amérique; Isles d'.
Italy (Italie, Italiens, Itallie, Italye), xxxiii, liv, lxiv, lxvii, lxxxviii, xciii–xcvi, cxxx, 222, 230, 301, 372, 375, 384, 404, 406, 437, 457, 459, 465, 482, 491, 494, 496, 502, 506, 510, 515, 550, 592, 602, 615, 681, 682, 773, 807
English consuls in, 181
French hopes for alliance with princes of, 388, 457, 474, 486, 492, 639
French army of, 529
French troops to winter in, 623
Ivrea (Ivrée, Yvrée), Italy, cxliii, 295, 372, 374, 681, 796
Ivry, France.
plan of battle of, 828
Ivry, d'. *See* Evry.
Jackson, Joseph, merchant of London, 281–2, 7811
Jackson, Robert, English merchant in Stockholm.
letter to, 94
Jacobins, 360, 788
Jacobites, viii–ix, xxv–xxviii, xxx, xxxv–xli, xliii, lii, lvi, lxiii, lxxiv–lxxvi, lxxxiii, cxvi–cxvii, cxxxix, 60, 82, 145, 160, 161, 171, 208, 283, 305, 319, 444, 570, 604, 718, 812, 814
their officers listed by Kingston, 61
promise their servants high wages in England, 414
declare allegiance openly in London, 416, 419
in communication with French boats, 769
See also under James II.
Jacques, le Roy. *See* James II.
Jamaica (Jamayque), cii, 99, 205, 245, 268, 484, 644
report of native rising in, 489
privateers of, 704
Assembly of, 242, 246
James II, King (Jacques, Jams, Jaques, Jasque, Jasques), *passim*
referred to as Robert Keen, 167, 168, 169
referred to as Robert Kempthorn, 167
referred to as Robert Kemble, 167
plans to restore, 3, 13, 35, 305, 570, 775
plans to restore, apocryphal, 572
his declarations, xxxvi–xxxvii, lii–liiii, 15, 129, 133, 138, 145, 146, 161, 169, 171, 175, 413, 416, 418, 568, 776
and Louis XIV, 15, 305, 367, 399, 406, 409, 413, 424, 430, 444, 455, 470, 486, 794–5
confers with envoys from Denmark and Sweden, 34
at carnival ball, 36
and Innocent XII, 37, 351, 353
messages to, brought by Middleton, 108
messages to and from, via Calais and Dover, 141
his health and restoration drunk to in Epping, 260, 261
French and Polish troops from his Irish army reach La Rochelle, 342
Allied agent at the sign of the Duc d'Yorck, Paris, cxxiv, 347
chagrined over events in Ireland, 348

- orders Duke of Berwick to remain in Flanders, 355
- movements in 1691, 356, 358, 360, 382, 713, 719, 794
- movements in 1692, 365, 366, 409, 413, 415, 424, 430, 486, 490, 673, 674, 718, 775, 776
- movements in 1693, 613
- his dependence on France caricatured, 356
- receives funds from England, 359, 367
- promises of support to, in case of an uprising, 377, 769
- reorganises his troops from Ireland, 383
- seen by French as no obstacle to peace, 388
- seen by French as main obstacle to peace, 541, 639
- seen by French as a Jonah, 411, 429
- and Lauzun, 389
- said to have been refused command of invasion fleet, 401
- may join invasion fleet, 408
- sends to compliment Catherine of Braganza, 418
- new French songs at expense of, 428
- said to have sent to compliment Russell after La Hougue, 429
- rejoices in English courage at Steinkerk, 455
- his hair white, 487
- alleged demonstrations in his favour in England and Scotland, 495
- spoils Prince Frederick of Denmark's hunting, 514
- his birthday celebrated in London, 522
- boasts by his entourage, 570
- alleged assassination plot against, 571
- potential assassin of William III in his entourage, xxviii, 669, 670
- his troops ravaging the Cotentin, 771
- as Lord High Admiral, 815
- his mother. *See* Henrietta Maria.
- See also* Jacobites.
- James C. *See* De Ale.
- James Edward, Prince (Prince de Gales, Galles, Prince of Wales, Wayles), son of James II, 20, 36, 133, 260, 388, 430
- his portrait allegedly exhibited at crossroads in England, 495
- receives the order of the Garter, 776
- alleged assassination plot against, 571
- Jams, King. *See* James II.
- Jamvime, Daniell. *See* Janverin.
- Janse, Captain Jan, of Glückstadt, master of the *Culbuteur*, 822
- Janson, Cardinal de. *See* Forbin-Janson.
- Janverin (Jamvime), Daniel (Daniell), of Jersey, 809
- Jaquau, Captain Moses, 4
- Jagues, le Roy. *See* James II.
- Jar, river. *See* Geer.
- Jardin du Bosquet. *See* Buskett Gardens.
- Jasque, Jacques, le Roy. *See* James II.
- Jecker. *See* Geer.
- Jena, Hungary. *See* Ineu, Romania.
- Jermyn, Thomas, 2nd Lord Jermyn (Jermin) of St. Edmundsbury, Governor of Jersey, 809
- letter from, 214
- Jersey (Gersey, Gerzay, Jerzey), lxxiv–lxxvi, 69, 214, 219, 379, 456, 674
- letters dated from, 99, 161, 223, 251, 256
- news dated from, 224
- information laid against suspected Jacobites in, 808–9
- Governor of. *See* Jermyn.
- Lieutenant-Governor of. *See* Harris.
- Jesuits (Jesuistes, Jesuittes), xxix, cxxxi, 264, 362, 414, 430, 474, 483, 616, 690, 709, 725, 746, 747
- locusts from hell suspected of being, 644, 715
- at Poitiers, abducted children sent to, 708
- Jews.
- of Metz, 230
- of Frankfurt, 236
- Jodoigne (Judoigne), Belgium, 144
- John, fictitious Jacobite, 366
- John III (Sobieski), King of Poland, 20, 22, 29, 448, 470, 479, 497, 517
- John George, Elector of Saxony (Saxe, Saxoney), lxxvi, 26, 27, 36, 246, 420, 422
- English and Dutch subsidy to, 31
- ratification of treaty relating to subsidy to, 62
- envoy extraordinary from, to England. *See* Reuss.
- envoy extraordinary to, from England. *See* Colt.
- John William, Elector Palatine, 129
- letter to, 69
- Johnson, Secretary. *See* Johnston, James.
- Johnson *alias* Harrison, Jacobite, 161, 175
- Johnson, Henry, Chief Clerk for Bills and Accounts, Navy Office, 38
- Johnson, Sir Henry, shipbuilder and M.P., 820
- Johnson, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph, 251
- Johnston, Dr, 83
- Johnston (Johnson), James, Secretary of State for Scotland, 108, 169
- Jolly, Mrs Mary, 175
- Joly, Monsieur, general of the united order of Notre Dame du Mont Carmel et de St. Lazare de Jerusalem, 390
- Jones, Cadwallader (Codnallteder), Governor of the Bahamas, 14
- Jones, Mrs Frances.
- testimony of, 271
- Jones, Richard, 1st Earl of Ranelagh, Paymaster-General, 161
- Josselin (Shogny), France, 759
- Jourdan, Monsieur, merchant of Paris, 689
- Jouy[-en-Josas], France, 631
- Joyeuse, Jean Armand, Marquis de, Marshal of France, 200, 210, 528, 529, 588
- strength of his forces in Flanders, 421
- Joyeuse, Jean Paul de Lorraine, Duc de, Prince de Lillebonne, 528, 589 (as Prince Paul)

Judoigne. *See* Jodoigne.

Julien, Colonel, French refugee in Allied then French service, 465, 541, 546, 574
 regiment of, in Allied service in Savoy, 346
 Jurieu (Jurieus, Jurieux), Pierre, viii, xii, xv–xvi, xix, xxiv, xxviii, xxx, xxxiv, xliii, xlv, xlix, lxii, lxviii–lxix, xci, ci, cix–clviii *passim*, 84, 158, 174, 221, 288, 380, 382, 624, 643, 675, 676, 684, 714
 letters from, 287–335 *passim*, 380, 687–99 *passim*
 letters to or for, 287–699 *passim*
 letters of exchange in favour of, 311, 331, 332
 referred to as Mademoiselle Jurieu (Jurius) or Mademoiselle, cxix, 378, 670, 689, 695
 proposal that he should receive intelligence from France, cix, 285
 absent at synod, 297, 669
 taking the waters at Aix, 306
 his secretaries. *See* Legoux; De Pierrefritte.
 another secretary.
 letter from, 297

Kaiserswerth (Keyser waert), Germany, 737

Kambell. *See* Campbell.

Kamenets Podolskiy (Caminiec, Caminiets), now Ukraine, 346, 470

Kanea. *See* Canea.

Kearney. *See* Carney.

Keate, Mr, Custom House official, 69, 235

Keatly, Mr. *See* Keightley.

Keen, Robert. *See* James II.

Keightley (Keatly), Thomas, 183

Kemble, Robert. *See* James II.

Kemphorn, Robert. *See* James II.

Kendall, Colonel James, Governor of Barbados, cvi, 182, 185–6, 223

letters to, 98, 124

Kensington. *See under* London and Westminster.

Kent, xxxix–xl, 108, 155, 164

Kenyon, Roger, Governor of the Isle of Man, 257

Keroualle, Henriette Mauricette de, Dowager Countess of Pembroke and wife of Timoléon Gouffier, Marquis de Thoix (Henriette Pembroke de Thoix).
 letter from, 47

Keroualle, Louise Renée de, Duchess of Portsmouth (Porsmout), xxxvi, 47, 394 (as Richmond's mother), 414, 600

Keyser waert. *See* Kaiserswerth.

Khania. *See* Canea.

Killigrew (Killegrew), Henry, joint admiral, xxiv, xxvi, xxxvii, xli, lix–lx, lxvii–lxix, lxxi, 19, 25, 64, 71, 88, 139–40, 187, 195, 237, 242, 501

letters from, 30, 41–4, 190

letters to, 57

draft protest by, 829

King, Dr William, Bishop of Derry, 72

King's Proctor, 192

Kingston, Dr Richard, xxvii, xlviii, lxix
 letters from, 13, 14, 17, 33, 38, 60, 64, 69, 83, 89, 107, 108, 129, 208, 235
 list of Jacobite officers supplied by, 61
 information from, 72

Kingstone, Lord. *See* Pierrepont.

Kings Weston (Kingsweston), Glos.

letter dated from, 211

Kinsale (Kinsel), co. Cork, lxiv, 26, 205, 206, 221, 222, 245, 683

letter dated from, 249

proposals for attack on, xxi, 818

convenient for naval operations against France, 823

Kirk, —, governor of French garrison at Ebernburg (Ebernbourg), 489

Kitson, James, King's Messenger, 284

Knollys, Charles, titular 4th Earl of Banbury, 18
 Köprülü, Mustafa, Grand Vizier 1689–91, 337, 470

Korke. *See* Cork.

Kuprili. *See* Köprülü.

Laar (Lare), Belgium, 202

La Bastide (La Bastit), Monsieur de, or Mathieu de Malzac, French Protestant minister, cxxix, 379, 397, 402, 405

La Bastide. *See also* Châteaumorant.

La Baume. *See* Montrevel.

La Baume de Suze, Anne Tristan de, Archbishop of Auch, 393

La Bertière, deputy governor of the Duc de Chartres, 452

Labonneille, —, officer in Allied service.
 proposals by, for liberating France, cxxxiii, 791

La Bourdonnaye, Yves Marie de, Seigneur de Coëttion, Intendant of Poitou, 739

La Bretesche, Monsieur de, French lieutenant-general, 529

La Bretesche, Monsieur de, French naval commander, 660

La Bruyère, Jean de, French author and Academician, cxliv, 539, 565

Labuetonniere, —, merchant of London, 811
 Labuissière (la Bussiére, Labussiere), Belgium, 489, 638

La Chaise, François de, Jesuit (Pere de la C.), confessor of Louis XIV, 341, 480, 513, 615

La Chambre, Marin Cureau de (d.1670), French doctor, author and Academician, 539

La Chambre, Pierre Cureau de (d.1693), French preacher and Academician, 539

La Châtre (la Chastre), France.
 regiment of, 562

La Ciotat (the Seta), France, 27

La Confidente. *See* Latouche.

- La Croix (la Croise, Lacroix, la Croize), Isaac de, French merchant at Dover, xli–xlii, 124, 132, 133–5, 139, 140, 149, 152, 153, 640
 his wife and children, 134
- Laecken, Belgium, 220
- La Ferrière, Chevalier de, 616
- La Ferté, Henri François de St. Nectaire or Senneterre, Duc de, French maréchal de camp, 431, 457, 515, 529, 600
- La Feuillade (Fueillade), François d'Aubusson, Duc de, Marshal of France, cxlv, 354, 393, 511, 631
- La Feuillée, France, 759
- La Feuillée, Monsieur de, French maréchal de camp, 547
- La Fontaine, Madame de, 607
- La Fontaine, Monsieur de, 607
- La Force, Jacques de Caumont, later Duc de Caumont and de, eldest son of the following, 523
- La Force (Delaforce), Jacques Nompar de Caumont, Duc de, 395, 523
- La Force, Susanne de Béringhen, Duchesse de, 2nd wife of the preceding, 567
- La Forest-Suzannet, Frédéric Henri, Marquis de, Huguenot major-general commanding Danish troops in Allied service, 191, 240, 504
- La Foulereuse, Jean Payen de, Danish chargé d'affaires in England, lxxiv, cxlvi
 reports forwarded by, 775–7
- La Fountaine. *See* Fontaines.
- La Galissonnière (Gallissoniere), Roland Barrin, Chevalier (later Marquis) de, French naval commander, 636, 643, 660, 712, 723
- Lagnon, Chevalier de. *See* Lannion, Chevalier de.
- Lagnon, Monsieur de. *See* Lannion, Pierre, Comte de.
- Lagos (Lago, Lagoos), Portugal, 156, 157, 571, 580, 741, 742
 Bay of, lxiv, lxx, lxxiii, c, cii, cxlvii, 157, 162, 741, 807
 Governor of, 571
- La Grange, Mademoiselle R., cxxiv, 347, 348
- La Grenade. *See* Grenada.
- Laguos. *See* Lagos.
- La Hague. *See* La Hogue.
- La Harteloire (Larteloin, Larteloire), François René de Betz, Chevalier (later Comte) de, French naval commander, 427, 723
- La Haye. *See* Hague, the.
- La Hayé, Monsieur. *See* Haye-Ventelet.
- La Hague. *See* La Hogue.
- La Hogue, Charles Fortin de, Marquis de Housset, French lieutenant-general, 338, 345, 346, 356, 384, 621
- La Hogue (Hougue, la Hague, la Hogue), France, 321, 366, 566, 642, 660, 670, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 716, 768, 771, 775, 779, 802
 plans to expand its port, 392, 427, 447
 battle of, xxiv, xxx–xxxii, xxxvi, xxxviii, xlvi, lv–lvi, lxiii, lxvi, lxxv, c, cxxxi, cxxxiv, cxxxvii, cxxxix, cxlvii–cxlviii, cli, 307, 422, 424, 429, 571, 645, 719–23, 725, 729, 732, 743, 769, 772, 782, 784
 list of ships destroyed at, 426
 victory exaggerated by Dutch in Turkey, 461
- La Loubère, Simon de, French diplomat, writer and Academician, 511, 539, 557, 580
- La Luzerne (Luserne), François de Briquerville, Comte de, French naval commander, 660, 722
- La Marck (la Mark), French regiment of, 438
- Lamballe, France, 758
- Lamberg, Colonel, 494
- Lambert, Jean, merchant of London, 811
- La Melonière (Melonier), Brigadier Isaac de.
 his regiment of French foot in Allied service, 96
- Lamoignon (la Moignon), Chrétien François de (d.1709), Avocat Général and Président à Mortier au Parlement de Paris, elder brother of Bâville, 448, 526, 540
 his daughter. *See* Poissy, Madeleine de Lamoignon, Marquise de.
 his father-in-law. *See* Voysin.
 his son. *See* the following.
- Lamoignon, Chrétien François de (d.1729), later Président à Mortier au Parlement de Paris, eldest son of the preceding, 540
- Lamoignon, Marie Jeanne Voysin, Marquise de, wife of Chrétien François de Lamoignon (d.1709), 526
 her father. *See* Voysin.
- Lamoignon, Nicolas de. *See* Bâville.
- La Mothe, Monsieur de. *See* La Motte.
- La Mothe-Houdancourt (La Motte), Louise de Prie, Maréchale de, widow of Philippe de la Mothe-Houdancourt, Duc de Cardonne, Marshal of France, 579
- La Motte, —, Allied officer.
 regiment of, 190
- La Motte (la Mothe), Louis Jacques du Fosse, Comte de, French maréchal de camp, 529, 562
- La Motte, Mareschalle de. *See* La Mothe-Houdancourt.
- Lamprey, James. *See* Lemprière.
- La Murre. *See* Mure, la.
- Lancashire (Lankashire), xvi, xxv, 72, 113, 271
- Landau, Germany, 347, 637
 Governor of, 3
- Landen (Neerwinden), battle of, x, xviii–xix, lxii, lxxiv, lxxxix–xciii, cxxxv, 198, 201–3, 207, 209–11, 216–18, 219–21, 224, 225, 228–9, 245, 588–98, 697–9
 map of, mentioned, 827
- Landen, rivulet of, Belgium, 203, 697, 698
- Landen (Landem, Ste. Gertruden-Landen, St. Gertruyden-Landen), villages of, Belgium, lxxxix, 201, 202, 697, 698

- Landerneau, France, 724, 756, 757, 758, 759
 Baye *or* rivière de. *See* Elorn.
- Landerneau. *See also* the following.
- Landévennec (called Landernau in error), France, 737
- Landivisiau (Landiviseau, Landivisio), France, 652, 757
- Lane, —, dancing master, 283
 his brother, 283
- Langallerie (Langalerie, Langalerie), Philippe de Gentils, Marquis de, French lieutenant-general, 403, 450, 452, 529
 cavalry of, 563
- Langeais *or* Langey, Louis de Cordouan, Marquis de.
 reference to the annulment of his first marriage in 1659, 558
- Langeron, Monsieur de, French lieutenant-general, 530
- Langeron (Angeron), Joseph Andrault, Marquis of, and of La Coste, French admiral, cxxviii, 427, 660, 721, 723, 749, 758
- Langes-Monmiral, Monsieur de.
 letter from, 63
- L'Angle, Dr Samuel de, Prebendary of Westminster, 169
- Langlée, Monsieur de, cxliv, 459
- Langston, Colonel Francis, 67, 218
- Languedoc, France, cxxxi–cxxxiv, 338, 349, 351, 437, 531, 598
 address to inhabitants of, 789
 news from, 458
 dragoon regiment of, 385
 regiment of, 562
 Protestants of, 435, 485, 616
 Estates of, 500
 guidelines for Allied forces occupying, 804–7
 Intendant of. *See* Bâville.
- Lanion, Monsieur de. *See* Lannion, Pierre, Comte de.
- Lanjamet, —, aide-de-camp to Louis XIV, 426
- Lankashire. *See* Lancashire.
- Lannion (Lagnon), Chevalier de, French naval officer, brother of the following, 665
- Lannion (Lagnon, Lanion), Pierre, Comte de, French maréchal de camp, 529, 562, 569
- Lansdowne, Lord. *See* Granville, Charles.
- La Pallice (La Pallisse), France, 666
- La Perouse. *See* Perosa.
- Lapparat, Brigadier, French military engineer, 534, 560, 563
- La Prée, fort de. *See* Fort de La Prée.
- La Rablière, Monsieur de, 547
- La Raye, Laraye, Marquis de. *See* Larray.
- Lare. *See* Laar.
- Larey, Monsieur de. *See* Larray.
- La Reynie (Reinie, Renie), Nicolas Gabriel de, French Lieutenant-General of Police, xxxiv–xxxv, lii, cxvi, cxlii, clvi–clvii, 352, 402, 405, 446, 493, 508, 543, 548, 597 (as Monsieur le Lieutenant Civil), 626
- La Rivière, Henri François de, son-in-law of Bussy-Rabutin, 539
- La Roche, Monsieur, French naval officer, 522
- La Roche-Allart (Roche Alard, Roche Allard), Nicolas Goussé, Chevalier de, French naval commander, 498, 635, 660, 722, 808
- La Rochefoucauld, Monsieur de. *See* Rochefoucauld.
- La Rocheguyon. *See* Rocheguyon.
- La Rochelle (Rochell), France, xiii, cxiii, cxvii, cxxiii, cxxxi, clvi–clvii, 373, 441, 464, 485, 541, 668, 672, 700, 701, 706, 707, 708, 768
 letters dated from, 661–6, 702
 postscript dated from, 740
 report dated from, 782
 ships at, 24, 713, 715, 716, 729, 730, 732
 intelligence from, cxlvii, cl–cli, 287, 322, 342, 344, 357, 703, 736
 Roman Catholic converts in, 437, 444, 448, 485, 709, 725
 fear of English attack on, 437, 739
 new agent found to report from, 601, 624
 prices at, 645, 649, 658, 661–7, 704, 734
 troops expected in, 660, 666, 669, 720, 724, 732, 735, 741, 784–5
 commutes its taxes, 671
 merchant ships of, 704, 734, 785
 reports on defences of, cxxv, 709, 725, 726, 731, 733, 737, 780–6
 Irish trade with, 738
 Huguenots of, ready to rise, 770
 plan and section of, offered by agent, 779, 780
 Governor of. *See* Marcognet.
 Intendant de Marine at. *See* Bégon.
- Capucins, 783
- Château, 783
- Chef de Baie (Baye), 708. *See also* Pointe de Chef de Baie below.
- Coigne, Porte de. *See* Cougnes.
- Core, 783
- Cougnes, Porte des (Porte de Coigne), 780
- Fonds (Fons) St. Eloy, 780, 783
- Fort Louis, 781
- Hôtel (l'hostel) de Ville, 785
- Landas, Porte du, 780
- Louis, Fort. *See* Fort Louis.
- Mêlot's folly, 780
- Pointe de Chef de Baie (Baye), 725, 780. *See also* Chef de Baie above.
- Porte Neuve, 783
- Rompsay (Ronsay), 780
- Ste. Gemme (St. Jemes), marshes of, 661
- St. Maurice, 780, 781
- St. Nicolas, Porte de, 780
- Souliers, les, 783
- Tasdon (Tadon, Tâdon), 780, 783, 786
- Tour de la Lanterne, 783

- La Rongère (Rougere), Gilbert de Quatrebarbes, Chevalier de, French naval officer, 427, 635, 660, 722
- La Roque-Persin (Roqueperrin), Jean de, French naval officer, 427, 636, 722
- La Roquette, French lieutenant-general, 529
- La Rougère. *See* La Rongère.
- Larray (La Raye, Laraye, Larey, Larré, Larrey), Marquis de, French lieutenant-general, 343, 346, 360, 418, 456, 458, 460, 467, 469, 472, 529, 574, 625, 641
- Larteloin, Larteloire, Chevalier de. *See* La Harteloire.
- Lartigue, Monsieur, of Paris, 802
- Lascaris d'Urfé. *See* Urfé.
- La Saussaye, abbey of, Chevilly-Larue, France, 502
- Lassay, Armand de Madaillan de Lesparre, Marquis de, aide-de-camp to Louis XIV, 426
- Latouche *or* La Touche (La Confidente, La Confidente des Amours, La Tousche), French official at the Ministry of Marine and Allied agent, lxiii, cxxiii–cxxix, cxliii, cxlvi, 294, 295, 296, 298, 300, 301
letters from, 370, 372–6
questionnaire completed by, cxxvii, 794
memorial for, 370
known to Dijkveld, 298
emissary of, to rejoin French service in Flanders, 300
suspected of playing a double game, cxxviii–cxxix, 307
- La Tour, Emmanuel Maurice de, eldest son of the Comte d'Auvergne, Chevalier (later Grand Cross) of the Order of Malta, 404
- La Tour, Baron Filiberto *or* Fedal (Fedel) de, President of Geneva and envoy from Savoy to England, xcv, 67, 75, 84, 90, 101, 121
letters from, 119, 122
letters to, 122, 126
- La Tour, Henri Oswald de, Abbé de St. Sauveur de Redon, second son of the Comte d'Auvergne, 404
- La Tour. *See also* Albret; Auvergne; Bouillon; Turenne.
- La Tousche. *See* Latouche.
- La Tramlade. *See* La Tremblade.
- La Trappe (la Trape), Abbaye de, France, xxxviii, 358, 413, 429, 430, 507, 545, 775
Abbé de. *See* Le Bouthillier de Rancé.
- La Tremblade (La Tramlade), France, 731, 732, 737, 740, 782
- La Trémouille, Charles Belgique Hollande, Duc de, and Duc de Thouars, 549
- La Tremouille, Frédéric Guillaume de, Prince de Talmond (Talmont), brother of the preceding, 400
- La Tremouille (Trimouille), Marie Armande Victoire de (later Duchesse d'Albret), daughter of Charles Belgique Hollande, Duc de La Tremouille and de Thouars, and of Madeleine de Créquy, 382
- Laubanie, Yrier Magonthier de, French maréchal de camp and Governor of Mons, 575
- Lauder (Lawder), Colonel George, regiment of, 144, 217
- Lauenburg (Lavembourg), Germany, 576
- Laugeois, Madame, née Croiset, wife of the following and sister-in-law of Louise Françoise (née Laugeois), Comtesse de Tourville, 532–3
- Laugeois, Monsieur, Conseiller au Parlement de Paris, son of the following, 532–3
- Laugeois, Françoise, née Gosseau, wife of the following, 533
- Laugeois, Jacques, Seigneur d'Imbercourt, Secrétaire du Roi and Fermier Général, 533
his son-in-law. *See* Tourville.
- Laumaria, Monsieur de, French army officer, 530
- Lausanne, Switzerland, 368, 369
- Laussau, —, 63
- Lauzun, Antoine Nompars de Caumont, Marquis de Puyguilhem, Duc de, 389, 432, 526, 536, 537
- Laval (l'Aval), France, 546, 549, 677
- La Valette (de la Valet), Louis Félix de Nogaret, Marquis de, French lieutenant-general, 190, 212, 583
- Lavardin, Henri Charles de Beaumanoir, Marquis de, Lieutenant-General of Brittany, 376, 399
- Lavardin, Louise Anne de Noailles, Marquise de, 2nd wife of the preceding and sister of the Duc and Chevalier de Noailles.
verses on, 399
- Lavau, Louis Irland de, Abbé, librarian and Academician, 531
- La Vauguyon, André de Bethoulat, Seigneur de Fromenteau, Comte (Marquis) de, 497
- La Veine, Jacques, French master mariner, of London, cxxxvi, 687
- Lavembourg. *See* Lauenburg.
- Lavie, Jean, naturalized French merchant, of London, 811
- La Vigerie-Treillebois, Monsieur de, French naval commander, 636, 660
- Lawder, Colonel. *See* Lauder.
- Laxington, Lord. *See* Sutton.
- Leason *or* Leeson, —, former comptroller of the foreign post office, 60, 61
- Le Bagneux. *See* Bagneux.
- Le Bourget, France, 442
- Le Bouthillier de Rancé, Armand Jean, Abbé de La Trappe, 507, 579
- Le Camus, Cardinal Etienne, 390
- Le Catelet, France, 367
- Le Cavalier (Cavalier), Nicolas (Nicollas),

- Allied informant, merchant at Rotterdam, xxviii–xix, cxlix–cl, cliii–clv
 letters from, 669, 670
 letters to, 645–69
 letters sent to and copied by, 316–17, 678
 memoranda by, 318, 320, 656, 679–80
 praised by Jurieu, 318, 320
- Ledigières. *See* Lesdiguières.
- Lédiguières, Duc de. *See* Lesdiguières, Jean François Paul, Duc de.
- Lédiguières, Madame de. *See* Lesdiguières, Paule Marguerite Françoise de Gondi, Duchesse de.
- Lee, Justice, 43, 44
- Leeuw (Leeuwe, Leewe, Leuwe, Leuwe, Loo), Belgium, 187, 200, 203, 697, 698
- Leeuwarden (Lewaerden), Netherlands, 798
- Leeward Islands (Barboudes, Barboutes, Isles angloizes de l'Amérique), cvi, 182, 205, 206, 236, 644, 710, 717. *See also* St. Kitts.
- Le Féron, Geneviève, second daughter of Maximilien Titon and wife of Jean Baptiste Le Féron, Seigneur Du Plessis, 633
- Le Font, Monsieur, 17
- Legañez (Leganes), Marqués de, Spanish Governor of Milan, 119, 219, 220, 345, 346, 416, 424, 550
- Legge, George, 1st Lord Dartmouth, 817
- Leghorn (Leghorne, Legorne, Livorne, Livorno, Livourne), Italy, c–ci, 9, 79, 149, 152, 153, 158, 172, 244, 398
 English ambassador at, *See* Blackwell.
 French consul at, 148
 Governor of, 148
- Legoux, Sieur de, French Protestant refugee in Rotterdam, Jurieu's secretary for intelligence, lxxviii, xci, cxviii–cxix, cxxi, cxxxi
 letters from, 306, 330
 memoranda in his hand, cvi, 501, 554, 586, 689–93, 696–9
 letters copied in his hand, 325, 333, 382–597, 600–36, 681, 682, 683
 his salary, cxix, cxxi, 302, 309, 322, 331
- Le Grand, Monsieur. *See* Lorraine, Louis de.
- Le Havre. *See* Havre, le.
- Leibniz (Leibnits), Gottfried Wilhelm von, xii, 412
- Leicestershire, 109
- Leige. *See* Liège.
- Leigh, Thomas, 2nd Lord Leigh of Stoneleigh, 28
- Leinster, Duke of. *See* Schomberg, Meinhard.
- Leith, Midlothian, lxxix–lxxx, 192
- Le Martray (Martrais), fort, Ile de Ré, France, 701, 720, 727, 781, 783
- Lembeck (Lembecq, Lembeecq, Limbeck), near Halle (Hall), Belgium, 233
 letter dated from, 225, 226, 230, 231, 232
 news dated from, 225, 228, 230, 232
- Lemerick. *See* Limerick.
- Lemon, Will, Jacobite alias, 175
- Le Moteux, Captain, French naval officer, 522
- L'Empereur (Lempereur), Sieur de, French commissaire de marine at Dunkirk.
 list signed by, 799
- Lempourdan. *See* Ampurdán.
- Lemprière (Lamprey), Captain Jacques or James, of Jersey, 809
- Lencôme, Madame de, niece of Paul Scarron, 387
- Lennox, Charles, 1st Duke of Richmond (Richemont), xxxvi, 366, 394, 413
 his mother. *See* Keroualle, Louise de.
- Léogane (Leogale), Haiti, 344
- Leopold I, Emperor, li, lxxxv, xcvi–xcix, 20, 34, 35, 347, 416, 418, 423, 437, 448, 469, 482, 496, 525, 550, 564, 592, 634
 treaties with, 2, 215, 216, 226, 231, 237, 238, 388, 502, 512, 794
 said to have proposed an exchange of Turkish and Irish prisoners of war, 350
 and the Pope, 404, 465, 482, 561
 and the Diet, 445
 and the Swiss, 467
 and Italian princes, lxiv, 469, 474, 510, 515, 639
 and Poland, 517, 552
 and Savoy, 618
 has scruples as a Roman Catholic about opposing James II, 795
 French peace proposals to, lxxxvi, 582, 611
See also Empire.
- Leopold Joseph, Duke of Lorraine, 418
- Leopold Eleonora Josephe, Countess Palatine of the Rhine, 69
- Le Péletier. *See* Péletier.
- Le Pellé, Captain, 64
- Le Pont [? Paimpont], Brittany, France, 759
- Le Ponthou. *See* Ponthou, Le.
- Le Quesnoy (Le Quenoy, Quesnoi), France, 130, 367, 550, 553
- Léry, Chevalier de, French naval officer, 432, 468
- Lesdiguières (Lediguières), France, 478
- Lesdiguières, Jean François Paul, Duc de, son of the following, 382
- Lesdiguières, Paule Marguerite Françoise de Gondi, Duchesse de, 382, 405
- Lesh, French redoubt near Ottignies, Belgium, 190
- Lesk, Dr, 200
- Leslie (Lesly), Charles, Jacobite controversialist, 70, 72–3, 108, 109
- Leslie, David, 5th Earl of Leven.
 regiment of, 217
- Leslie, General Sir James.
 regiment of, 114
- Les Ollonnes. *See* Sables d'Olonne, les.
- Lessines, Belgium, 457
- Le Tellier, Charles Maurice, Archbishop of Rheims, xiv, 400, 465, 474, 520, 562, 630

- Leuse. *See* Leuze.
- Leuve, Leuwe. *See* Leeuw.
- Leuze (Leuse, Louse), Belgium, 34
battle of (1691), 355, 399, 403, 454
- Levant, the, v, lxi, lxiv, xcix, 119, 206, 228, 244, 498, 583, 601, 608, 784, 785, 786
- Levant Company (Turkey Company, Turkey merchants, Turkey Company, Turkey merchants), xv, lxi, lxv, lxix, lxxiv, xcix, 94, 160, 169, 170, 171, 208
- Leven, Earl of. *See* Leslie.
- Liverpool. *See* Liverpool.
- Leveson, Brigadier Richard.
letter from, 201
- Lewaerden. *See* Leeuwarden.
- Lewis, Prince. *See* Baden.
- Lexington, Lord. *See* Sutton.
- Leyden, Netherlands, liii, cix, cxvii, cxxvi, cxlii, 285
letters ostensibly sent to, 336–80 *passim*
postmaster of. *See* Clignet.
- Liborchy, Comte de, in Allied service, 191
- Libourne, France, 788
- Liechtenstein, Anton Florian, Prince of,
Imperial ambassador to the Pope, 23
- Liège (Leige, Liégeois), Belgium,
lxxviii–lxxxix, 105, 116, 125, 132, 136, 141, 172, 182, 187, 197, 200, 201, 210, 212, 356, 421, 435, 440, 449, 530, 537, 546, 548, 559, 561, 563, 564, 566, 568, 569, 585, 587, 588, 591, 593, 617, 619, 641, 697, 703
Bishop of, 591
- Lier (Lierre), Belgium, 130
- Liesse, France, 637
- Lieutenant Civil, Monsieur le. *See* La Reynie.
- Ligneris (Lignery), Joseph d'Espinoy, Marquis de, 589
- Lille (Lisle), France, xxxiii, 210, 583
French gazette of, xc, 210
- Lillebonne, Mademoiselle de. *See* Espinay.
- Lilleday, Lille Dest. *See* Aix, Ile d'.
- Lille Dieu. *See* Yeu, Ile d'.
- Lillieroot (Lillierode), Nils, Baron, Swedish
envoy to the States General, 279
- Limbeck. *See* Lembeck.
- Limerick (Lemerick, Limerik, Limmerick, Lymerick), Ireland, lxxvi, 97, 98, 162, 342, 346, 348, 350, 356, 357, 358, 397, 622, 711, 734, 738, 787
- Limerick, Limmerick, Lord and Lady. *See* Dungan.
- Limmerick. *See* Limerick.
- Limoges, Bishop of. *See* Urfé.
- Limousin, France, 672
- Lincolne, Earl of. *See* Clinton.
- Lindsay (Lyndsey), —, Jacobite landlord, 109
- Linieres (Linière), regiment of, 562
- Linster, Duc de. *See* Schomberg, Meinhard.
- Lion. *See* Lyon.
- Lipova (Lippe), Romania, 476
- Lisbon (Lisbone, Lisbonne, Lixboa, Lixbone, Lixbonne), xliii, lvi, lxxxi, ciii, 5, 19, 68, 93, 156, 157, 162, 163, 170, 173, 191, 194, 467, 567, 580, 705, 708, 724, 734, 810, 811, 816
letters dated from, 180, 227
river of. *See* Tagus.
Spanish minister at. *See* Sentamat.
- Lisle. *See* Lille.
- Lisle-day. *See* Aix, Ile d'.
- Littleton, Captain Edward, 196, 226, 255
letter from, lxv, 156
- Liverpool (Leverpool), Lancs., 257
- Livingston, Charles, 2nd Earl of Newburgh (Newbrough), 61
- Livingston, Colonel Sir Thomas, 2nd Bt. (later Viscount Teviot), commander-in-chief in Scotland, 67, 121
- Livorne, Livorno, Livourne. *See* Leghorn.
- Lixboa, Lixbone, Lixbonne. *See* Lisbon.
- Lizard Point (the Lizard), Cornwall, 11, 54, 744
- Lloyd, Colonel Edward.
regiment of, 96
- Loang, castle of, Belgium, 202
- Lobkowitz (Lokovits), Wenzel Ferdinand,
Count Poppel von, Imperial ambassador to Spain, 564
- Loches, France, 483, 484
regiment of, in Allied service in Savoy, 346
- Lodington (Loddington), Benjamin, English
consul at Tripoli, ci, 150, 158, 159, 172
- Loire (riviere de Nante), France, 245, 506, 654, 712, 732
- Loise, river. *See* Oise.
- Lokovits, Monsieur de. *See* Lobkowitz.
- Lombriasco, Italy, 350
- Londey, Sieur, Huguenot pensioner, 309
- London (Londre, Londres), *passim*
letters dated from, *passim*
spread of James II's declaration in, 138
fast in, to be prevented, 259
alleged unrest in, 560
Bishop of. *See* Compton.
Common Council of, 229, 231, 233
Lord Mayor of. *See* Fleet.
Recorder of. *See* Lovell.
Sheriffs of. *See* Abney; Hedges, Sir William.
- London and Westminster and environs, *passim*
bankruptcies of merchants and insurers in, 28, 604
arrests of merchants for debt in, 29
merchants of, fear ruin, 591
Admiralty Office. *See* under Admiralty.
Barge Yard, Bucklersbury (Bucklersberry), 813
Blackwall, 820
Bourse. *See* London and Westminster: Royal Exchange.
Canning's Coffee House, 235
Change, the. *See* London and Westminster: Royal Exchange
Charles Street, xxix

- memorandum dated from, 101
 Charterhouse, 274
 Cockpit (Cockpitt), the, Whitehall.
 letter dated from, 49
 Custom House, xliii, lix, 42, 141, 253
 Exchange, the. *See* London and Westminster:
 Royal Exchange.
 Fleet Street (Fleetestreete), 109
 Fountain (Fontaine) Tavern, Haymarket,
 160
 Friday (Fryday) Street church, 83
 Greek Street (quartier des Grecs), 778
 Haymarket (Hay Market, Haymarkett), 160,
 283
 Hicks' Hall (Hixes Hall), Clerkenwell, 18
 High Holborn, 813
 Islington, 271
 Kensington, Kensington Palace, xix, 19, 65,
 280
 letters dated from, 40, 48, 53, 57, 62, 205,
 237
 Queen's gardens at, 271
 Leicester Fields, 145
 Mint, the, Southwark, 208
 Newgate (Newgat), 72, 73, 129, 264
 declaration dated from, 273
 Old Bailey (Old Baily, Old Baly), 17, 73,
 270, 271, 273
 Parliament. *See under* Parliament.
 Queenhithe (Queen Hyth), 108
 Royal Exchange (Bourse, Change,
 Exchange), 29, 161, 591
 St. Ann's Coffee House, 270
 St. Martin-in-the-Fields, poor of, 28
 St. Martin's Lane, xxviii, 318
 St. Paul, Covent Garden, parish of, 271
 Shoe (Shoee) Lane, 109
 Soho (So ho), 108
 Strand, 24
 Suffolk (Suffolke) Street.
 letter dated from, 282
 Reindeer (Raine Deer) in, 283
 Temple Bar (Temple Gate), 814
 Tower, the (Tour de Londres), lxxiv, cxii, 26,
 28, 112, 718
 letters dated from, 264, 274
 Tower Hill, 817
 Turk's Head, Fleet Street, 814
 Wapping, 241
 Watson's Coffee House, Haymarket, 160
 Westminster Hall, 15
 Whitehall (Withall), *passim*
 letters dated from, *passim*
 silver cisterns taken from, 72
 London Gazette, x, xvii–xx, xxiv, lxiv, lxix,
 lxxxvii, lxxxix–xcii, ci–cii, cvii, clvi, 147,
 153, 190, 301
 Londres. *See* London.
 Longleat, Wilts., 211, 823
 Longueville, Charles Paris d'Orléans, Duc de
 (d.1672), 524
 Loo, Netherlands, lxvi, 78, 95, 110, 251, 258, 469
 letters dated from, 88, 99, 100, 105, 253,
 254, 255
 news dated from, 253, 254, 255
 Loo. *See also* Leeuwe.
 Looe, Cornwall, 81
 letter dated from, 82
 Lorain. *See* Lorraine.
 Lord Chamberlain. *See* Sackville, Charles.
 Lord Chancellor (of Ireland). *See* Porter.
 Lord Cheife Justice. *See* Holt.
 Lord High Steward. *See* Osborne, Thomas.
 Lord Keeper. *See* Somers.
 Lord President. *See* Osborne, Thomas.
 Lord Privy Seal. *See* Herbert, Thomas.
 Lord Steward. *See* Cavendish.
 Lords Justices. *See under* Ireland.
 Lords of the Councill. *See* Privy Council.
 Lords, House of, xv, xxi, lxv, lxxviii, lxxvi, 3, 8,
 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24, 28, 29, 37, 57, 824
 See also Parliament.
 Lorges (Lorge, l'Orge), Guy Aldonce de
 Durfort-Duras, Comte de, Marshal of
 France, lxxxvi, 20, 22, 37, 137, 144, 182,
 212, 325, 344, 345, 352, 440, 483, 494,
 528, 540, 544, 548, 551, 559, 561, 564,
 565, 568, 570, 576, 581, 593, 633, 634,
 637, 638, 641
 his general officers in Germany, 529
 his daughter. *See* Durfort, Marie Gabrielle de.
 Lorient (Lorient), France, 671. *See also* Port
 Louis.
 Lorraine (Lorain, Lorrain), France, 13, 279,
 444, 583
 Lorraine, Duke of. *See* Leopold Joseph.
 Lorraine, Louis de, Comte d'Armagnac, Grand
 Ecuyer de France (Monsieur le Grand),
 382
 Lorraine, Philippe de Lorraine-Armagnac,
 Chevalier de, 383, 384, 386
 Lot, river, France, 788
 Loubère, Monsieur de la. *See* La Loubère.
 Louder, Sir John. *See* Lowther, Sir John, 2nd
 Bt. of Whitehaven.
 Louis XI, King of France, 632
 his premier médecin. *See* Cottier.
 Louis XIV (Lodoix), King of France, *passim*
 letters from, 199
 Latin verses addressed to, 499
 complimentary address to, 500
 verses against, 500–1, 561, 575, 611
 verses presented to, 630
 movements and health, in 1691, 347, 350
 —, in 1692, 367, 372, 373, 374, 377, 378,
 392, 394, 396, 400, 401, 403, 408, 409,
 418, 419, 420, 428, 430, 435, 436, 438,
 440, 442, 444, 446, 447, 450, 453–8, 470,
 483, 484, 637, 775, 801
 —, in 1693, 15, 116, 130, 136, 137, 141,
 144, 147, 160, 509, 513, 514, 515, 516,
 520, 528, 530, 533, 538, 540, 543, 546,

- 550, 553, 559, 562, 564, 566, 568, 569, 586, 593, 594, 596, 599, 640, 642, 677, 740
- and James II, xxxviii, 15, 305, 367, 399, 406, 409, 413, 424, 430, 444, 455, 470, 486, 794–5
- entertains Prince Royal of Denmark, 22, 24, 36, 508
- holds carnival ball, 36
- edicts of, requested by Nottingham, 293
- his published offers to Savoy, 300, 301, 405
- talks of descent on England, 305
- said to plan visit to Italy, 312
- his arrival in Flanders a feint to cover French designs on Rhine, 325
- entertained by music at Trianon, 337
- issues edict making six oyster-sellers *Conseillers du Roy*, 339
- allows frankness from La Feuillade, cxlv, 354
- informed of child abuse at St. Cyr, 380
- and royal marriages, 383, 393, 398
- urged to give Huguenots greater liberty, 402, 405, 414, 479, 480
- visibly ageing, 406, 502, 598
- blames Louvois for scorched-earth policy, xciv, 422
- his gifts to army, 425
- receives intelligence that descent on France aborted, 462
- and his daughter the Duchesse de Condé, 471
- edicts of, 473
- his devotion, 475
- and Mary of Modena, xxxviii, 486
- appoints new colonels, 487
- regulates army, 499
- declines to guarantee conditions of Medici separation, 502
- works hard, 510, 524, 605
- his detailed knowledge of army officers, xxxiii, 524, 527
- complimented as sun king by invention and verses, 531–2
- suppresses *Ordre de St. Lazare et Jerusalem* and institutes *Ordre de St. Louis*, 535
- angered by the Emperor, 561
- his sudden return from the front criticised, lxxxviii, cxliv, 564, 569, 603
- his anxiety for news from the fleet, lxxv, 577
- his peace terms to the Emperor, 582–3, 587
- inclined to peace on any terms, xcii, 601
- allows frankness from Beauvilliers, 612
- kneels before nuncio, 615
- overjoyed by victory at Marsaglia, 623
- replaces Daquin by Fagon as his premier médecin, cxliii, 631–3
- admired by Muley Ismael as a fellow despot, 634
- rations grain purchases, 672
- his design to become universal monarch, cxxxiii, 787
- intelligence sought about his intentions towards Huguenots, 796–7
- intelligence sought about his war finances, 797
- Louis, Dauphin of France (Dauffin, Daufin, Monseigneur), son of Louis XIV, lxxxvi, lxxxviii, xciii, cxlv, 34, 35, 36, 37, 141, 144, 158, 172, 212, 245, 325, 364, 383, 395, 444, 471, 487, 491, 502, 508, 512, 513, 514, 515, 517, 521, 525, 528, 536, 537, 540, 542, 545, 562, 564, 566, 568, 569, 570, 572, 573, 574, 576, 577, 581, 582, 585, 587, 592, 593, 595, 597, 598, 599, 600, 605, 607, 624, 641, 642
- letter to, 199
- address to, 500
- regiment of, 562, 563
- verses on, 603
- Louis, Duke of Burgundy (Bourgongne, Monseigneur, Monsieur le Duc), grandson of Louis XIV, 513, 579
- proposal to marry him to Elizabeth Charlotte of Orléans, 364, 442, 446, 675
- Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, Comte de Toulouse (Toulouze), son of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan, Admiral of France, 476, 498
- Louisa or Louise, Princess, daughter of Victor Amadeus I and widow of Prince Maurice of Savoy, 491
- Louise Françoise de Bourbon, daughter of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan and wife of Louis, Duc de Condé (Madame la Duchesse), cxlv, 405, 411, 471
- Louse. *See* Leuze.
- Louvain, Belgium, lxxxviii–lxxxix, 203, 209, 210, 559, 638, 827
- Louvigny (Louvignies), Comte de, in Allied service in Italy, 451, 603
- Louvigny d'Orgemont, Paul de, Intendant of Marine at Le Havre, 425, 426, 749
- Louvois (Louvoy), Anne de Souvré (Souvray), Marquise de, and Marquise de Courtenvaux, widow of the following, 354, 537, 631
- Louvois, François Michel Le Tellier, Marquis de (d.1691), French War Minister, xiv, xxxiii, xciv, cxxv, 339, 341, 347, 350, 354, 361, 389, 410, 413, 422, 430, 459, 524, 526, 534, 537, 542, 632, 706, 710
- his brother. *See* Le Tellier.
- his son. *See* Barbezieux.
- Lovelace, John, 3rd Lord Lovelace of Hurley, 28, 186, 192, 198, 258
- Lovell, Sir Salathiel, Recorder of London, 18, 35, 138
- letter from, 129
- Lower Hesperen. *See* Neerhespen.
- Lower Normandy. *See* Normandy, Lower.
- Lower Saxony (Basse Saxe), circle of, 147
- Lowther, Sir John, 2nd Bt. of Lowther (later 1st Viscount Lonsdale).

- rumour of his appointment as secretary of state, 60
- Lowther (Louder), Sir John, 2nd Bt. of Whitehaven, Commissioner of the Admiralty, lix, 104, 189, 193
his list of the naval establishment, 817
- Lübeck, Germany, 32, 79
- Lubert, Sieur, French treasury official, 340
- Luc, François Charles de Vintimille, Comte de, captain of galleys, 399
- Lucan, Lord. *See* Sarsfield, Patrick.
- Lucas, Robert, 3rd Lord Lucas of Shenfield, Constable of the Tower of London, 188
- Luce, Jacques, master of the *St. Jacques* of Calais, 791
- Luçon (Lusson), France, 724, 739
Bishop of, 397
- Ludlam (Ludlowe, Ludman), Rev. ?John, Jacobite minister from Leicestershire, 109
- Luigne, Belgium, 191
- Lumley (Lumlie), Brigadier Henry.
regiment of, 207, 218
- Lumley, Richard, 1st Earl of Scarbrough (Scarborough), 115
- Lumlie's. *See* Lumley, Brigadier Henry: regiment of.
- Lüneburg (Luneborg, Lunebourg, Luneburgers, Lunenburg, Lunenburgh), Germany, 207
- court, house or mansion of. *See* Ernest Augustus, Duke and Elector; George William.
- Lus, Monsieur De. *See* Luxe.
- Luserna San Giovanni (Lusserne, Luzerne), Italy, 439, 637
- Luserne, Monsieur de la. *See* La Luzerne.
- Lusserne. *See* Luserna San Giovanni.
- Lusson. *See* Luçon.
- Lustocq, French redoubt near Ottignies, Belgium, 190
- Lutherans (Luthéranos), 412, 587
- Luxe (Lus) or Luxembourg, Christian Louis de Montmorency Luxembourg, Comte de, younger son of the Duc de Luxembourg, 210, 454, 588
- Luxembourg, town of, 279, 406, 445, 476, 587, 592, 617
- Luxembourg, Comte de. *See* Luxe, Comte de.
- Luxembourg (le Bossu, Luxambourg, Luxembourg, Luxemburg, Luxemburgh), François Henri de Montmorency, Duc de, Marshal of France, commander-in-chief in Flanders, lxxxviii–lxxxix, xciii, cxxviii, clii, 23, 37, 137, 141, 144, 187, 194, 200, 209, 210, 212, 234, 336, 345, 367, 373, 377, 383, 408, 419, 423, 429, 431, 440, 441, 445, 449, 465, 469, 476, 492, 494, 503, 528, 530, 543, 544, 561, 564, 566, 578, 580–1, 585, 591, 593, 600, 606, 611, 633, 637, 638, 697–9, 704
- letters to Louis XIV from, mentioned, 460, 590, 608
- list of officers under his command killed and wounded at Landen, 198
- strength of his forces, lxxxviii–lxxxix, 328, 420, 421, 425, 433, 538, 546, 563, 575
- criticised after Leuze, 355
- rumour of his appointment as colonel of guards, 386
- Louis XIV often in conference with, 409, 501
- verses on, 420, 471
- ill health and possible retirement of, 449, 480–1, 484, 491, 493, 514, 516
- his conduct at Steinker criticised, 452–5, 457, 463, 467, 488–9
- referred to as Duke Aurelius, 499
- his general officers in Flanders, 529
- refuses help to La Valette, 583
- advises against besieging Liège, 587
- his conduct at Landen, 588, 597
- out of favour, 602
- his eldest son. *See* Montmorency.
- his younger son. *See* Luxe.
- Luxembourg, Henri Leon d'Albert, Abbé de, brother-in-law of the Duc de Luxembourg, 542
- Luzerne. *See* Luserna San Giovanni.
- Lymerick. *See* Limerick.
- Lymerick, Earl of. *See* Dungan, William.
- Lyndsey's. *See* under Lindsay.
- Lyon (Lion), France, cxvi, 378, 412, 462, 472, 478, 553, 565, 601, 605, 614, 641, 703, 727
- news dated from, 494
- Pierre Ancise, prison, 412
- Archbishop of. *See* Villeroy, Camille de Neufville de.
- Archbishop of, 618
- Gulf of (Golphe de), 565
- Maas or Meuse (Maes, Mase), river, lxxxvii, 34, 88, 105, 121, 141, 144, 194, 201, 263, 277, 438, 449, 530, 533, 537, 538, 540, 630
- Maastricht (Maestricht, Mastrich, Mastricht, Mastrick, Mastrik), Netherlands, lxxxix, cxxviii, 36, 37, 136, 137, 172, 182, 187, 210, 212, 435, 530, 559, 561, 581, 593, 598, 639, 786
- Maccarty, Donagh, 4th Earl of Clancarty (Clancarti), 112, 116, 141, 145, 148, 152
- his mother. *See* Davis.
- Maccarty (Mackarty), Justin, titular Viscount Mountcashell (Montcassel), lieutenant-general in French service, 108, 408, 529
- Maccarty (Mackarty), Colonel Owen, Jacobite officer, 61
- Macclesfield (Mackelsfild), Ralph, 21
- Macdonell, Alexander, 3rd Earl of Antrim, 179
- Macdonell (McDonnell), Maurice (Morris), illegitimate son of the preceding, 179

- MacElligott (Macelligot, MacElligot), Colonel Roger, Jacobite prisoner, 113, 141, 181, 182
- Machault (Machaut, Mancheau, Maschault) de Belmont, Charles François de, French naval commander, 426, 635, 659, 723
- Mackarty, Justin. *See* Maccarty, Justin.
- Mackay, Colonel Aeneas.
regiment of, 217
- Mackcarty, Colonel. *See* Maccarty, Colonel Owen.
- Mackelsfild. *See* Macclesfield.
- Mackenzie, Kenneth, 4th Earl (and titular Marquess) of Seaforth (Seafort), 160, 161, 169, 171
- Madame. *See* Elizabeth Charlotte (of the Palatinate).
- Madame la Duchesse. *See* Louise Françoise de Bourbon.
- Madame la Princesse. *See* Condé, Anne, Princesse de.
- Madame Royale. *See* Anna Maria.
- Madeira (Maderas), lxiv
letter dated from, 22
- Mademoiselle. *See* Anne Marie Louise; Elizabeth Charlotte (of Orléans); Jurieu.
- Mademoiselle, la Grande. *See* Anne Marie Louise.
- Maderas. *See* Madeira.
- Madrid (Madrit), lxiv, ciii, 85, 174, 254, 576
letters dated from, 150, 228
gazettes of, attack William III, 450
alleged unrest at, 564, 565
- Madronnet, Captain, formerly in Allied service in Ireland, 286
- Maecenas (Mécène), 500
- Maes, river. *See* Maas.
- Maestricht. *See* Maastricht.
- Maginville, Monsieur de, treasurer of the French navy and of Philip of Orléans, 543, 548
his son, Abbé du Val Chrétien, 543, 548
his son, Conseiller au Parlement de Paris, 543
- Magnou, Monsieur du. *See* Du Magnou.
- Maidstone, Kent, 214
- Maillot, Madame de, formerly Madame de la Louherie and aunt of the Marquis de La Forest-Suzannet, 504
- Mailly, Marquise de, 398, 403
- Mailly, René de, Marquis de, French maréchal de camp, 529, 562
- Main, river, 137
- Maine (Main, Mayne), Louis Auguste de Bourbon, Duc de *or* du, son of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan, lieutenant-general, 141, 377, 404, 659
missing in action at Steinkerk, 453
captured at Landen, 210
health, 366
proposal to marry him to Elizabeth Charlotte of Orléans, 383, 384
his marriage to Mademoiselle de Charolais, cxlv, 398, 400, 401, 405
as an heir of the Duchesse de Montpensier, 526, 528, 537
- to serve in Germany, 529, 530, 562
infantry regiment of, 562
cavalry squadron of, 563
colonel general of new regiment of mounted carabiniers, 627
- Maintenon, Françoise d'Aubigné, Marquise de, xxx, 339, 341, 380, 384, 387, 395, 403, 408, 410, 419, 421, 430, 434, 437, 438, 439, 440, 446, 459, 471, 485, 502, 503, 581, 607, 710
her influence on state affairs, xxix, xxxii, xxxiii, 388, 400, 406, 450–1, 480, 491, 505, 605, 615
health, 447
verses on, 470, 574
conceals bad news from Louis XIV, cxlv, 612
responsible for Fagon's appointment, 633
- Mainz (Mayence, Mentz), Germany, 3, 23, 137, 308, 325, 436, 506, 545, 565, 570, 573, 574, 576, 581, 583, 599, 637, 738, 786
- Maison du Roy. *See* under France: army.
- Maisons, Jean de Longueuil, Marquis de, Président à Mortier au Parlement de Paris, 526, 536
his son. *See* Poissy, Claude de Longueuil, Marquis de.
- Maitland, Charles, 3rd Earl of Lauderdale, 355
- Maitland, Thomas, fourth son of the preceding, 355
- Major, Peter, of Fowey, 82
- Makerel, Sieur, merchant of La Rochelle, 734
- Malaga (Malgue), Spain, 156, 228, 244, 598
- Malax, Monsieur, French general, 37
- Malet, Colonel, French refugee in Allied service, 465
regiment of, in Allied service in Savoy, 346
- Malgue. *See* Malaga.
- Malines *or* Mechelen (Mechlen), Belgium, 130, 201, 207, 559
- Mallet, Sieur, 412
- Malnoue, abbey of, Emerainville, France, 502
- Malouin, Malouins. *See* St. Malo.
- Malta (Malthe), ci–cii
letter dated from, 517–19
Grand Master (Son Eminence). *See* Wignacourt.
See also Borgo; Buskett Gardens; Mdina; Valletta.
- Man, Isle of.
Governor of. *See* Kenyon.
- Man, —, child taken to St. Omer, 144
- Manbeug. *See* Maubeuge.
- Manche, la. *See* Channel, English.
- Mancheau, Monsieur de. *See* Machault.
- Manchester, Lord. *See* Montagu, Charles.
- Manheim, Manheime. *See* Mannheim.
- Manley (Manly), Major John, 76, 77, 89
- Mannheim (Manheim, Manheime), Germany, 23, 562
- Mantua (Mantoue), Italy, 416, 550, 681
Duke of. *See* Gonzaga, Charles IV, Duke of.

- Manzaneda, Severino de, Spanish Governor of Cuba, 56
- Marais, Jean de. *See* Bosanquet.
- Marans (Maren), France, cli, 724
letter dated from, 667
rivière de. *See* Sèvre-Niortaise.
- Marcé, Chevalier de. *See* Mursay.
- Marcilly. *See* Marsigli.
- Marck, la. *See* La Marck.
- Marcognet, Monsieur de, Governor of La Rochelle, 737
- Marelle, de, Huguenot officer in Piedmont suspected of spying for France, 292
- Maren. *See* Marans.
- Marennnes, France, 726, 740
- Margate (Margett, Market), Kent, 209, 253
- Margueron (Margueyron), Sieur de, French Protestant hanged at Ste. Foy, 800
his son, 801
his son-in-law. *See* Tinel.
his wife, 800
- Maria Anna (d.1690) (la Dauphine), late wife of Louis, Dauphin of France, 101, 536
- Maria Anna (d.1696), Queen Mother of Spain, 2nd wife of Philip IV, 20, 24, 394, 457
- Maria Anna (d.1740), Queen of Spain, 2nd wife of Charles II, 212, 818
- Maria Casimira Louisa, Queen of Poland, wife of John III (Sobieski), 517
- Maria Giovanna Battista, Dowager Duchess of Savoy, 93, 100, 394, 397, 475, 516
- Marie Adelaide, eldest daughter of Victor Amadeus II of Savoy, later wife of Louis, Duke of Burgundy, xciv, 497, 516
- Maria Sophia, Queen of Portugal, 2nd wife of Pedro II.
medical report on, 467–8
- Maria Theresa, Queen of France, late wife of Louis XIV.
regiment of, 562
- Marie Anne de Bourbon, Princesse de Conti (Conty, la Douairière), daughter of Louis XIV and Louise de La Vallière and widow of Louis Armand, Prince de Conti, 364–5, 437, 561, 581
- Marie de Medici (Médicis), Queen of France, 531
- Marie Galante (Marigalante), West Indies, 690, 706–7
- Mariembourg. *See* Marienbourg.
- Mariemont, Belgium, 132
- Marienbourg (Mariembourg), Belgium, 562, 637
- Marigalante. *See* Marie Galante.
- marine regiments, 7, 9, 819, 827
- Maris, Charles, King's Messenger, 7
- Mark, la. *See* La Marck.
- Market. *See* Margate.
- Marlborough, Marleboroug, Lord. *See* Churchill, John.
- Marly[-le-Roi] (Marli), France, cxliii, 379, 444, 450, 579, 582, 586, 801
letter dated from, 199
- Marne, river, France, 444
- Maroc. *See* Morocco.
- Marolles, Louis de, French Protestant, 435
- Marrano (Marrane), converted Spanish Jew or Moor, apostate.
William III treated by Madrid gazettes as, 450
- Marsaglia (Marsaille), Italy.
battle of, lxxiv, xcvi, cxxxv, cxliii, 260, 263, 265, 620–5
- Marseilles (Marcellia, Marseille, Marseillois, Mercelis), France, lxxiv, cxi, clv–clvi, clviii, 27, 273, 315, 371, 425, 445, 446, 458, 477, 494, 521, 544, 545, 549, 551, 564, 570, 572, 608, 614, 681, 713, 745, 747
- Marsigli (Marcilly), Count Luigi Ferdinando, Imperial officer and former secretary to the English ambassador to the Porte, li, xcvi, 461
- Marsin, Ferdinand, Comte de, maréchal de camp (later Marshal of France), 529
- Marsio, Italy, 34
- Marteneco. *See* Martinique.
- Martigny, Comte de, 472
- Martin, Captain John, 58, 7818
- Martinique (Marteneco, Martenique, Martineco, Martinico), West Indies, cvi, 147, 152, 158, 182, 185, 205, 223, 269, 373, 419, 444, 566, 667, 703, 707, 708, 713, 717, 725, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 782, 828
sickness in, 457, 665, 668, 710, 726, 729, 732, 735, 784
inhabitants readier to surrender to Dutch than English, 668, 735
description of, 690
proposals for attack on, 692
Cul de Sac, 740
Governor of. *See* Blénac.
See also Amérique, Iles d'.
- Martrais, Martray, le. *See* Le Martray.
- Mary II, Queen, *passim*
letters and orders from, 195, 205
letters and orders from, mentioned, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 85, 92, 94, 95, 103, 107, 111, 143, 208, 211, 214, 229, 255, 256, 259, 309
letter signed by, 63
letters to William III from, mentioned, 77, 85, 88, 93, 103, 106, 110, 112, 114, 118, 123, 129, 130, 133, 138, 143, 145, 149, 151, 153, 159, 164, 174, 178, 185, 189, 192, 195, 196, 198, 200, 204, 209, 218, 222, 226, 230, 231, 233, 234, 237, 238, 242, 249, 250, 253, 255, 256, 258, 259, 263, 264, 265, 269, 272, 273
letters from William III to, mentioned, 67, 146, 195, 198, 208, 226, 255, 277
letters, memorials and petitions to, 65, 90, 177, 825
memorials and petitions to, mentioned, 73, 75, 93, 95, 114, 171, 208, 236

- her views on divorce, 8
visits Windsor, 151
let blood, 151
her health enquired after by Catherine of Braganza, 180, 218
to receive address from Common Council of London, 231
her message to Nottingham added to letter from Blathwayt, 240
to prorogue Parliament, 242
has a cold, 255
recovered, 256
orders £2,000 for Huguenot refugees, 327
and Princess Anne, 402, 405, 801
leaves London, 587
- Mary of Modena, Queen, wife of James II, xxxviii, 20, 36, 144, 260, 353, 376, 444
letter from, 282
movements in 1691, 356, 358
her pregnancy and health, 359, 382, 392, 402, 407, 414, 430, 434, 639
Chancellor of France to attend her *accouchement*, 414, 428
gossip about her and Louis XIV, 486
plays cards with the Dauphin, 487
- Mary Louise, Princess, daughter of James II, xxxviii, 20, 486
- Maschault, de. *See* Machault de Belmont.
- Mase. *See* Maas.
- Mason, Captain Christopher, 20
- Mason, Mrs Jane, Jacobite alias, 166
- Massachusetts (Massachusetts) Bay or province, 45, 75, 76
Governor of. *See* Phipps.
- Massel. Italy, 487
- Massel, Comte de, French officer, 464
- Massue de Ruvigny, Henri de, Marquis de Ruvigny and Viscount (later 1st Earl of) Galway (Galoway), cxxxiv–cxxxv, cxxxviii–cxlix, 63, 106, 110, 117, 172, 254, 592, 593
letters from, 107, 111, 778
proposal by, for raid on Rochefort, cxxxiv–cxxxv, 803
reports received from, cxlvii, 778–86
regiment of, 218, 594, 611
- Mastrich, Maastricht, Mastrock, Mastrok. *See* Maastricht.
- Mather, Increase, President of Harvard, cv
letter to, 76
- Matignon, France, 758
- Matignon, Charles Auguste de Goyon-, Comte de Gacé, lieutenant-general (later Marshal of France), 541
- Matthewes, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Matthews, Colonel Edward.
his regiment of dragoons, 96
- Maubeuge (Manbeug, Maubouge), France, lxxxix, 34, 121, 162, 339, 559
- Maubuisson abbey, St. Ouen l'Aumône, near Pontoise, France, 420
- Maulévrier (Monlevrier), Edouard François Colbert, Comte de, French lieutenant-general, 469, 528, 530, 556, 557–8
strength of his forces in Flanders, 421, 492
- Maupéou, French guards officer, 453
- Maurevert, Comte de. *See* Montrevel.
- Mauro Cordato. *See* Mavrocordato.
- Mauroy, Père, 387, 389, 390, 400
- Mavrocordato (Mauro Cordato), Alexander, Ottoman chief dragoman, 496
- Maximilian II Emanuel, Duke and Elector of Bavaria (Bavière, Bavières), Allied general and Governor-General of the Spanish Netherlands, 3, 8, 37, 116, 121, 125, 226, 246, 392, 418, 440, 443, 446, 593, 611
letters to, 191, 248
recredentials to, 62
his conduct at Landen, xcii, 202–3, 210, 588, 591, 594, 596, 697
movements and health in 1691, 343, 347, 349, 350, 351, 352, 355, 360, 362, 363, 364, 369, 706
movements in 1692, 492, 494
his conditions for serving Allies in Flanders, 397
his horoscope, 408
and William III, cxliv, 442, 450, 617, 619
reported remarks by, 445
reported letters from, 448
allegedly treating with France, 565, 567
his future second wife. *See* Theresa Cunigunda.
- Maxwell, Colonel, Jacobite officer in French service, 263
- Maxwell, Major-General Thomas, Jacobite prisoner being exchanged, lxxiv–lxxv, 22, 112, 116, 129, 132, 138, 142
letter to, 21
- Mayence. *See* Mainz.
- Mayne, Duc de. *See* Maine.
- Mazarin, Armand Charles, Duc de, 453
- Mazarin, Jules, Cardinal, 539, 562, 631
- Mazel, Sieur, suspected Jacobite agent, 439, 592, 694
his wife, 439
- Mdina (cité vieille), Malta, cii, 517
Gusmane church, 517
St. Paul's Cathedral, 517
- Meath, Earl of. *See* Brabazon.
- Meaux, France, 495
- Meaux, Monsieur de. *See* Bossuet.
- Mécène. *See* Maecenas.
- Mechlen. *See* Malines.
- Médavy, Jacques Leonor Rouxel de, Comte de, maréchal de camp (later Marshal of France), 529, 621
- Medea (Médée), 610
- Medici, Cosimo III de, Duke of Florence, Grand Duke of Tuscany (Toscane), 359, 361, 416, 482, 500, 502, 681
- Medici, Marguerite Louise de, Grand Duchess

- of Tuscany (Toscane), wife of Cosimo III,
first cousin of Louis XIV, 361, 502
- Mediterranean Sea, the (Destroit, Détroit,
Mediterranéé, Straights, Straits,
Streights), lv, lvii, lxii, lxvii–lxviii,
lxxi–lxxii, xcv–xcvi, xcix–c, cxlvi, clv, 3,
4, 13, 26, 32, 38, 40, 41, 48, 53, 58, 78,
79, 80, 88, 92, 99, 118, 127, 155, 222,
307, 315, 317, 319, 320, 351, 371, 395,
427, 451, 455, 457, 474, 482, 484, 494,
527, 530, 551, 557, 560, 572, 594, 604,
605, 613, 616, 635, 641, 654, 683, 684,
713, 775, 827
- Allied Mediterranean squadron. *See* Turkey:
convoy.
- French Mediterranean squadron. *See* France:
fleet: numbers in Mediterranean; Toulon:
French squadron based at.
- See also* Gibraltar, Straits of; Levant.
- Médoc, le, France, 737
- Medricourt, Monsieur de, French naval
commander, 660
- Medy, Monsieur, repatriated French internee, 135
- Meer, Albert van der, Dutch agent in Savoy.
letters from, 263, 274
- Mees (Meez), Captain George, 154, 164, 165
- Meesters, William *or* Willem, Storekeeper of
the Ordnance, xlv
letter from, 139
- Meez, Captain. *See* Mees.
- Mégrigny, Monsieur de, French military
engineer, 587
- Mehaigne (Mehaign), river, 197, 428
- Mehmed IV (Mahomet 4), Sultan 1648–87,
461, 463
- Meilleraye, Armand Charles de la Porte, Duc de
la, 507, 512
- Mélac, Monsieur de, French lieutenant-general,
529
cavalry of, 563
- Meldrum, Laird of. *See* Urquhart.
- Melford, Comte de. *See* Drummond.
- Melfort, Earl of. *See* Drummond.
- Melonier. *See* La Melonière.
- Melville, George, 1st Earl of Melville
(Melvill), 813
- Mendoça (Mendosa) Corte Real, Diogo de,
Portuguese envoy extraordinary to the
States General, 90, 219, 249, 253, 349
- Mentz. *See* Mainz.
- Mercelis. *See* Marseilles.
- Merryweather (Meriweather, Merriweather),
Ann (Mary) (née Pearson), xxxvii, 13, 14,
17, 19, 24, 271
letter to, 13
- Messina (Messine), Sicily, 494, 518, 519
- Methuen (Methven, Methwen, Methwyn), John,
English envoy extraordinary to Portugal,
xxii, ciii, 187, 194, 195, 196, 198, 207,
215, 221, 222, 225, 230, 234, 255
letters from, 180, 227
- letter to, 218
- his correspondence with Nottingham
summarized, 85, 104, 128, 178, 218
- to procure breach between Portugal and
France, 93
- instructions for, mentioned, 230, 231
- Metz (Mets, Mettz), France, 13, 35, 230, 410,
448, 474, 530, 533, 540, 546, 611
- Meudon, France, 440
- Meuse. *See* Maas.
- Meyercron (Meyercroon), Henning, Dutch
envoy extraordinary to France, 379, 504,
512, 611
his wife, 504, 508, 512
his son, 512
- Mézières, France, 562
- Mickan, Mr, receiver of stolen goods, 141
- Middleton, Charles, 2nd Earl of Middleton,
xxxvi–xxxvii, 109
Nottingham asked to investigate rumour of
his flight to France, 89
his presence in France cause for concern, 93,
108
- Midy, ?Barthe, French Roman Catholic
merchant, of London, 811
- Milan, Italy, 350, 600, 602
letters from, 464, 481, 497, 618
Governor of. *See* Legañez.
See also the following entry.
- Milan, Duchy of, *or* the Milanese (le Milanez,
Milanois), 254, 369, 434, 487, 703, 796
Victor Amadeus appointed perpetual
governor of, 366
- Milbourne (Milburne), Alexander, printer, 72,
73
- Milford *or* Milford Haven, Pembs., xxxviii, 179
- Mill of Warrem. *See* Waremm.
- Mingant, Fort. *See under* Brest.
- Minorca (Minorque), 595, 598, 684
- Minuel, ?David, merchant of London, 811
- Miraboue, Queyras, France, 451
- Miraumont, Monsieur de, in French service, 701
- Mire, ?Rotito, merchant of London, 811
- Miremont, Armand de Bourbon, Marquis de,
Huguenot colonel in Allied service.
regiment of, 346
- Mitchell (Mitchel), (later Sir) David, rear, then
vice admiral of the Blue, 19, 34, 164, 365
- Mitford, Robert, English seaman in French
service, 799
- Modena (Modène), Italy, 23, 465, 492, 681
- Modena, Duke of. *See* Francis II.
- Modène, Monsieur de, French naval officer,
635
- Mohun (Mohon, Mohone), Charles, 3rd Lord
Mohun, 15, 18, 19, 28, 29
- Moignon, Mademoiselle de la. *See* Poissy,
Madeleine de Lamoignon, Marquise de.
- Moignon, Monsieur de la. *See* Lamoignon,
Chrétien François de.
- Molac, French cavalry regiment of, 385

- Molesworth, Robert (later 1st Viscount Molesworth), former English envoy extraordinary to Denmark, lxxxiv, 44
- Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin), French playwright, 504, 633
- Molyneux, Caryll, 3rd Viscount Molyneux (Mollinex), 113
- Mombron. *See* Montbron.
- Monaco, Antoine Grimaldi, Duc de Valentinois, Prince de Monaco, 384, 426
- Monaco, Louis Grimaldi, Prince of, father of the preceding, 631
his daughter. *See* Grimaldi.
- Monaco, Marie, Princess of, daughter of Louis de Lorraine, Comte d'Armagnac, and wife of the preceding, 384
- Monbuet, Monsieur (?Montbault, Antoine de La Haye du Coudray, later Chevalier de), French naval commander, 636
- Moncal (Moncalis), Major Mark Anthony Davessein (Davessins) de, 88, 95
- Moncalieri (Moncallier, Montcalier), Italy, 423, 424, 623
- Moncreiff, Sir James, 4th Bt., 28
- Mondovi, Italy, 23, 534
- Monferrato (le Montferrat), Italy, 465, 487, 506, 550
- Montgomery. *See* Montgomery.
- Mongon, de. *See* Montgon.
- Monke, Major, Jacobite officer, 61
- Monlevrier, Monsieur de. *See* Maulevrier.
- Monmouth, Lord. *See* Mordaunt.
- Monpouillon, Armand de Caumont, Marquis de, Huguenot colonel in Allied service.
regiment of, 218
- Monro (Monroe), Colonel Andrew.
regiment of, 217
- Mons, Belgium, lxxxviii–lxxxix, 22, 35, 105, 116, 121, 125, 162, 233, 279, 339, 372, 396, 420, 438, 445, 454, 490, 524, 546, 550, 553, 638, 740
Cordeliers or Recollects (Recoletz), 438
Governor of. *See* Laubanie; Vertillac.
- Mons, Joseph de, French naval commander, 635
- Monseigneur. *See* Louis, Dauphin of France; Louis, Duke of Burgundy (pp. 364, 442, 446 only).
- Monsieur. *See* Philip, Duke of Orléans.
- Monsieur le Chancelier. *See* Boucherat.
- Monsieur le Duc. *See* Condé, Louis de Bourbon, Duc de; Louis, Duke of Burgundy (p. 675 only).
- Monsieur le Grand. *See* Lorraine, Louis de.
- Monsieur le Grand Prieur. *See* Vendôme, Philippe de.
- Monsieur le Lieutenant Civil. *See* La Reynie.
- Monsieur le Premier President. *See* Harlay, Achille III de.
- Monsieur le Président des Monnoyes, 553
- Monsieur le Prince. *See* Condé, Henri Jules de Bourbon, Prince de.
- Monsieur le Prince, feu. *See* Condé, Louis de Bourbon, Prince de.
- Montagne. *See* Montaigne.
- Montagu, Charles, 4th Earl (later 1st Duke) of Manchester, cxxix, 3
- Montagu (Mountagu), Edward, 1st Earl of Sandwich.
defence drafted for, 815
- Montagu, Edward, 3rd Earl of Sandwich, 29
- Montagu, Ralph, 1st Earl (later 1st Duke) of Montagu (Mountague), 243
- Montaigne (Montagne), Michel de, 412
- Montaine, ———, Dover messenger, 135
- Montal, Charles de Montsaunlin, Comte de, French lieutenant-general, 433, 488, 528, 530
death of his son, 347
- Montauban, France, 353, 430, 437, 458, 643, 714
Intendant of, 430
- Montausier, Charles de Ste. Maure, Duc de (d.1690), 500
- Montbault. *See* Monbuet.
- Montbron (Mombron, Montbront), Chevalier de, French naval commander, 636, 660, 722
- Montcalier. *See* Moncalieri.
- Montcassel, Mylord. *See* Maccarty, Justin.
- Montchevreuil, Gaston Jean-Baptiste, Comte de Mornay and de, French lieutenant-general, 529, 547, 589
- Mont de la Trinité, near Tournai, Belgium, 121
- Monte-Leoné, Spain, 428
- Montespan, Françoise Athenaïs de Rochechouart, Marquise de, cxlv, 383, 384, 409, 528, 637
- Montespan, Louis Henri de Pardaillon de Gondrin, Marquis de, husband of the preceding, 359, 383, 384, 528, 637
- Montferrat, le. *See* Monferrato.
- Montfort, Honoré Charles d'Albert de Luynes, Duc de, 194, 581, 585
- Mont Genève (Mont Genève, Mont Genevre), Col de, pass, France/Italy, 456, 460
- Mont Gibel. *See* Mount Etna.
- Montgomery, Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- Montgomery, Chevalier de, French naval officer, 420
- Montgomery, Lady. *See* Herbert, Mary.
- Montgomery or Montgomerie (Mongomery), Sir James, 4th Bt., 70, 108, 284
possible reference to his wife, 284
- Montgon (Mongon), Chevalier (later Marquis) de, French naval officer, 522, 527, 723
- Montivilliers (Montvilliers, Montviller), France, cxxxvii, 417, 774
Lieutenant-General of the Vicomté of. *See* Fontaines.
- Montmarte, Montmartre. *See* Paris: Montmartre.
- Montmélian (Montmeillan, Montméliand), France, xciv, 338, 345, 346, 359, 360, 362, 385, 392, 443, 472, 506, 681, 684, 796

- news from, 363
 capitulation of, to France, 364
 Governor of, 363
 Beauvoisin bastion, 363
- Montmorency (Montmorancy), Charles
 François Frédéric de Montmorency, Duc
 de, eldest son of the Duc de Luxembourg,
 354, 529, 588
- Montortié, Monsieur de, French naval officer,
 659
- Montpellier, France, cviii, 616
- Montpensier, Duchesse *or* Mademoiselle de.
See Anne Marie Louise (of Orléans).
- Montrevel (Maurevert), Jacques Marie de la
 Baume, Comte de, nephew of the
 following, 589
- Montrevel (Maurevert), Nicolas Auguste de la
 Baume, Marquis de, lieutenant-general
 (later Marshal of France), 529, 562, 570
- Montroy, Sieur de, curé and hospital
 administrator, 360, 361
- Mont Royal (Montroyal, Mont Royall),
 fortified peninsula on the Moselle at
 Traben-Trarbach, Germany, 158, 573,
 582, 641
- Moody, John, chief mate, 68
- Moquet, —, French carpenter, 379
 his wife, cxix, 379
- Mordaunt, Charles, 1st Earl of Monmouth (and
 later 3rd Earl of Peterborough), 29, 198,
 201, 207, 224
- Mordaunt, Henry, 2nd Earl of Peterborough, 72,
 270
- Moreau, Antoine, envoy extraordinary from
 Poland to the States General, then
 Denmark and Sweden, 278
- Moreau. *See also* Duquesne-Monros.
- Morel, Angélique, eldest daughter of
 Maximilien Titon and wife of Zacharie
 Morel, Seigneur de la Brosse, 633
- Morel, Jean, Abbé de St. Arnoul, French
 diplomat, 506, 512, 521
- Morel *or* Morelli, Dominique.
 letter from, 791
- Moréri, Louis, French writer, xiii, 579
- Moretta (Morette), Italy, 423
- Morgan, James, of Ayley, J.P. and deputy
 lieutenant of Herefordshire, 133
- Morgan, General Sir Thomas, 1st Bt., former
 Governor of Jersey, 223
- Morlaix (Morlaixs), France, xxxviii–xxxix, 83,
 481, 757
- Morland, Sir Samuel, 1st Bt., xlv–xlviii, 1
 proposals by, for a field kitchen, xlv–xlvii,
 819
- Morocco (Maroc, Maroquins), 346, 519, 521,
 522, 549, 604, 633–4
 Emperor of (Roy de). *See* Muley Ismael.
 French ambassador to. *See* St. Olon.
- Morris, Richard, xxvii, 262, 270–1
- Morstein *or* Morsztyn, Jan Andrzej (d.1693),
 former Grand Treasurer of Poland, poet
 and translator, 524, 531
 his son. *See* Châteauvilain.
- Moscovites. *See* Russia.
- Moselle (Mosel, Mosell, Mozelle), river, 158,
 172, 441, 444, 514, 546, 573, 606, 641
 French army of, lxxxviii, 529, 546
- Mothe, Motte, Monsieur de la. *See* La Motte.
- Moueron. *See* Mouveron.
- Mountagu, Edward. *See* Montagu, Edward.
- Mountague, Lord. *See* Montagu, Ralph.
- Mount Etna (Mont Gibel), Sicily, cii, 518, 519
- Moueron (Moueron), French redoubt near
 Ottignies, Belgium, 190
- Moxon, Henry, English merchant in Stockholm.
 letter to, 94
- Mozelle. *See* Moselle.
- Mufti, Mufty. *See* Ali Efendi; Feyzullah Efendi.
- Muley Ismael, Emperor of Morocco (Roy de
 Maroc), 346, 634–5
- Mull, Isle of, 153
- Munford, Richard, business associate of Sir
 Joseph Herne, 331
- Munroe, Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- Munroe, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Munster (Munstériens), Germany.
 troops of, 494
- Munster, Bishop of. *See* Frederick Christian.
- Muphti. *See* Ali Efendi; Feyzullah Efendi.
- Murçay, Chevalier de. *See* Mursay.
- Mure, la (La Murre), France, 473
- Murray (Murrey), Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Murray, Charles, 1st Earl of Dunmore, 83
- Murre, La. *See* Mure, la.
- Mursay (Marcé, Murçay), Henri Benjamin Le
 Vallois, Chevalier de, French colonel of
 dragoons, younger son of Vilette-Mursay,
 453, 456, 463
- music and musicians, cxliv, 337, 406, 508, 519,
 689
 Phaëton, opera by Lully, 503
- Mustafa II, Sultan 1695–1703, son of Mehmed
 IV and nephew and successor of Ahmed
 II.
 false report of his succession in 1692, 461,
 463
 false report of his death in 1693, 544
- Mustafa Pasha Bozoklu, Grand Vizier 1693–4,
 formerly kaimakam of Adrianople, xcix,
 556, 584
- Naaldwijk (Naldwike), Netherlands, 72
- Naarden (Naerden), Netherlands, 288
- Nablasiere. *See* Noblet.
- Naerden. *See* Naarden.
- Naldwike. *See* Naaldwijk.
- Namur (Namure), Belgium, lxxxvii–lxxxviii,
 xcii, cxxviii–cxxx, cxliii, 3, 20, 22, 34,
 35, 36, 105, 141, 147, 150, 172, 207, 209,
 212, 217, 225, 228, 230, 232, 279, 308,

- 312, 406, 425, 426, 428, 429, 432, 434, 435, 436, 438, 442, 445, 450, 457, 466, 473, 476, 490, 516, 538, 543, 562, 592, 637, 638, 674, 682, 729, 801
 news dated from, 494
 news from, 483
 Poulion's early warning of threat to, 388
 —, unheeded, 580
 details of its defences betrayed by Bressé, 406, 421, 440
 Vauban and its defences, 423, 443, 451
 medal struck to commemorate its capture, 443
 Allies said to be planning counter-attack, 449, 452, 467, 469
 Fort William (Guillaume), 449, 452
 Nassau Fort, 451
 Governor of. *See* Barbançon.
- Nana. *See* None.
- Nancy, France, 583
- Nantes (Nante), France, xxvi, cl–cli, 245, 344, 346, 404, 464, 643, 645, 662, 664, 703, 705, 707, 714, 723, 729, 734, 737, 741
 letter dated from, 653
 agent to be sent to, 313
 Vosges timber brought down by river to, 444
- Naples (Napolitains), lvii, 92, 115, 150, 494, 521, 527, 558, 577, 784
 English consul at. *See* Davies, Sir George.
- Narborough (Narburgh), Sir John, admiral, lxi, 164
- Nassau, French cavalry regiment of, 385
- Nassau, Monsieur de, French *maréchal de camp*, 529
- Nassau, Count Henry of, Lord of Auverquerque (Auverquerque, Overkerque, Overkirk), Allied general, 37, 137, 209
 his regiment, 121, 217
- Nassau, Prince Henry Casimir of, Stadtholder of Friesland, 232, 622
- Nassau, William I of (Guillaume Premier), William the Silent, Prince of Orange, 432
- Nassau-Saarbrücken (Nassau Sarbrugh), Prince Frederick Louis of, Allied general, 240
- Navarre (French), 728
- Navarre (Spanish), 428
- Navy, English, liii–lxxiii
 papers relating primarily to, 816–29
 impressment of seamen, lix–lx, 21, 25, 42–4, 46–7, 49, 819, 828
 memorial recommending short allowance, lvii, 52
 sickness in, lvii, 170, 171, 175, 205, 223, 266–9, 825
 payment of seamen, their dependants and creditors, lix–lxiii, 241–2
 believed by French to lack 3,000 men, 416
 believed by French to lack 7,000 men, 417
 Louis XIV's intelligence about plans for, 462
 alleged Jacobites in, lvi, 572, 583, 584, 701, 702
- memorial recommending naval academy for officers and registration of seamen on French model, xxxi, 693
- memorial recommending improvements in medical establishment on French model, 763–6
- French expectations of, before La Hougue, lv–lvi, 718, 768
- estimates and accounts, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819
- lists of ships, 816, 817, 818, 819, 821, 822
- lists of naval officers, lxi–lxii, 820, 821
- memorial urging greater use of Irish ports against France, 823
- Clerk of the Cheque (for mustering marine regiments), 819
- Commissioners of the (Navy Board), 6
 letters from, 65, 817, 825
 letter to, 69
 appointments to, lvii, lxi, lxxvii, 38, 189–90
 to survey Falmouth, 68
 and trade in tickets for seamen's pay, lix, 241, 242
 and dispute with East India Company, 816
 and wet dock at Chatham, 817
 list of grants of protection by, lx, 824
 estimates supplied by, 826
 memorial about absent Commissioners, 827
- Commissioners of Victualling (Victuallers, Victualling Office), lvii, lix, lxxvi, 2, 4, 6, 42, 65, 66, 204
 letters from, 4, 69, 143
 letter to, 2
 list of grants of protection to lightermen, hoymen and watermen by, lx, 824
 surveyor general of. *See* Pepys.
- Treasurer of. *See* Russell, Edward; Russell, Sir William.
- Naymont, Monsieur de. *See* Nesmond, André, Marquis de.
- Neckar (Neccar, Néker, Nekre), river, 137, 212, 598, 603
- Needles, the, 9
- Neel, Monsieur, 648
- Neerhespen (Lower Hespen, Nether Hespen, Netherhespen), Belgium, 194, 201, 203, 697
 letters dated from, 195, 196, 198
 news dated from, 197
- Neerlanden, Belgium, 202
- Neerwinden, Belgium, lxxxix, 202
 battle of. *See* Landen.
- Néker, Nekre, *le*. *See* Neckar, river.
- Nellson or Nilson, Andrew, Swedish seaman, 21
- Némond, Némont, Monsieur de. *See* Nesmond, André, Marquis de.
- Némond, President de. *See* Nesmond, Guillaume, Sieur de.
- Némont, Monsieur de. *See* Nesmond, André, Marquis de.

- Nero (Néron), Roman Emperor, 509
- Nervaux, de. *See* Hervault.
- Nesle, Marie de Coligny, Marquise de, widow of Louis de Mailly, Marquis de Nesle, 507, 600
- Nesmond (Naymont, Nemond, Némond, Nemont, Némont, Nesmont), André, Marquis de, French admiral, 37, 79, 373, 410, 424, 427, 445, 450, 451, 455, 457, 472, 474, 495, 501, 516, 521, 608, 643, 644, 650, 652, 653, 660, 712, 718, 722, 726, 728, 729, 734, 775, 785
list of ships under his command, 117
- Nesmond (Némond), Guillaume, Sieur de (d.1693), Président à Mortier au Parlement de Paris, 526, 540
his widow, 526
- Nether Hesben, Nether Hespén, Netherhespen. *See* Neerhespen.
- Neuchâtel (Neuchatel), Switzerland, 687
- Neufchâtel-en-Bray (le Neufchastel), France, 675
- Neumünster, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany (Niemunster in Holsatia).
Danish Governor of, 83
- Neustadt [an der Weinstrasse or an der Hardt] (Nieustat), Germany, 544
- Nevil Pain, Nevill Pain. *See* Payne, Henry Neville.
- Nevill (Nevell, Nevil, Nevile), John, captain, then rear admiral of the Blue, 16, 255, 259 recommended by Delavall and Shovell, 154, 155, 164, 165
appointed rear admiral of the Blue, 180
- Newborough, Lord. *See* Livingston.
- Newcastle (New Castle), Northumb., 25, 160
- Newcastle, Duke of.
Melfort allegedly made titular Duke, 108
- New England, civ–cvi, 45, 69, 75, 76, 77, 88, 90, 120, 196, 266
Council of, 45
General Assembly of, 45
- Newfoundland (New Found Land, Terre Neuve), cvii, 197, 266, 268, 733, 827
- Newport, Francis, Viscount Newport, later 1st Earl of Bradford, 28
- Newport, Isle of Wight.
letters dated from, 239, 247
- Newport. *See also* Nieuport.
- Newtown (Newtowne), 179
- New York, cvii
government of, 77
Governor of. *See* Fletcher.
- Nice, France, xciv–xc, 119, 364, 397, 450, 451, 482, 506, 509, 577, 602
- Niemunster in Holsatia. *See* Neumünster.
- Nieuport (Newport), Belgium, lxxxvi, cxv, 3, 8, 23, 24, 34, 246, 410
- Nieustat. *See* Neustadt.
- Nijmegen (Nimégue), Netherlands.
Treaty of, 583
- Nîmes (Nismes), France, 534, 616
Academy of, 500
Bishop of. *See* Fléchier.
- Ninove, Belgium, 258, 260, 355
letter dated from, 248
news dated from, 248
- Niort, France, 724, 739, 741
- Nismes. *See* Nîmes.
- Nivelles (Nivelle), Belgium, 132, 225, 228, 230, 232, 233, 421, 599
- Noailles (Nouaille), Anne Jules, Duc de, Marshal of France, ciii, 150, 158, 244, 343, 344, 353, 373, 395, 528, 530, 545, 556, 563, 567, 595, 615, 638, 738
his wife. *See* Bournonville.
- Noailles (Nouailles), Jacques, Chevalier, then Bailli de, French lieutenant-general of galleys, brother of the preceding, 399, 494, 549, 663
- Noblet or Nablasière, Allied agent, lxx, lxxxi, cxxii, cl–cliv
letters from, 645–68 *passim*, 677
- Nogent, Comtesse de [?Marie du Cambout (d.1691), 2nd wife of Bernard de Nogaret, Duc d'Epéron, and step-aunt of Mademoiselle], 536
- Noisy[-le-Roi], France, 579
- None (Nana), Italy, 431
- Nord, ambassadeurs du or pour le. *See* Avaux; D'Usson, François.
- Nord, Roys du. *See* Charles XI; Christian V.
- Nore, Buoy of the, 72
- Norfolk, Duchess of. *See* Howard, Mary.
- Norfolk, Duke of. *See* Howard, Henry.
- Normandy (Normanday, Normandie), *passim*
letters and reports from, cxlix–cl, 320, 673–80 and *passim*
address to inhabitants of, 789
French troops in, 13, 15, 99, 109, 219, 257, 366, 375, 376, 430, 431, 433, 464, 522, 534, 541, 545, 593, 621, 669, 677, 716, 718, 776, 798, 799, 804
discontent in, 224
high cost of provisions and famine in, cl, 257, 321, 525, 544, 548, 552, 589, 673, 677, 678, 804
arrangements for intelligence from, cxlvi–cxlvii, cxlix–cl, cliii–clv, 304, 305, 308, 309, 311, 315, 316, 317, 324, 331, 670, 676
appointment of officers for, 405
possible descent on, cxxxiii, cxxxv–cxxxvii, cliii, 553, 561, 564, 566, 679, 687, 804
wreckage on coast of, 560
militia of, in Dieppe, 560, 564
militia of, in Brest, 756
absence of regular troops in, 675, 677, 790, 804
opposition in, to herring imports, 715
Parlement of, 748
Governor of. *See* Luxembourg, Duc de.

- Normandy, Lower (Basse Normandie), cxxxvi, 318–19, 321, 646, 669, 675, 679, 680, 767
- Normandy, Upper (Haute, Haute Normandie), cxxxvi, 680, 804
- Norris, James. *See* Finch, Daniel.
- Nort, couronnes du. *See* Charles XI; Christian V.
- North, Montagu (Montaigu, Mountagu), Levant merchant interned in France, lxxiv–lxxv, 21 letter from, 22
- Northampton, 103
- North Cape. *See* Cape Finisterre.
- North Foreland, Kent, 160, 161
- North Holland (Northolland), 88
- North Sea, the (Nortsee), 186
- North Wales, 160, 161
- Northward Cape. *See* Cape Finisterre.
- Norton, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Nortsee. *See* North Sea.
- Norway (Norvege), lxxx–lxxxi, 179, 192, 360, 655
- Nos, Monsieur des. *See* Des Nos.
- Noseworthy, Edward, Jacobite, 108
- Nostre Dame de Montcarmel. *See* Nôtre Dame du Mont Carmel.
- Notinham, Lord. *See* Finch, Daniel.
- Nôtre Dame du Mont Carmel (Nostre Dame de Montcarmel), Ordre de, 806
- See also* St. Lazare et Jerusalem, Ordre de.
- Nottingham, Nottingham, Nottingham, Lord. *See* Finch, Daniel.
- Nouaille, Duc de. *See* Noailles, Anne Jules, Duc de.
- Nouailles, Monsieur de. *See* Noailles, Jacques, Chevalier de.
- Novara (Novarre), Italy, 465
- Nuits [?Huy], Belgium, 487
- O, Gabriel Claude, Marquis d', 384
- Oaze (Ouze) Edge, Thames estuary, 817
- Obdam, Mademoiselle d' (Dopdam), 695
- Ocecan, Ocean, the. *See* Atlantic.
- Odescalchi. *See* Innocent XI.
- O'Donnell, Hugh Balldearg (Balderrick O'Donnel), 254
- O'Farrell (d'Offarrell), Colonel Francis Fergus. regiment of, 217
- Ogleby, Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- Oglethorpe (Oglethorp), Brigadier-General Sir Theophilus, 13, 61, 70
- Oisan, Oissant, Bourg d'. *See* Bourg d'Oisans.
- Oise (Loise), river, France, 790
- Oléron, Ile d', France, 700, 720, 725, 726
- old plan of, offered by agent, 778
- easy to invade, 770
- defences of, cxxxv, 703, 737, 781, 785
- Château-d', le. *See* Château-d'Oléron.
- Oliphant (Olivant), Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Ollonnes, Les. *See* Sables d'Olonne, Les.
- Oneglia (Oneille), Italy, 421
- Onfalite. *See* Houffalize.
- Onslow, Sir Richard (later 1st Lord Onslow), Commissioner of the Admiralty, 9, 19
- Oostende. *See* Ostend.
- opera. *See under* music and musicians; Paris: Opéra.
- Oporto, Portugal, 34, 194, 195, 272, 273
- Oradea or Grosswardein (Grand Varadin, Grand Waradin, Varadin), Ottoman stronghold in Hungary, now Romania, 404, 434
- Orange, France, 488, 805
- Orange, house of (maison du Prince d'Orange). book containing history of, 432
- Orange, Guillaume Premier of. *See* Nassau, William I of.
- Orange, Oranges, Prince d'. *See* William III.
- Orde (Orte), Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Ordinance, Board or Officers of, Ordinance Office, lix, 2, 6, 42, 65
- letters to, 26, 107, 114
- Orenge, Orenge, Prince d'. *See* William III.
- Orenille, Belgium, 697
- Orge, Marechal de l', Monsieur de l'. *See* Lorges.
- Orléans, France, 360, 387, 786
- wine of, 401
- Intendant of, 596
- Orléans, Duchess of. *See* Elizabeth Charlotte (of the Palatinate).
- Orléans (Orleance), Duke of. *See* Philip.
- Orleans, Mademoiselle d'. *See* Anne Marie Louise.
- Ormon, Ormond, Ormont, Duke of. *See* Butler, James.
- Orsan, France. *See* Bourg d'Oisans.
- Orsini (Orsin), —, in Allied service in Italy, 534
- Orstmaal (Orsmael), Belgium, 203
- Orte, Colonel. *See* Orde.
- Osborne, Justice, 43, 44
- Osborne, Peregrine, Earl of Danby (later 2nd Duke of Leeds), captain, then rear admiral of the Red, 19, 34, 155, 163
- particulars granted to him, 106
- appointed rear admiral of the Red, 180
- Osborne, Thomas, 1st Marquess of Carmarthen (Camarthen) (later 1st Duke of Leeds), Lord President of the Council, lii, xcv, cxxxv, 18, 29, 99, 117, 121, 126, 175, 178
- letter from, 206
- letter to, 211
- Osijek (Essek), Slavonia (now in Croatia), 530
- Osman Pasha, kaimakam of Adrianople, 584
- Ostend (Oostende, Ostende), Belgium, lxxviii, cxix, 8, 130, 144, 209, 210, 246, 410, 419, 449, 454, 728, 822
- Ottignies, Ottigny. *See* Dottignies.
- Ottoman Empire. *See* Turkey.
- Ouarnenes, baye de D'. *See* Douarnenez Bay.
- Oudenarde, Belgium, 445, 597, 606, 617
- Ouessan, Ouessant, Ouissant. *See* Ushant.
- Ouistreham (Estreham), France, cliii, 321, 680
- Ouze Edge. *See* Oaze.

- Overkerque, Overkirk, Monsieur. *See* Nassau, Count Henry of.
- Ovid (Ovide), 340, 341, 420
- Oxenstierna (Oxinsterne), Count, eldest son of the following, colonel in Dutch army, 33
- Oxenstierna (Oxenstiern, Oxinsterne), Count Bengt, Swedish chancellor, lxxxv, 84, 94 pension to, lxxxv, 33, 39, 44, 50
- Oxenstierna (Oxensterne, Oxenstiern, Oxinstern, Oxinsterne), Count Gabriel, son of the preceding, Swedish envoy to England, 3, 5, 10, 11, 19, 21, 33, 40, 49, 50, 60, 128, 131, 279
letter to, 6
recredentials for, 61
- Oxenstierna (Oxenstierne), Countess Magdalena, lxxxv, 84, 90
- Oxford, Lord. *See* Vere.
- Oxinstern, Oxinsterne. *See* Oxenstierna.
- Oyers, des. *See* Des Augers.
- Pacalier. *See* Pancalieri.
- Padua (Padoue), Italy, 515
- Paget, William, 7th Lord Paget (Pagett), English ambassador to the Porte, xcvi—xcix, 36, 131, 133, 200, 544
letter to, 237
commission for, 237
and mediation of peace between Porte and Empire, 128, 215–16, 226, 231, 236, 238, 244, 584
- Paimboeuf (Painboeuf), France, 655
- Paimpont. *See* Le Pont.
- Pain, Nevil, Nevill. *See* Payne, Henry Neville.
- Painboeuf. *See* Paimboeuf.
- Païs de Caux. *See* Caux.
- Palamos, Spain, 566, 574, 576, 595
- Palatinate (Palatinat), Germany, lxxvi, 129
refugees from, 326
Elector Palatine. *See* John William.
- Palermo (Palerme), Sicily, 519
- Pálffy (Palfi, Palfy), Count Johann, Imperial general, 424, 451, 336, 424, 451, 469, 473, 639
- Palières. *See* Pallière.
- Pallas (Palle), Monsieur (later Chevalier) de, French naval officer, 522
- Pallière (Palières), Monsieur de, French naval officer, 635, 660
- Pallière, Monsieur de la.
French ship list signed by, 818
- Palmer, John, Jacobite alias, 166
- Palmquist, Johan, Swedish secretary (later resident) in Paris, 611
- Pamiers, France.
Bishop of. *See* Verthamon.
Bishopric of, 607
- Pancalieri (Pacalier, Pontcalier), Italy, 343, 350
- Panciatici (Panccatichi), Bandino, Cardinal, 608
- Panetié (Panétier, Pannetier, Pantier, Pentier), François, French admiral, 660, 721, 722, 723, 729, 743 (as vice-admiral bleu), 744, 807
- Papachino (Papachin), Honorato Bonifacio, admiral in Spanish service, 441, 445, 450, 463, 490
- Paparel, —, 465
- Pape, le. *See* Innocent XII.
- Papillon, Thomas, Commissioner of Victualling and M.P. for Dover, xli, 84
letter from, 124
- Papists. *See* Roman Catholics.
- Parck (Park, Parke, Perck), Parck Abbey (Park Abby), near Louvain, Belgium, lxxxviii, 132, 201, 210
letters dated from, 136, 144, 146, 149, 152, 162, 172, 173, 176, 182, 187, 190, 254
news dated from, 137, 141, 144, 147, 150, 152, 158, 162, 172, 181, 187
map of Allied camp at, 162, 827
- Parelle, Marquis de, Allied general, 439, 462, 464
- Parinck, Gerrit, of Deventer, escaped prisoner of war, 798
- Paris (Parris), *passim*
letters dated from, *passim*
news dated from, *passim*
Gazettes (Gazette de France, Gazette de Paris), xvii, xxxiv, 146, 152, 161, 162, 355, 357, 390, 395, 487, 528, 533, 540, 546, 568, 607, 633, 634
its vulnerability to attack, 340, 790
unrest in, 498, 506, 547, 548, 553, 607, 612, 613, 614, 626, 628, 634, 803
poor relief in, 557, 603, 609, 613, 614, 617, 622, 624, 626, 634
taxes to be raised by, xxxii, 576, 581, 583, 585, 594, 602, 604, 605, 607, 609, 617
Bastille, xxxv–xxxvi, cxi–cxii, cxxvi, cxxix, cxlii, clvii–clviii, 357, 397, 399, 402, 463, 479, 483, 484, 497, 542, 547, 567, 607, 632, 640
Governor of. *See* Besmaus.
- Bois de Boulogne (Boulougne), 607
- Bureau des Aides, 340
- Bureau des Finances, 358
- Bureau des Gabelles, 340
- Carmelite convent, 640
- Carthusians (Chartreux), 609
- Célestins, 536
- Chambre des Comptes, 357, 358
- Chartreux. *See* Carthusians.
- Châtelet, 387, 390
- Comédie Française (Comedie), 390, 542
- Faubourg St. Antoine (Fauxbour, Fauxbourg St. Anthoine), 502, 553
convent of La Raquette, 502
- Faubourg (Fauxbourg) St. Germain, cxxiv, 347, 348, 520, 689
- Grève, 340

- Halles, les (la Halle), 498, 564
 Hôtel d'Albret, Rue des Francs Bourgeois, 340
 Hôtel (Hostel) de Guise, 401
 Hôtel (Hostel) de la Reine (Reyne)
 Marguerite, 508
 Hôtel de Soissons, 523
 Hôtel (Hostel) de Ville, 414
 Incurables, 360
 Invalides, 360, 535, 543
 Lazarists (Pères de St. Lazare), 609
 Louvre, xxxiv, 603, 634
 Marais, 340, 508
 Mint (la Monnoye, Monoye, les Monoyes),
 340, 483, 797, 803
 Montmartre (Montmarte), abbey of, 361
 abbess of, 361, 502
 Notre Dame (Nostre Dame), 356, 459
 Notre Dame des Prés (Nostre Dame des
 Prés), 362
 Nouvelles Catholiques, 402
 Opéra, cxxxii, cxliv, 406, 503, 508, 610, 689
 Palais, 507
 Palais [de Justice], 506
 Palais d'Orléans, 626
 Palais Royal, 383, 403, 508
 Parlement of, clvi, 382, 448, 506
 See also under Parlements, French.
 Place Maubert, 498
 Porte de Gaillon, 340
 Port Royal, 391, 540
 Rue Coqueron, 340
 Rue Dauphine, cxxiv, 340
 Rue de Cleri, 340
 Rue de Grenelle, 340
 Rue des Boucheries, cxxiv, 347
 Rue des Francs Bourgeois, 340
 Rue des Lavandières, 813
 Rue des Mauvais Garçons (Garsons), 689
 Rue Neuve des Fosse, cxxviii, 348
 Rue Neuve St. Augustin, 340
 Rue Neuve St. Roch, 377
 Rue St. Denis, 425
 Rue St. Germain, 397
 St. Anne la Royale (les Têatins), 507
 St. Germain[-des-Prés], abbey of, 379
 St. Germain l'Auxerrois (St. Germain de
 l'Auxerrois), 634
 St. Honoré, 340
 St. Laurent, 612
 St. Lazare, Pères de. *See* Lazarists.
 St. Roch, 474
 St. Séverin, 531
 St. Sulpice, 362
 Theatines (les Têatins). *See* St. Anne la
 Royale.
 Trésor, Trésor Royal, 340, 402, 509, 638
 Tuileries (Tuilleries), the, 624
 Val de Grâce, 536
 Archbishop of. *See* Harlay de Champvallon,
 François de.
 Archbishopric of, 618
 Park, Park Abby, Parke. *See* Parck.
 Parker, John, English consul at Corunna, 65,
 195, 196, 218
 Parker, Colonel John, *alias* Little Parker, cxii,
 38, 61, 72, 113
 Parlements, French, cxxxiii–cxxxiv, clvi, 382,
 385, 448, 484, 506, 526, 531, 560, 746,
 747, 748, 760, 790, 792, 807
 Parliament, v, xv–xvi, xx, xxiii, xxv, xxxiv,
 xxxviii, l, lix, lxx–lxxi, lxxiii, lxxvi–lxxix,
 cviii, clxx, 8, 15, 18, 32, 37, 103, 170, 211,
 222, 236, 242, 244, 246, 250, 254, 256,
 257, 258, 261, 262, 264, 265, 270, 272,
 273, 276, 282, 413, 417, 490, 495, 501,
 522, 533, 604, 607, 611, 617, 634, 803,
 811, 812, 820, 821, 824, 825, 827
 French hopes of, xxxii, 639
 See also Commons, House of; Lords, House of.
 Parliament of Ireland. *See under* Ireland.
 Parliament of Scotland. *See under* Scotland.
 Parma (Parme), Italy, 23, 465, 492, 681
 Parsons, Sir John, former victualler to the navy
 and Commissioner of Victualling, 57
 Parsons, Richard, 1st Viscount Rosse (Ross), 283
 Passage, Sieur du, of Poitou, 397
 Passerat, —, surgeon, of Paris, 558–9
 Paston, Charles, Lord Paston, son of the
 following, 247
 Paston, William, 2nd Earl of Yarmouth, 247
 Paterson, John, Archbishop of Glasgow
 (Glasco), 28
 Patoulet, Jean Baptiste, Intendant de Marine at
 Dunkirk.
 instructions signed by, lxxii, 658
 Paul, Prince. *See* Joyeuse, Jean Paul de
 Lorraine, Duc de, Prince de Lillebonne.
 Paulet, Charles, 1st Duke of Bolton.
 regiment of, 828
 Paulier, —, general in French service, 453
 regiment of, 455
 Paunsford, Mr, 176
 Pavia (Pavie), Italy, 465
 Payne (Pain), Henry Neville (Nevil, Nevill),
 160, 161, 171
 Pays Bas Espagnols. *See* Spanish Netherlands.
 Pays de Caux. *See* Caux.
 Payzant (Paysant), James, Clerk to the
 Secretary at War, 670
 Pearce (Pierce), Richard, Surgeon General,
 cxxxviii, 744
 Pedro II, King of Portugal, 5, 85, 93, 178, 180,
 218, 229–30, 255
 disposed to declare against France, ciii, 194,
 227–8
 his passion for black women, 468
 Peferrié. *See* Peyferié.
 Peirouse. *See* Perosa.
 Péletier (Pelletier) de Souzy, Michel Le,
 Intendant des Finances, lii, 388, 400, 409,
 440, 476, 480, 503, 535
 verses addressed to, 504

- Pelisson-Fontanier *or* Pellisson (Pélisson), Paul,
Roman Catholic convert, author and
Academician, cxlv, 389, 408, 411, 412, 539
and Protestants, 480, 485, 513
death of, 510–11, 513
verses on, 532
- Pelletier, Monsieur. *See* Péletier.
- Pellisson, Paul. *See* Pelisson-Fontanier.
- Pembroke, Countess of. *See* Keroualle,
Henriette Mauricette de.
- Pembroke, Pembroke, Earl of. *See* Herbert,
Thomas.
- Pena, Joseph de la.
letter from, 79
- Penotier, Sieur, French treasury official, 340
- Pensionary, Pensioner, the. *See* Heinsius.
- Pentier, Monsieur. *See* Panetié.
- Pepys, Samuel (Samuell), clerk of the acts and
surveyor general of the Victualling Office,
lv
memorandum by, 815
opinion signed by, 816
- Peray, [?Jean Guichard, Marquis] de.
letter from, 695
- Perck. *See* Parck.
- Pereau [?Perreau, Daniel], merchant of London,
811
- Perigord (Perigort), France, 672
regiment of, 562
- Périnet, Monsieur de. *See* Perrinet.
- Perosa (La Pérouse, Peirouse), town and valley,
Italy, 220, 587, 605, 614, 637, 641
- Perpignan, France, 638
- Perrault (Perraut), Charles, French writer and
Academician, cxlv, 503, 532
verses on, 509
- Perrinet (Périnet), Barthélemy Alexandre
d'Aralle, Chevalier de, French naval
commander, 427, 660, 720
- Pers, Mr, solicitor for Dover smugglers, 141
- Persia (Perse), Shah of (Roi de). *See* Sulaiman.
- Peterborough, Peterborro, Earl of. *See*
Mordaunt, Henry.
- Peterson (Peiterson), Lawrence (Lawrance),
master of the *Fortune* of Flensburg, 177,
192
- Petit Mont St. Bernard, Col de, pass,
France/Italy, 345
- Petrovaradin (Petter Warradin), Yugoslavia, 35
- Pétrozzi, 382
- Pett, Sir Phineas, Navy Commissioner.
letter from, 817
- Pett, Samuel, Clerk of the Admiralty, then
Controller of Victualling Accounts and
Navy Commissioner, 38
- Petter Warradin. *See* Petrovaradin.
- Pewter, Mr, collector of customs at Dover, 140
- Peyferié (Peferrié), Sieur de, French Protestant
refugee, 800
- Pforzheim (Forsheim, Forzey), Germany, 340,
569
- Phélypeaux. *See* Pontchartrain.
- Philip II, King of Spain, 412
- Philip, Duc d'Anjou (later Philip V of Spain),
grandson of Louis XIV, 579
cavalry of, 563
- Philip, Duc de Chartres (De Charters) (later
Duke of Orléans and Regent of France),
son of Philip of Orléans and Elizabeth
Charlotte of the Palatinate, 37, 348, 350,
353, 400, 426, 484, 508, 538, 699
his marriage, cxlv, 364, 366, 383–4, 386,
387, 390, 392, 393, 394
hints at his father's homosexual tastes, 401
his corps de réserve, 438
wounded at Steinkerk, 452, 453
and the Duchesse de Montpensier, 528
almost captured at Landen, 588
his deputy governor. *See* La Bertière.
his wife. *See* Françoise Marie.
- Philip, Duke of Orléans (Orleance) (Monsieur,
Mounsuer), brother of Louis XIV, cxlv, 29,
36, 37, 365, 383, 390, 391, 396, 400, 403,
409, 437, 443, 452, 453, 483, 502, 508,
526, 535, 540
letters to, mentioned, 492, 515, 529, 552,
623
his son hints at his homosexual tastes, 401
movements and health, 442, 546, 549, 551,
552, 553, 560, 570, 579, 581, 593, 596,
677, 740
as heir of the Duchesse de Montpensier, cxlv,
528, 531, 536, 537, 542
popular, cxlv, 545, 560, 569
offers his jewels for sale, cxlv, 549, 551
reports to Louis XIV on famine in Brittany,
cxlv, 612
admitted to most secret councils, 618
repatee to Louis XIV, 633
his daughters. *See* Anna Maria; Elizabeth
Charlotte (of Orléans).
his son. *See* Philip, Duc de Chartres.
his wife (Madame). *See* Elizabeth Charlotte
(of the Palatinate).
his physician. *See* Denizot.
his treasurer. *See* Maginville.
- Philip of Savoy (Prince Philippe), brother of
Prince Eugene, Abbot of St. Pierre de
Corbie, 619, 629
- Philippeville (Phillipville), Belgium, 34, 42,
423, 432, 433, 438, 442, 494, 559, 562,
575, 637
- Philipsburg (Philipsbourg, Philipsburg,
Philisbourg), 3, 132, 345, 562, 581, 582,
611
- Phillips, Captain, master of Barbados ship, 98,
124
- Phillips, Sir Ambrose, king's serjeant, 175
- Phillips, Frances, wife of the following, 274
- Phillips, Captain Thomas, military engineer.
letter from, lxxv, 274
- Philpot (Filpot), Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61

- Phipps (Phips, Phyps), Sir William, Governor of Massachusetts Bay, civ–cv, cvii, 46, 76, 77, 266
 letters to, 45, 63, 75
- Pianesse, Marquis of, 478, 487, 497
- Picardy (Picardie), France, 670, 715, 790, 799
 regiment of, 580
- Pictet, Benedict, Swiss Protestant theologian, 285, 286
- Piedmont (Piémont), Italy, lxxxvi, lxxviii, xciii–xcvii, cviii, cxxviii, 3, 8, 22, 24, 29, 35, 37, 38, 100, 119, 122, 144, 245, 258, 263, 292, 295, 299, 336–85 *passim*, 406–57 *passim*, 467, 477–93 *passim*, 509–62 *passim*, 593–633 *passim*, 641, 682, 685, 703, 706, 713, 731
 information sought about French plans for, 796
 battle in. *See* Marsaglia.
See also Barbets.
- Pierce, Mr. *See* Pearse.
- Pierefite, Madame de. *See* De Pierrefritte.
- Pierre Ancise. *See* under Lyon.
- Pierrefritte. *See* De Pierrefritte.
- Pierrepont, Evelyn, 5th Earl (later 1st Duke) of Kingston-upon-Hull, 29
- Pieton, Belgium, 349, 638
- Pigault, William, merchant of Calais, xl, 791
- Pignerol, Pignerole, Pignorall. *See* Pinerolo.
- Pike, Mrs Susanna, 161
- Pike, Thomas, printer and bookseller, 161
- Pile or Pille, Monsieur de or du, French quartermaster in Germany, 380, 436, 613, 614, 626
- Pile. *See also* the following.
- Piles (Pile), Roger de, French art historian, artist and diplomat, unofficial emissary to the United Provinces, 547
 known to the Allies as Roberti, 571
- Pimentel (Pimantel), Juan de, Allied governor of Charleroi, 34 (as late governor), 489, 608
- Pimentel, Sebastian, Spanish colonel of foot in Allied service in Savoy, 620
- Pinerolo (Pignerol, Pignerole, Pignerolle, Pignorall), Italy, xciv, xcvi, 219, 220, 234, 245, 258, 342–58 *passim*, 374, 416–67 *passim*, 477, 482–95 *passim*, 541, 545, 556, 587–628 *passim*, 681, 703
 news dated from, 23, 34, 494, 496
 news from, 428, 451, 491, 534, 611
 Allies burn mills and hay near, 408
 Allies harvest then destroy vines around, 639
 French officers commanding at. *See* D'Usson, Jean; Tessé.
- Piper, Major.
 company of, 798
 pirates. *See* privateers.
- Pius IV, Pope, 412
- Placentia (Platientia), Newfoundland, cvii, 267
- Plantations, the, 55, 827
- Platientia. *See* Placentia.
- Plato (Platon), 509
- plays and players, cxliv, 498, 542, 689
Judith, by Boyer, 498
Les Bourgeoises à la Mode, by Dancourt, 498
See also books and poems; music and musicians.
- Plermuel (Pleumel, Pleumell), France, 759
- Plessis Bellière, Monsieur du, 397
- Pleumel, Pleumell. *See* Plermuel.
- Plymouth (Plimouth), Devon, lvii, lxiii, lxxii–lxxiii, cxxxvii, cxxxix, 7, 8, 9, 26, 54, 55, 58, 59, 71, 82, 83, 88, 89, 143, 160, 205, 708, 799, 818, 825, 829
 letter dated from, 81
 hospitals at, to be prepared for sick seamen, 170, 171
 French prisoners of war at, xlvii, 773
 joint Governors of. *See* Granville, Charles; Granville, John.
 naval commissioner at. *See* Greenhill, Henry.
- Po, river, Italy, 350, 352, 355, 356, 357, 494, 496, 615, 617, 618, 621, 622, 633
- Podolia (Podolie), 346
- Pointe des Espagnols, France, 762
 Fort aux Espagnols, 762
- Pointe du Chapus. *See* Chapus.
- Poissy, Claude de Longueil, Marquis de, son of the Marquis de Maisons, 526, 536
- Poissy, Madeleine de Lamoignon, Marquise de, wife of the preceding, 526, 536
- Poitiers, France, cli, 386, 404, 639
 letter dated from, 667
 Intendant of, 386, 639
 Jesuits at, 708
 Roman Catholic converts and Huguenots retire from La Rochelle to, 444, 448
- Poitou (Poittou, Poytjou), France, cxxvi, cxxxiii–cxxxiv, cxlii, cxlix, 292, 294, 331, 431, 466, 483, 484, 504, 538, 545, 643, 644, 671, 675, 677, 737
 address to inhabitants of, 789
 oppression of Roman Catholic converts in, 644, 715
 regiment of, 562
 Intendant of. *See* La Bourdonnaye.
 Lieutenant de Roi (Roy) in. *See* Verac.
- Pol, Sieur, French pilot in Dutch service, cxxxvi, 687–8
- Poland (Polande, Polandois, Poles, Pologne, Polougne), li, 20, 23, 29, 336, 346, 424, 499, 524, 526, 552, 795
 ship of, 824
 Polish and French Jacobites reach La Rochelle, 342
 Polish residents of Paris, 479
 French ambassadors to. *See* Béthune; Esneval; Polignac.
 —, former, subsequently cardinals. *See* Bonzy; Forbin-Janson.

- King of. *See* John III.
- Queen of. *See* Maria Casimira Louisa.
- Polastron, Monsieur de, French *maréchal de camp*, 547
- Poley, Edmund, envoy extraordinary from England to Savoy.
his revocation, 74, 75, 83–4
- Polignac, Marie Armande de Rambures, Marquise de, 504, 507
- Polignac, Melchior, Abbé (later Cardinal) de, French ambassador to Poland, 526
- Pologne. *See* Poland.
- Polonghera, camp of, Italy, 354
- Polonghera (Polonghiera), river, Italy, 352
- Polridmouth (Pridmo), Cornwall, 82
- Polton, Mrs Mary, Jacobite alias, 166
- Pommereu (Pommereuil), Jean-Baptiste de, Intendant of Brittany, 757
- Pomponne (Pompone), Simon Arnauld, Marquis de, French minister of state and former diplomat, 358, 393, 440, 479, 515, 561
- Pomy, Madame. *See* Uzès, Madame d'.
- Ponant. *See* Atlantic Ocean.
- Ponchartrain, Monsieur de. *See* Pontchartrain.
- Pontcalier. *See* Pancalieri.
- Pontchartrain, Jérôme Phélypeaux, Comte de Maurepas et de, son of the following, 491, 511
- Pontchartrain (Ponchartrain), Louis Phélypeaux, Comte de, French Secretary of State for the Navy and Controller General of Finances, xxx–xxxv, xlv–xlv, lii, lxx, lxxxiii, cxiii, cxiii, cxv, cxix, cxlii, clvi–clviii, 158, 294, 357, 367, 388, 400, 419, 431, 432, 434, 440, 478, 491, 497, 499, 510, 525, 527, 528, 535, 538, 547, 549, 553, 556, 557, 567, 570, 577, 592, 595, 609, 629, 632, 639, 646, 797
preoccupied with finance, xxxii, 402, 479
receives reports on English affairs, xxxii, 501
and naval promotions, xxxi–xxxii, 505
and famine, cxlv, 612, 613, 628
his nephew. *See* Bignon.
- Pontchartrain, Marie de Maupéou, Comtesse de, wife of the preceding, xxxii, 505
- Pont David *or* David, redoubt on river Espierrette, Belgium, 190, 191
- Pont d'Espierres, Belgium, 627
- Ponthou (Pontou), Le, near Morlaix, France, 757
- Pontife, le. *See* Innocent XII.
- Pontivy, France, 759
- Pont Mahon. *See* Port Mahon.
- Pontoise, France, 420, 790
- Pontorson, France, cl, 647
- Pontou. *See* Ponthou, Le.
- Pope, the. *See* Innocent XII.
- Popertingue. *See* Hopertingue.
- Porrentruy (le Porentru), Switzerland, 684
- Porsmout, Madame de. *See* Keroualle, Louise Renée de.
- Porsmus. *See* Portsmouth.
- Porte, la *or* the. *See* Turkey.
- Porte, Marquis de la, French naval commander, 427, 522, 659, 718
- Porter, Sir Charles, Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Lord Justice, lxxvi–lxxvii, 89, 143, 159, 164, 169, 171, 176, 208, 233, 236, 237, 240, 248
letter to, 250
- Portes, les, 720
See also Baie des Portes.
- Portland, Dorset, 708
- Portland, Earl of *or* Milord. *See* Bentinck.
- Port Louis (Port Lewise, Port Luis), France, xlv, cl, cliv, 27, 472, 660, 708, 768
lists of ships at, 118, 636
agent to be sent to, 313, 332, 333
reports on ships at, 320, 328, 549, 628, 635, 650, 654, 659, 668, 702, 710, 712, 735
reports on shipbuilding at, 391, 730, 740, 779. *See also* Lorient.
report on reversible warship at, 667
- Port Mahon (Pont Mahon), Minorca, 595, 598
- Porto Ferraio, Elba, 148, 152
- Port St. Cément, France, 456
- Portsmouth (Porsmus, Portsmuth), Hants., xxxvi, lxiv, 2, 4, 11, 15, 19, 31, 38, 55, 59, 60, 71, 95, 96, 103, 105, 106, 111, 114, 143, 146, 155, 156, 170, 413, 418, 744, 821, 825, 829
letters dated from, 1, 6, 7, 41, 44, 48, 139, 238, 272, 274
proposed quarters for regiments near, 114
Council of War at, 117, 123
French prisoners in, lxxiii, 770
inconvenient for naval operations against France, lxxii–lxxiii, 823
Governor of. *See* Gibson.
naval commissioner at. *See* Timewell; Willshaw.
- Portsmouth, Madame de. *See* Keroualle, Louise Renée de.
- Portugal (Portugais, Portugall, Portuguese), xliii, cii–ciii, 5, 79, 82, 100, 163, 174, 198, 219, 230, 571, 572, 580, 644, 673, 741, 810, 811
offended with France, 85, 93, 128, 227, 349
ships of, ciii, 85, 87, 227, 249, 253, 259, 644, 785
naval engagement off, 156–7, 244. *See also* Lagos Bay; Turkey: convoy.
defensive alliance with Spain to be proposed, 178, 187, 215, 227–8
navy of, criticised, lvi, 468
Turks [probably Algerines] cruising off coast of, 729
envoy extraordinary from, to England. *See* Fonte Arcada.
late envoy from, to England. *See* Sousa.
envoy extraordinary from, to the States General. *See* Mendocça.
Dutch resident in. *See* Wolffsen.

- French ambassador to. *See* Estrées, Jean d'.
 Spanish envoy extraordinary to. *See* Sentmanat.
 King of. *See* Pedro II.
 Queen of. *See* Maria Sophia.
 Post Office, xliii, xlvii–xlviii, 113, 149
 Commissioners of the, 149, 812
 Potbosch, regiment of, 248
 Poule, Benjamin. *See* Poulle.
 Poulion *or* Pouliou, Samuel, Allied agent in
 Paris, xxvii, xxx, xxxv, xlv, lxv,
 lxviii–lxix, lxxiv, lxxxi, lxxxvii–lxxxviii,
 xc–xcii, xciv, ci, cxi–cxii, cxviii–cxix,
 cxxi, cxxxi, cxxxiv, cxli–cxlvi, cl, clii,
 cliv–clviii, 301, 306, 308
 letters from, 382–642
 elderly, cxlii, clviii, 311
 depressed by death of unnamed companion,
 411
 formerly in Rome, cxlii, 411
 problems with invisible ink used by,
 cxviii–cxix, clvi, 306, 418–19, 423, 473,
 523, 529, 537
 shown submarine prototype before
 Seignelay's death, xlv, 549
 his warnings unheeded, lxix, cxliii, 577,
 580
 at Marly, cxliii, 582
 Poulle (Poule, Powlle), Benjamin, merchant of
 Amsterdam, cxx, cxxii–cxxiii, 287, 291,
 314, 322
 letters of exchange addressed to, 311, 331,
 332
 Poulson, Captain Edward.
 letter from, 68
 Povey, Mr, 186
 Powlle, Benjamin. *See* Poulle.
 Poyke, Richard, King's Messenger, 208
 Poytou. *See* Poitou.
 Pracomtal (Précontal), Armand, Marquis de,
 French maréchal de camp, 529
 Praed, Mr, 192
 Pragelato (Pragealas, Pragelas, Pragellas), Italy,
 37, 343, 345, 355, 439
 Pratt, Mr, 13
 Préaux, near Orange, France, 805
 Précontal, de. *See* Pracomtal.
 Prée, fort de la. *See* Fort de la Prée.
 Presbyterians, 611
 Presle, near Embrun, France, 460
 Preston, Lances.
 letter dated from, 113
 Preston. *See* Graham, Richard.
 Prestre, Antoine le (later Comte de Vauban),
 French military engineer, nephew of
 Vauban, 534
 Price, Captain John, 1, 2, 8 (as captain of
Loyalty)
 Price, John, senior, of Wisteston (Wisteson),
 Herefs.
 letter to, 146
 Pridmo. *See* Polridmouth.
 Prince, Monsieur le. *See* Condé, Henri Jules de
 Bourbon, Prince de.
 Prince of Wales. *See* James Edward.
 Princes, Messieurs les. *See* Condé, Henri Jules
 de Bourbon, Prince de; Conti, François
 Louis de Bourbon, Prince de.
 Princesse, Madame la. *See* Condé, Anne (of the
 Palatinate), Princesse de.
 Prior, Matthew, English chargé d'affaires at the
 Hague, cxxix–cxxx, 101, 113, 114, 265,
 279
 letters to, 31, 48, 68
 prisoners of war.
 Dutch, 16, 798
 English, 16, 27, 267, 745, 747, 748, 823
 exchange of, xlii, lxxiii–lxxv, 113, 134,
 141, 161, 207, 223, 228, 232, 809, 821.
See also Commissioners for Sick and
 Wounded and Exchange of Prisoners of
 War.
 French, lxxiii–lxxiv, 16, 68, 71, 161, 266, 821
 proposals to infiltrate, cxxxix, 767, 773
 reports on conversations with, cxxxix,
 768–72
 German, 798
 Jacobite.
 alleged proposal to send Irish Jacobite
 prisoners to Hungary, 350
 proposed exchange of, lxxiv–lxxv. *See also*
 Dorrington; Maccarty, Donogh;
 MacElligott; Maxwell, Major-General
 Thomas.
 Turkish.
 alleged proposal to send Turkish prisoners
 to Ireland, 350
 privateers (armateurs, corsairs, pirates), 468
 Dutch, lxxiii, lxxix, 31, 68, 177, 346, 551,
 598
 English, lxx–lxxi, lxxix, lxxxi, 30, 31, 50–2,
 57, 59–60, 81, 177, 178, 196, 233
 list of, to be brought to Council, 64
 instructions for, lxxxi–lxxxiii, 86–7, 90,
 104–5, 128, 823
 Allied agent proposes to share prize
 money with, 371
 French, lxii–lxiii, lxxviii, lxx, lxxiii, lxxxiii,
 cii–cii, cxxxviii, 9, 15, 20, 27, 61, 81, 82,
 85, 142–3, 150, 151, 153, 160, 161, 171,
 175, 178, 188, 191, 227, 245, 267, 349,
 398, 479, 491, 493, 527, 534, 580, 604,
 822
 list of ports harbouring, 767–8
See also under Bayonne; Bordeaux; Brest;
 Calais; Dieppe; Dunkirk; Granville;
 Havre, le; Honfleur; St. Malo.
 Jamaican, 704
 Privy Council (Conseil d'Angleterre), xix, xx,
 lix, lxx, lxxvi, 16, 29, 38, 43, 49, 57, 64,
 142, 208, 224, 236, 241, 247, 273, 277,
 278, 306, 818, 820, 823, 826, 828, 829

- its deliberations reported simultaneously to William III and Louis XIV, 769
- Prizes, Commissioners for. *See* Commissioners for Prizes.
- Protestants (Protestants).
in Rome, 411
See also France: Protestants in; France; Protestant refugees from.
- Provence (Provance, Province), France, xciv–xcvi, cxxxiv, 8, 23, 119, 213, 220, 318, 350, 358, 434, 442, 450, 451, 452, 456, 458, 462, 464, 466, 472, 475, 477, 481, 483, 484, 494, 509, 525, 534, 553, 566, 569, 570, 572, 574, 576, 581, 616, 624, 672, 681, 682, 700
militia of, 456
guidelines for Allied forces occupying, 804–7
- Providence Island, Bahamas, 14
- Province. *See* Provence.
- Puissegur. *See* Puységur.
- Pulford, Mr, 813
- Puységur (Puissegur), Jacques François de Chastenot, Marquis de (later Marshal of France), 453
- Pyrenees, lxxxi, 444, 505
- Quadt (Coad), Duc de, French colonel, 589
- Quakers, lxxxiii, 113
- Quebec (Quebeck), Canada, civ, cvii, 24, 266, 732
- Queen Hyth. *See* London and Westminster: Queenhithe.
- Queiras. *See* Queyras.
- Quenoy, le. *See* Le Quesnoy.
- Quercy, France.
regiment of, 451
- Quesnoi, Quesnoy, le. *See* Le Quesnoy.
- Queyras (valée de Queiras, Quévray, Quieras), France, 451, 456, 457, 461
Château Queyras (chateau dans la vallée de Quévray, chateau de Queiras), 456, 457, 458
- Quiers. *See* Cherasco.
- Quiros, Francisco Bernardo de, Spanish envoy extraordinary to the States General, 90
- Quisoles, Italy, 451
- Rabainières (Rabesneiresd), Major Theophilus, 267
- Rabanack. *See* Rébenac.
- Rabar, Captain (then Lieutenant-Colonel) Augustus de.
letter from, 274
- Rabesneiresd, Major. *See* Rabainières.
- Raconigi (Raconis), Italy, 350
- Racine, Jean, French playwright, xxx, cxliv, 485
- Raconis. *See* Raconigi.
- Radnor, Earl of. *See* Robartes.
- Ragusa (Raguse) (now Dubrovnik, Croatia), 441
- Rainsford, Lieutenant, 70
- Rame (Ram) Head, Cornwall, 10
- Ramilles (Ramelliés, Ramiliers), Belgium, 136
- Ramsay (Ramsey), Brigadier George.
brigade of, 202–3
- Rance, estuary (Baye de Dinan), 724
- Rance, river (rivière de Dinan), 447, 637, 724
- Ranelagh, Lord. *See* Jones, Richard.
- Ranes, Nicolas d'Argouges, Marquis de, French colonel of dragoons.
regiment of, 385
- Ras, le. *See* Raz.
- Ras Blanchard, Ras Blanchart. *See* Alderney, Race of.
- Raschely, Jonathan. *See* Rashleigh.
- Rasciens. *See* Raska.
- Rashleigh (Raschely), Jonathan, M.P. for Fowey, xxxix, 82
- Raska, Raskans (Rasciens), Yugoslavia, 482
- Ratisbon (Ratisbonne), now Regensburg, Germany, xxix, 100
- Ratzburg (Ratsbourg, Ratzbourg, Ratzburg, Ratzburgh, Ratzebourg, Ratzenburgh), Germany, 207, 220, 234, 246, 255, 258, 585, 600
- Ravaillac, François, assassin of Henri IV, 448
- Rawstone, Colonel Lawrence.
letter from, 113
- Raye, Marquis de la. *See* Larray.
- Raymond (Rayman), Hugh, 43, 44
- Raymondis (Remondi, Rémondy Major) d'Allons, Joseph de, French Major-General of Marine, 342, 344, 432
- Raz (Ras), le, Brittany, 410
- Ré (Rey), Ile (Ile, Isle) de, France, lxxii, cxlii, clvii, 672, 700, 701, 705, 715, 720, 725, 734, 740
fear of raid on, 446
reports on defences of, cxxxv, 727, 737, 780, 781, 783, 785, 786
easy to invade, 770
Governor of. *See* Aubarède.
- Réals (Real, St. Realz), Charles de Boscal de Mornac, Chevalier de, French naval officer, 427, 636, 660, 722
- Rebé, Claude Hyacinthe de Favergues, Marquis de, French general, 489, 589
- Rébenac (Rabanack), François de Pas, Comte de, French diplomat, 37, 358, 359, 384, 388, 465, 493, 576
- Rebow, Sir Isaac, M.P. for Colchester, 277
- Reck, Johann, Freiherr von der, envoy extraordinary from Hanover to England.
recredentials and pass for, 53
- Recollects (Récolez), xlvi, 549, 571
- Recorder, the. *See* Lovell.
- Red house. *See under* Deptford.
- Regden, Mr, London receiver of smuggled French goods, 141
- Regensburg. *See* Ratisbon.

- Régner des Marais, François Séraphin, Abbé, 580
- Reims. *See* Rheims.
- Reine, regiment de la. *See under* Maria Theresa.
- Reine douairière d'Angleterre. *See* Catherine (of Braganza).
- Reinenberg, Heer van, 72
- Reinie, Monsieur de la. *See* La Reynie.
- Relegem (Releghem), Belgium, 220
- Relingue (Derlingue, Rélingues), Ferdinand, Comte de, French admiral, 427, 628, 660, 721, 722
- Remollon (Remolon), France, 475
- Rémond, Rémond, Sieur de. *See* Raymond.
- Renaud (Renaud) d'Elissagaray, Bernard, French naval engineer, known as le Petit Renaud, 420, 505
- Renaud, Monsieur, Conseiller au Parlement de Paris, 506
- Reneu, Peter, naturalized French merchant of London, xliii, 811
- Renie, Monsieur de la. *See* La Reynie.
- Rennes, France, clviii, 701, 746, 747, 749, 757
report on route to, from Brest, cxxxvii, 756, 758–61
Parlement at. *See* Brittany: Parlement of.
- Rethel (Rhetel), France, 562
- Retz, Jean François Paul de Gondy, Cardinal de, 562
- Reuss (Reusch), General Count Heinrich, envoy extraordinary from the Elector of Saxony to William III, 246
- Rével, Monsieur de, French lieutenant-general, 529
- Rével Staffarde. *See* Staffarda.
- Rey, Ille de. *See* Ré.
- Reynell, Sir Richard, 1st Bt., Chief Justice of King's Bench (Ireland), 183
- Reynie, Monsieur de la. *See* La Reynie.
- Rheims (Reims), France, 474, 562, 566, 568
Cathedral, 630
Archbishop of. *See* Le Tellier, Charles Maurice.
- Rhein, river. *See* Rhine.
- Rheinfels (Rheinfelden, Rheinfield, Rhinfeldz, Rhynfelden, Rynfelden), beside St. Goar, Germany, 3, 20, 23, 506, 738, 783
- Rhetel. *See* Rethel.
- Rhine (Rhein, Rhin, Rhyne, Rine), river, lxxxvi, lxxxviii, xciii, xcvi–xcvii, 10, 23, 24, 32, 37, 38, 108, 125, 144, 199, 213, 325, 460, 494, 506, 514, 517, 544, 546, 548, 551, 570, 574, 576, 581, 583, 599, 630, 637
- Rhine, Upper (Haut Rhin), 685
- Rhinfeldz. *See* Rheinfels.
- Rhône (Rhosne, Rosne), river, France, cxxxiv, 461, 475, 605
- Rhyne, river. *See* Rhine.
- Rhynfelden. *See* Rheinfels.
- Riberette (Ribérêts, Riberville), Monsieur de, French naval officer, 522, 636
- Ricaud, Sir Paul. *See* Rycaut.
- Rich, Sir Peter, naval contractor and M.P.
proposals by, for raising seamen, lx, 819
- Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal, cxxxii, 389, 561, 759
- Richemont, Duc de. *See* Lennox.
- Ricoux (Ricous, Ricousse), Charles Daniel, Chevalier de, French naval officer, 427, 723
- Right [?Wright], —, author of subversive rhymes, 235
- Rine. *See* Rhine.
- Rivaux, du. *See* Du Rivau-Huet.
- Riverolles, Monsieur de, French maréchal de camp, 547
- Rivière, Monsieur, 688
- Rivoli (Rivolle, Rivoly), Italy, 494
news dated from, 219
- Robartes, Charles Bodvile, 2nd Earl of Radnor, 66
- Roberts, Mrs, 18
- Roberts, Sir Gabriel, Deputy Governor of the Levant Company.
letter to, 94
- Robinson, Rev. (later Dr) John, English chargé d'affaires in Sweden, xlix, lxxxiii–lxxxv
letter from, 278
letters from, mentioned, 84, 85
letters to, 10, 11, 33, 39, 44, 49, 50, 59, 84, 94, 111
- Rocanjon, Chevalier de, Savoyard emissary to the Emperor, 496
- Roche Alard, Roche Allard, Roche Allart. *See* La Roche-Allart.
- Rochecotel, Italy, 451
- Rocheport (Rochford, Rochfort), France, xlvi, cxiii, cxiv, cxxiii, cxxxviii, cxlii, clvi–clvii, 360, 366, 469, 523, 646, 664, 665, 672, 700, 707, 747, 768, 770, 772
letters dated from, 244, 643, 656, 658, 668, 671, 708, 716–18, 720, 738–42
letters from, xxvi, lxv, lxxviii, cxlvii–clii, 712, 719, 723–38
reports on shipbuilding at, cxlvii–cxlix, cli–cliii, 27, 80, 391, 444, 657, 666, 706, 708, 712, 713, 714, 723, 725, 726, 728, 730, 735, 779–80, 782, 784, 786
reports on ships at, 118, 373, 374, 385, 544, 549, 628, 635, 648, 650, 663, 705, 711, 718, 726, 729, 731, 732, 734, 735, 737, 782, 784
lists of ships at, 636, 656, 658–9
reports on defences of, cxxxv, 724, 727, 733, 736, 781, 783
agent sent to, 293, 669
further plans for agents at, cxlvi–clv, 310, 311, 313, 315, 317, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 330, 331, 332, 333, 624
agent reports from, 319, 320, 328
agent contracts rheumatism at, cli, 661
Irish trade with, 720

- guns salvaged from La Hougue being recast at, 729, 732
 old plan of approaches to, offered by agent, 778
 section of, offered by agent, 780
 proposal for attack on ships leaving, 786
 proposal for raid on, cxxxiv–cxxxv, 802
 naval officers in, to be approached by Gravisset, 813
 Intendant de Marine at. *See* Bégon.
 rivière de. *See* Charente.
- Rochefort, Louis Pierre Armand d'Aloigny, Marquis de, French brigadier, son of the following, 542
- Rochefort, Madeleine de Laval, Maréchale de, widow of Henri Louis d'Aloigny, Marquis de Rochefort, Marshal of France, 398
- Rochefoucauld (Rochefoucaud, Rochefoucault, Rochefoucaut), François VII, Duc de la, Governor of Poitou, xxxii, 505, 589, 781
- Rochegiffart, Mademoiselle de la, 493
- Rocheguyon, François, Duc de la, son of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, 589
- Rochell, Rochelle. *See* La Rochelle.
- Rochemart, Monsieur de, French naval commander, 660
- Rochester, Bishop of. *See* Sprat.
- Rochester, Lord. *See* Hyde, Lawrence.
- Rochford, Rochfort. *See* Rochefort.
- Rocoly, Italy, 34
- Rocroi (Rocroy), France, 435, 562, 637
- Rohan, Hercule Meriadec de, Prince de Rohan, son of the Prince de Soubise, 398, 399, 624
- Roland, Captain John.
 letter from, 81
- Rolfe, John, seaman, 206, 211
- Roman Catholics, xxv, xxviii
 Council resolves to disarm, 38
 in Lancashire, 113
 in Ireland, 479–80
See also France: Roman Catholic converts in.
- Rome (Romains, Romme), cxlii, 346, 351, 353, 356, 357, 361, 383, 384, 390, 393, 399, 411, 417, 424, 482, 491, 492, 496, 508, 510, 512, 515, 552, 562, 606, 608, 609, 610, 615, 618, 629, 787
 news dated from, 494
 letters from, 578
 College of Cardinals, 365
 Muro Torto, 411
 Porte del Popolo (Populo), 411
 French ambassador in. *See* Chaulnes.
 French chargé d'affaires in. *See* Forbin-Janson.
See also Innocent XII.
- Romney Marsh (Rumney marshes), Kent, xxxix–xlii, cxv, 134
- Rompsay. *See under* La Rochelle.
- Rongère, Monsieur de la. *See* La Rongère.
- Ronsay. *See* La Rochelle: Rompsay.
- Rooke (Roocke, Rook, Rookers), Sir George, vice admiral of the Red, then admiral of the Blue, xxvi, lvii, lxiv–lxix, lxxi, xc, c–ci, ciii–civ, 16, 40, 41, 54, 106, 127–8, 130, 131, 153, 156, 158, 165, 174, 175, 189, 193, 196, 207, 211, 221, 222, 224, 244, 245, 329, 586, 589, 742, 743
 letters from, 41, 48, 58, 71
 letter to, 53
 planning North African landfall for convoy, 154, 163, 164, 173
- Roque, Cap de la. *See* Cabo da Roca.
- Roquelaure, Antoine Gaston Jean Baptiste, Duc de, French maréchal de camp, 445, 529
- Roquepersin, Roque Persin. *See* La Roque-Persin.
- Rosas (Roses, Roze, Rozes), Spain, ciii, 146, 147, 150, 151, 157, 228, 546, 549, 551, 553, 556, 560, 561, 563, 564, 565, 566, 576, 616, 738
 Governor of, 565
- Rosen, Chevalier de, Comte de St. Marc (St. Marcs), son of the following, 589
- Rosen (Roses), Conrad von, lieutenant-general in French service (later Marshal of France), 594
- Roses. *See* Rosas; Rosen (p. 594 only).
- Rosne. *See* Rhône.
- Ross, Lord. *See* Parsons, Richard.
- Rotterdam (Roterdam), xv, xxviii, lxxxix, xci, ci, cix–cxii, cxiii, cxvii–cxx, cxxvii–cxxxviii, cxxxii, cxlviii–cxlix, clv, 17, 79, 191, 208, 300, 320, 329, 332, 389, 687, 695, 824
 letters addressed to, 648, 651, 656, 658, 660, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668
 letters and papers dated from, 79, 212, 288, 289, 293, 294, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 309, 313, 314, 315, 317, 319, 320, 322, 325, 326, 327, 331, 669, 670, 678, 696
 Gazette of, cxxv, 212, 329
 editor of. *See* Ceinglein.
 routing of intelligence from France through, xii, lxxviii, 285, 287, 422
 arrival of Braconnier in, 294, 372
 Allied agent captured in French service pretends to be from, clii, 328
 caricature of James II printed in, 356
 minister of the English church in. *See* Hill, Joseph.
- Roucy (Roussy), François de Roye de la Rochefoucauld, Comte de, French officer, 621
- Roue. *See* Rowe.
- Rouen, France, cxli, cl, cliv–clv, 321, 322, 333, 353, 367, 423, 589, 596, 598, 633, 647
 letters dated from, 674, 675
 galleys at, 64, 544, 674, 675, 700, 713
 its vulnerability to attack, cxxiv, cxxxv–cxxxvi, cl, 340, 790
 suspicions of Roman Catholic converts in, 425
 militia sought from, 561

- intelligence routed through, 656, 661
report on transports assembled at, 775
- Roure (Rourre), Louis Pierre Scipion de
Grimoard de Beauvoir, Comte du, former
Governor of the Vivarais, 806
- Roure, Louis Scipion de Grimoard, Marquis du
(d.1690), son of the preceding, 395
- Roure, Louise Victoire de Caumont de La
Force, Marquise du, widow of the
preceding, 395, 453, 582
- Rous. *See* Rowe.
- Roussel (Rouxel), Monsieur de, French naval
commander, 660
- Roussel, Monsieur. *See also* Russell, Edward.
- Roussell, Monsieur l'Admirall. *See* Russell,
Edward.
- Roussillon, le, France, lxxxviii, 353, 430, 738
French army of, 530, 550
- Roussy, Comte de. *See* Roucy.
- Rouvray, Monsieur de, French naval officer, 635
- Roux, Monsieur, of Rochefort, 671
- Roux, Thomas. *See* Rowe.
- Rouxel de Médavy, Marie Françoise, Abbess of
St. Mandé and formerly Prioress of La
Saussaye, daughter of the Marshal de
Grancey, 502
- Rouxel, Monsieur de. *See* Roussel.
- Rowe (Rou, Roue, Roux), Thomas, merchant at
Dover, suspected smuggler and Jacobite,
xxxix–xlii, cxlviii, 134, 135, 141
confession implicating, 791
his sons, xxxix, 141
- Royal African Company, 29, 110
- Roye, Frederic Charles de Roye de La
Rochefoucauld, Comte de, Earl of Lifford,
officer in Allied service (d.1690), 485
his third son. *See* Blansac.
- Roze, Rozes. *See* Rosas.
- Rozel, cavalry of, 563
- Rubantel, Denis Louis de, French lieutenant-
general, 529
- Rumney marshes. *See* Romney Marsh.
- Rupert, Prince, Count Palatine of the Rhine, 813
- Rushbrooke, Suffolk.
letter dated from, 214
- Russe, —, Jacobite, 260, 261
- Russell (Roussell, Russel), Edward (later Earl
of Orford), admiral, Treasurer of the Navy,
xx, xxiv, xxvii, xxxii, xxxix, xli, lxi, lxxv,
c, civ, cxxxv, cxxxvi, 19, 241, 243, 478,
767, 768, 770, 820
letter from, 825
lists of English and Dutch ships signed,
annotated or enclosed by, 323, 821–2
report on French naval medicine
commissioned by, cxxxvii–cxxxix, 763–6
papers relating to his conduct in 1691, xv,
822
papers relating to his conduct in 1692, xv,
824
his conduct at La Hougue, lvi, 429, 721
criticised after La Hougue, 501, 730
tries to send Fontaines ashore after La
Hougue, cxxxix, 772
- Russell, Sir William, 1st Bt., Treasurer of the
Navy.
accounts of, 815
- Russell, William, 5th Earl (later 1st Duke) of
Bedford.
his family promoting Sunderland, xxvii, 243
- Russia, Russians (Moscovites), 346, 404, 424,
568
- Ruvigny, Monsieur de. *See* Massue de Ruvigny.
- Ruvigny, Marie Tallemant, Marquise de, wife of
Henri de Massue, Marquis of Ruvigny (and
mother of the 1st Earl of Galway), 548
her brother. *See* Tallemant.
- Ruy, Major de, French officer, 621
- Rycaut (Ricaud), Sir Paul, English resident at
the Hanse Towns, xx, cxxxiii, 48, 78, 281
letters from, 79, 280
letter to, 32
- Ryder, Captain, Lieutenant of Whittlewood
Forest, 70
- Rye, Sussex, xxxix, 14, 116, 820
letter dated from, 81
regular boats from France to, 640
- Rynfelden. *See* Rheinfels.
- Saar, river, 187
- Sablanceaux (Sablanceau, St. Blanceau), Ile de
Ré, France, 720, 727, 781, 783
- Sables d'Olonnes, les (Les Ollonnes, Les Sables
d'Olonne), France, 724, 741
- Sablons, France, 641
- Sackville, Charles, 6th Earl of Dorset, Lord
Chamberlain of the Household, lxxviii,
117, 183
- Sackville (Sackvile), Colonel Edward, Jacobite
officer, 61
- Saillan, Abbé de, 503
- St. Aignan, François de Beauvilliers, Duc de,
former Governor of Le Havre (d.1687),
321, 606
- St. Aignan. *See also* Beauvilliers.
- St. Albans, Duke of. *See* Beauclerk.
- St. Amand[-les-Eaux], France (Flanders), abbey
of, 629
- St. André, Monsieur de, French commander in
Dauphiné, 363
- St. André, regiment of, in Allied service in
Savoy, 346
- St. Aubin. *See* De Alet.
- St. Benoist-sur-Mer (St. Bénéot), France, 724
- St. Blanceau. *See* Sablanceaux.
- St. Bonnet, France, 478
- St. Brieuc (St. Brieu), France, 758, 770
Bishop of. *See* Coëtlogon, Louis Marcel de.
- St. Cendre. *See* St. Xandre.
- St. Christophe, St. Christophers, St.
Christophe. *See* St. Kitts.

- St. Cir, St. Cirre. *See* St. Cyr.
- St. Clement[-sur-Durance], France, 475
- St. Cloud (St. Clou), France, 380, 409, 579, 585
- St. Crepin (St. Crespin), near Guillestre, France, 458, 475
- St. Christopher, St. Cristophle. *See* St. Kitts.
- St. Croix (St. Croix), island, West Indies, 690
- St. Cyr[-l'Ecole] (St. Cir, St. Cirre), France, 379, 380, 419, 439, 581
- St. Denis, near Paris, France, 387, 419, 442, 536, 790
- St. Denis[-d'Oléron], France, 781
- St. Dominge, St. Domingue, St. Domingo. *See* Haiti.
- Ste. Brigatte, Ste. Brigide. *See* Santa Brigida.
- Ste. Croix. *See* St. Croix.
- Ste. Foy[-la-Grande], France, 800
- Ste. Gertruyden-Landen. *See* Landen, villages of.
- Ste. Helenne. *See* St. Helens.
- Sainte-Hermine, Hélié de, French naval commander, 660, 718
- Ste. Maire, France, 458
- Ste. Marthe, Denis de (as auteur anonyme), 507, 579
- Ste. Maure, Charles, Marquis de, French naval commander, clii, 635, 660, 723
- Ste. Maure. *See also* Montausier.
- Saintes (Xaintes), France, 301, 724, 739, 741
- Saintes, Iles des, West Indies, 707
- St. Esprit (St. Exprit) *or* St. Esprit de Montpellier, Ordre du, 542, 806
- St. Eustatius (St. Eustace), island, West Indies, 148
- Ste. Ville, Monsieur de, French naval commander, 660
- St. Exprit. *See* St. Esprit.
- St. Florentin, Raimond Phélypeaux, Comte de, French colonel, brother of Balthasar Phélypeaux, Marquis de Châteauneuf, 453, 456
- St. Foy. *See* Ste. Foy.
- St. Frémont, Monsieur de, French maréchal de camp, 529
- St. George, Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- St. George, Sir George (later 1st Lord St. George).
regiment of, 104
- St. George's Channel (Irish Channell), lxxxiii, 153, 178
- St. Gérard, Belgium, 438
- St. Germain, alias. *See* Courvalett.
- St. Germain[-des-Prés], abbey of. *See under* Paris.
- St. Germain[-en-Laye] (St. Germain, St. Germans, St. Jermans), France, xxviii, xxxv-xxxix, xli, lii, 13, 15, 20, 34, 70, 109, 141, 144, 284, 353, 355, 365, 424, 428, 430, 490, 718, 776
letters dated from, 21, 108
forest of, 571
- St. Gertruyden-Landen. *See* Landen, villages of.
- St. Gervais, France, 505
- St. Helens (Ste. Helenne, St. Hellins), Isle of Wight, lxiii, 50, 799
letter dated from, 825
- St. Hubert, Belgium, 569
- St. Hubes. *See* Setùbal.
- St. Jean d'Angély, France, 724, 739, 741
- St. Jean de Luz (St. Jean de Leux, St. Jehan de Luts), France, lxxviii, 245, 398, 783
- St. Jermans. *See* St. Germain-en-Laye.
- St. Julien[-en-Beauchère], France, 475
- St. Kitts (St. Christophe, St. Christophers, St. Christophle, St. Christopher, St. Cristophle), West Indies, xlvi, cvi, 268, 274, 665, 692, 710
description of, 690
- St. Kwintens-Lennik (St. Quintin Linnick), Belgium.
letters dated from, 233, 234, 240, 244, 246
news dated from, 233, 235, 240, 245, 246
- St. Lawrence, river and gulf of (river of Canada), 45
- St. Lazare, Pères de. *See* Paris: Lazarists.
- St. Lazare et Jerusalem, Ordre de, 361, 390, 533, 534-5, 537, 542, 548, 806
See also Nôtre Dame du Mont Carmel.
- St. Lo *or* St. Loe (St. Loo), Captain George, 746
to be a Navy Commissioner, 189-90
- St. Louis, Ordre de, 535, 538-9, 542, 547
- St. Lucar. *See* Sanlúcar.
- St. Maixent (St. Maixant), France, 739, 741
- St. Malo (Malouin, Malouins, St. Mallo, St. Mallos, Stt. Mallo), France, lxxvi, cxvii, cxxxviii, clvi-clvii, 38, 221, 456, 459, 476, 483, 487, 646, 703, 737, 786, 802
letters dated from, cl, 647, 648, 720
letters addressed to, 160, 170
list of ships dated from, 722
list of ships at, 427
privateers of, lxx, lxxiii, cv, cxxii, cxxxv, cxl, 27, 245, 470, 474, 481, 521, 551, 624, 647, 648, 650, 651, 652, 704, 708, 712, 716, 717, 718, 726, 730, 733, 734, 744, 750, 767, 770, 783, 785
- English prisoners of war denied entry to, 27
shipping losses, 64, 529, 551
reports on defences of, xxi, lxxv, cxl, 99, 441, 714, 752, 771
- English prisoners of war at, lxxiii-lxxv, 161, 809, 821
- bombardment of, xxi, xlv, cxl, cliv, 274
agents to be sent to, clii, cliv, 313, 326, 327, 328, 332, 333
agents report from, cliv, 314, 315, 330, 637, 651
- warships take refuge at, lv, cxxxv, 392, 424, 429, 431, 432, 474, 719, 723, 724, 725, 728, 730
- ships of, offered to French navy, 432, 469
blockaded, 435, 437, 674

- no longer blockaded, 447
 reports of Allied designs on, 445, 451
 fears of English in, 519, 675, 701, 736–7
 fears of English lessening in, 439, 441, 443, 455
 galleys at, 544
 Governor of, 750, 809
 report on route to, from Brest, 756–8, 760–1
 St. Sauveur (St. Seville), island fort (now Fort National), 771
 St. Servan-sur-Mer (Fauxbourg St. Servant), 771
 St. Mandé, near Vincennes, France, 502
 Abbess of. *See* Rouxel de Médavy, Marie Françoise.
 St. Marq Colbert. *See* Colbert de Saint-Mars.
 St. Marcs, Comte de. *See* Rosen, Chevalier de.
 St. Mare. *See* Colbert de Saint-Mars.
 St. Martin, valley, off Chisone valley, Italy, 439
 St. Martin, West Indies, 690
 St. Martin, Monsieur de, governor of the Maisons des Invalides, 543
 St. Martin, —, of Béziers, 351
 St. Martin-de-Ré (St. Martin, St. Martin en Ré), France, cxlvii, clvii, 720
 letter dated from, 700
 plan and section of town and citadel offered by agent, 779, 780
 reports on defences of, 725, 781, 785, 786
 Governor of. *See* Aubarède.
 St. Mathieu, abbey, Brittany, 752
 St. Nectaire. *See* La Ferté; Senneterre.
 St. Olon, François Pidou de, French ambassador to Morocco, 519, 521, 522, 604, 634, 635
 St. Omer (St. Omers), France, 144
 Saintonge (St. Onge, Santogne, Xaintonge, Xantonge, Zaintonge), France, cxvii, cxxxiv, cxlii, cxlvii–cl, cliv, 292, 294, 297, 298, 301, 302, 303, 304, 306, 310, 311, 324, 331, 333, 637, 643, 671, 672, 692, 705, 730, 737
 news dated from, 729
 news from, 458
 Governor of. *See* Uzès, Emanuel II de Crussol, Duc d'.
 Saintonge, Madame, French librettist, 610
 St. Pierre (St. Peters), island, off Newfoundland, cvii, 267
 St. Pierre. *See also* under Brest.
 St. Pierre, Chevalier de, French naval officer, 505, 636
 his wife, 505
 St. Pouange (St. Pouanges), Gilbert Colbert, Marquis de, secretary of the Cabinet du Roi, 199, 410, 480, 562
 St. Quintin Linnick. *See* St. Kwintens-Lennik.
 St. Realz. *See* Réals.
 St. Ruth, Charles Chalmot, Marquis de, French general, 336, 346, 705
 his secretary, 346
 St. Sebastian, St. Sebastien. *See* San Sebastian.
 St. Second. *See* San Secondo di Pinerolo.
 St. Silvestre or St. Sylvestre, Monsieur de, French lieutenant-general, 345, 360, 530, 547
 St. Simon, Louis de Rouvray, Duc de, lxxxviii, cxxxv, cxliv, 198
 St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, West Indies, 90
 St. Thomas, Marquis de, 620, 682
 his son, 620
 St. Trond or St. Truiden (St. Tron, St. Truy), Belgium, 193, 194
 St. Ubes. *See* Setúbal.
 St. Vaast[-la-Hougue], France, 680
See also La Hougue.
 St. Valery[-en-Caux] (St. Valeri en Normandie), France
 regular boats to Rye from, xxxix, 640
 easy to invade France through, cxxxv, 790–1
 St. Valery[-sur-Somme] (St. Valeri en Picardie), France.
 difficult to invade France through, cxxxvi, 790–1
 St. Veran, France, 527
 St. Xandre (St. Cendre), France, 737
 Salampart, Monsieur de. *See* Salempart.
 Salankémen. *See* Slankamen.
 Salé or Salee, Morocco, 742
 Salempart (Salampart), Monsieur de, French naval commander, 660
 Salisbury, Wilts., 105
 Salisbury, Bishop of. *See* Burnet.
 Salisbury, Earl of. *See* Cecil.
 Saluzzo (Sallusses, Sallustes, Saluces), Italy, 356, 464, 490
 Marquisate of, 641
 Sambre, river, lxxxvii, 34, 105, 343, 433, 436, 638
 Sancy, confession de. *See* books and poems: *Confession Catholique du Sieur de Sancy*.
 Sanders or Saunders, Captain Jacob, lxxiii
 report by, 27
 plan of Toulon supplied by, 828
 Sandgate (Sangatte) Castle, Kent.
 governorship of, 154, 155, 164, 165, 180
 Sandown, Isle of Wight, 247
 Sandricourt, Monsieur de. *See* Vaudricourt.
 Sandwich, Lord. *See* Montagu, Edward, 1st Earl of; Montagu, Edward, 3rd Earl of.
 Sangatte Castle. *See* Sandgate Castle.
 Sanlúcar (St. Lucar), Spain, 156, 196
 San Sebastian (St. Sebastian, St. Sebastien), Spain, xliii, 704, 726, 810, 811
 San Sebastian. *See also* under Cadiz.
 San Secondo di Pinerolo (St. Second), Italy, 487
 Santa Brigida (Ste. Brigatte, Ste. Brigide), Italy, 220, 234, 245, 423, 439, 445, 447–8, 450, 451, 456, 457, 589, 593, 597, 599, 600, 602, 603, 606, 615, 618, 641
 Santogne. *See* Saintonge.
 Sardinia (Sardagne), 616

- Sark (Sarke), lxxv, 256
- Sarsfield (Sarsefield, Sarsfields, Saxfielt), Patrick, 1st Earl of Lucan, 13, 163, 365, 408, 428, 529, 589, 794
- Sas van Gent, Netherlands, 246
- Saumur, France, 546
letter endorsed as from, 667
- Saunders, Captain Jacob. *See* Sanders.
- Saunderson, George, 5th Viscount Castleton.
regiment of, 130
- Saubrey von Saurburg, Christoph von, envoy
extraordinary from Würtemberg to
Sweden, 278
- Sava (Save), river, 352, 530
- Savage, Richard, Viscount Colchester (later 4th
Earl Rivers), 115, 125
- Save, la. *See* Sava.
- Savigliano (Savillan), Italy, 356
- Savile, William, Lord Eland (Elland) (later 2nd
Marquess of Halifax), M.P. for Newark,
277
- Savillan. *See* Savigliano.
- Savoy (Savoyards, Savoye, Scavoys),
xciii–xcvii, 20, 22, 29, 213, 254, 263, 279,
299, 345, 350, 356, 358, 363, 364, 369,
372, 401, 410, 420, 446, 552, 569, 684,
685, 796
French militia regiment of, 583
battle in. *See* Marsaglia.
Dowager Duchess of. *See* Maria Giovanna
Battista.
Duchess of. *See* Anna Maria.
Duke of. *See* Victor Amadeus II.
Princes of. *See* under Carignan; Eugene;
Philip.
- Sawtell, Edmund, Post Office clerk, 113, 149
- Sawyer, Sir Robert, former M.P. for Cambridge
University, 277
- Saxe. *See* Saxony.
- Saxe, Duc de. *See* John George.
- Saxe-Lauenburg (Saxe Lowenburgh), 220, 246
- Saxfielt, Monsieur. *See* Sarsfield.
- Saxony, Saxons (Saxe, Saxoney).
troops in Allied service, 130, 137, 212, 569,
570
Duke or Elector of. *See* John George.
See also Lower Saxony.
- Scaramouche. *See* Fiurelli.
- Scarborough, Earl of. *See* Lumley.
- Scarron, —, 352
- Scarron, Mademoiselle, 387
- Scarron, Paul, poet, first husband of Madame
de Maintenon, 387
- Scavoys, Duc de. *See* Victor Amadeus.
- Schack, Colonel Hartwig Ahne, major-general
in Allied service.
regiment of, 218
- Scheels, Monsieur. *See* Skeel.
- Sheldon, Brigadier. *See* Sheldon.
- Scheltus, Jaques, Dutch government printer,
263
- Schedstedt. *See* Sehested.
- Schomberg, Madame de, 461
- Schomberg, Charles, 2nd Duke of Schomberg
(Chomberg, Schombert, Schonberg,
Scomberg), 38, 100, 219, 292, 299, 345,
346, 362, 379, 439, 446, 456, 457, 458,
460, 469, 541, 574, 681
mortally wounded at Marsaglia, lxxiv, xcvi,
cxxxv, 260, 273, 274, 620, 622, 625, 628
- Schomberg, Frederick Herman, 1st Duke of,
426
- Schomberg, Meinhard, Duke of Leinster
(Linster) and later 3rd Duke of
Schomberg, lxxxvii, cxxxv, cxxxviii, 66,
96, 123, 129
letter to, 97
memorial about provisions for forces under
his command enclosed by, 824
regiment of, 181
and proposed raid on France in 1692, 478,
802
highly esteemed by enemy French troops,
787
- Schombert, Schonberg. *See* Schomberg,
Charles.
- Schoneberg, Monsieur. *See* Schoonenberg.
- Schoneman, Captain Anthony, master of *Stadt
Warsaw*, 824
- Schöning, Hans Adam von, Saxon field
marshal, 31, 32, 39
- Schoonenberg (Schoneberg), Franciscus van,
Dutch chargé d'affaires in Madrid, 255
- Schrijver, Captain Philips, 157
- Schweinfurt (Sweinfort), Germany, 37
- Silly Isles (Sille), cxxxviii, 82, 155, 170, 829
- Scomberg, Monsieur de. *See* Schomberg,
Charles.
- Scors, Charles, English seaman and prisoner of
war, 747
- Scotland (Ecosse, Escosse, Scotch, Scots), v,
xx, xlvii, lxxix–lxxx, lxxxiii, cxvi, clix, 3,
69, 73, 83, 115, 256, 283, 424, 427
design by, to seize Berwick-upon-Tweed, 24
plans to invade, lxiii–lxiv, lxxix, lxxxiii, 14,
18, 19, 58, 61, 108, 366, 399, 673, 674
no plans to invade, 773
Scots forces in Flanders, 36
seamen from, for navy, lx, lxxix, 43, 46–7
conspirators in, fail to coordinate plans, 60
Scots regiments raised for Irish service, 129
sham Scots plot, 146
no more foot to be raised in, 175
ships of, lxxix–lxxx, 177, 179, 715
and *Fortune* incident, lxxix–lxxx, 177, 192,
231, 232, 252
conduct of Scots foot at Landen, 202
Highlands of, 366
malcontents in, 411
—, to join Princess Anne at York, 694
King James allegedly reproclaimed in, 718
Parliament of, 15, 28, 58, 161, 169, 171, 175

- (Privy) Council of, lxxiii, lxxix–lxxx, 28, 46, 47, 179, 225, 231, 232, 252, 254
letter from, 177
- Scravemoer. *See* Gravenmoer.
- Scudéry, Madeleine de, French novelist, 511, 532
- Seafort, Seaforth, Earl of. *See* Mackenzie.
- Sébeville (Seppeville), Jacques, Marquis de, French naval commander, 427, 722
- Secretary, Mr. *See* Trenchard.
- Sedan, France, cx, cxlix, 382, 474, 630, 688
- Séfonds abbey. *See* Sept-Fons abbey.
- Ségédin. *See* Szeged.
- Segnelay, Monsieur de. *See* Seignelay.
- Segrave, Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- Séguier, Pierre, Duc de Villemor, former Chancellor of France (d.1672), 539
- Séгур, Henri Joseph, Marquis de, French officer, 621
- Sehested (Schestedt), Colonel Jens Maltesen. regiment of, 218
- Seignelay, Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de (d.1683), father of the following. *See* under Colbert.
- Seignelay (Segnelay), Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de (d.1690), French Minister of Marine, xiv, xxx–xxi, xlv, cxvii, cxxv–cxxxvi, 200, 413, 436, 505, 549, 645
- Seigneulx, Monsieur, broker of Lausanne, cxxv, 368
- Seine, river, cxxiv, cl, cli, 732, 782
- Selwyn (Selwin), Colonel William. regiment of, 121, 217
- Senegal, 245
- Senlis, France, 503
abbey of St. Vincent, 503
- Senneterre, regiment of, 625
- Senneterre. *See also* La Ferté.
- Sentmanat y Sanuza, Don Manuel de, Spanish envoy extraordinary to Portugal, ciii, 93, 194, 227
- Seppeville, de. *See* Sébeville.
- Septèmes (Septeme, Septème, Septerne), Monsieur (later Chevalier) de, French naval commander, 427, 522, 635, 722
- Sept-Fons (Séfonds) abbey, France, 387, 390
- Serclaes de Tilly, Serclas, Comte. *See* Tilly, Albert Octavius.
- Serpan or Serpant, Monsieur de, French naval officer, 397, 398
- Serquigny, Joseph Lemoyne de, French naval officer, 522, 635
- Seta, the. *See* La Ciotat.
- Setúbal (St. Hubes, St. Ubes), Portugal, 156, 648
- Sudre (Sudre), river, France, 781
- Seuer. *See* Sewell.
- Sevénes, Sevenots. *See* Cevennes.
- Sévigny, Captain, French naval officer, 522
- Seville, Spain, 651
- Sèvre-Niortaise, river (rivière de Marans), 739
- Sewell (Seuer), —, former messenger and prisoner in the Bastille, 113, 114, 640
- Seymour (Seymor), Sir Edward, 4th Bt., lxxvii, 36, 183
rumour of his appointment as Treasurer of the Navy, 60
- Sgravemoer, Sgravemoor. *See* Gravenmoer.
- Shaaban Dey, dey of Algiers (and later Tunis), xcix–ci, 26, 53
note of letter to, 53
his lady, c, 26
- Shales, Captain John, commissary general of provisions.
letter from, 241
- Sheldon (Scheldon, Shelden), Dominick, Jacobite major-general, 13, 530
- Sherman, Captain Thomas.
letter from, 223
- Shippside. *See* Shipside.
- ships. *See also* under Denmark; France; Genoa; Hamburg; Ireland; Poland; Portugal; privateers; Scotland; Spain; Sweden; Turkey: convoy; United Provinces.
bomb vessels or machine ships, xlv, 139–40, 827
colliers, 824
English merchant ships, *passim* and below under named ships.
grants of protection to, 824
unnamed ships taken by French, 38, 651, 652
English warships, *passim* and below under named ships.
unnamed ship taken by French, 650, 652, 659
flat-bottomed invasion fleet, 408, 409
inventories of ships for sale, 822
Admirable (French) (burned 1692), 426, 723, 770 (as *Beaujeu's* ship), 772
Admirable (French) (launched at Port Louis 1693), clii, 554, 654 (as probable *Soleil Royal*), 659 (as new ship at Port Louis)
Advice, 8, 9, 81, 204, 268
Agréable (French), 554, 650, 653, 659
Aimable (French), 118 (not burned as stated there), 427, 555, 636, 656, 657, 659, 722
Ambitieux (French) (destroyed 1692), 419 (as Villette's flagship), 426, 722
Ambitieux (*Ambicieux*) (French) (launched at Rochefort 1693), 554, 656, 657, 658
Antelope (*Anthelope*), 21
Apollon (French), 522, 657, 659
Aquilon (French), 522
Arc-en-Ciel (French), 522
Ardent (French), 555, 743, 807
Arrogant (*Aroguant*) (French), 522, 657, 659
Assistance, 55, 59
Assuré (French), 427
Beaulieu alias *Dover prize* (French privateer taken by *Dover*), 249
Belliqueux (French), 522, 657, 659

- Berkeley Castle*, 3
Berwick, 59
Bien-venu (French), 636
Bird, 268
Bizarre (French), 554, 636
Bonaventure, 136
Bourbon (French) (burned 1692), 118, 427, 722, 745
Bourbon (French) (launched at Toulon 1693), 118, 522, 636, 657, 659
Boussole (French), lxiii, 798, 799
Boyne, 43
Brave (French), 427, 555, 723
Breda, 255, 263
Brillant (French), 427, 555, 635, 650, 653, 722
Britannia (*Brittania*) (merchant ship), 68
Britannia (*Brittania*, *Brittannia*) (first rate), cxxxix, 72, 139
 letter dated from, 114
Brusque (French), 556, 650, 653, 659
Cambridge, 56
Canterbury storeship, 205, 268
Capable (French), 555
Castillan (*Castrigon*) (French), 556, 696
Castricum (Dutch, then French), 650, 652, 659
Castrigon. *See* *Castillan*.
Centurion, 256, 263
Charles galley. *See* *James* galley.
Chateau de Vinzor. *See* *Windsor Castle*.
Chatham, 21
Chester, 205, 750
Cignet. *See* *Cygnnet*.
City of Stockholm. *See* *Stockholm*.
Comte de Revel (French), lxx, cxl, 651
Concord, 32
Conquérant (French), 118 (not burned as stated there), 427, 554, 649, 653, 659, 722, 743, 807
Constant (*Contant*, *Content*) (French), clii, 522, 527, 657, 659. *See also* the following entry.
Content (*Constant*) (French), 427, 554 (not at Toulon as annotated), clii, 628, 635, 723
Countess, lxxix, 177, 192
Courageux (French), 427, 555, 656, 657, 659, 722
Couronne (French), 427, 555, 649, 653, 659, 722
Courrier. *See* *Laurier*.
Courtisan (*Courtizan*) (French), 427, 554, 656, 657, 659, 723
Culbutteur (Danish), 822
Cygnnet (*Cignet*), 205
Dauphin Royal (French), 555, 649, 652, 659, 807
Defiance (*Defyance*), 165
Deptford, 59, 750
Diamant (French), 427, 555, 635, 722
Diamond (*Dymond*) (English, then French), lxxiii, 205, 828
Diligence (*Dilligente*) (naturalized English), 651
Dorothy (Swedish), 5
Dover (fourth rate), 27, 249
Dover prize. *See* *Beaulieu*.
Dragon, 10, 11, 204, 268
Dreadnought (third rate), 104, 170, 255, 263
Dreadnought (*Dreadnott*) (prize), 822
Dunkirk (*Dunkirke*), 204, 267, 268
Dur (French), 636
Dymond. *See* *Diamond*.
Eagle, 104, 165
Eaglet (*Eaglett*, *Eaglit*) (English, then French), lxxiii, cv, 55, 77, 78, 89, 92, 106, 142–3, 150, 151, 828
 letters dated from, 90, 120
Eclatant (*Eclattant*) (French), 527, 657, 659
Ecueil (*Equeüil*) (French), 554, 650, 653, 659
Edgar, 57
Edward, 71
Elizabeth yacht, 214, 223 and 257 (as unnamed yacht), 809
Emerillon (French), 740
Entendu (French), 427, 555, 723
Entreprenant (French), 522, 657, 659
Envieux (French), 556, 636, 808
Eole (French), 556, 635, 696
Equeüil. *See* *Ecueil*.
Excellent (*Excelent*) (French), 427, 554, 636, 656, 659, 723
Expedition, 10, 11
Experiment, 10, 11, 205, 267, 268
Facteur de Smirne. *See* *Smyrna Factor*.
Falcon (*Faulcon*), 205, 268
Falmouth, 170
Faulcon. *See* *Falcon*.
Ferme (French), 527, 657, 659, 744
Fidèle (*Fidèle*, *Fidelle*) (French), 556, 650, 653, 659
Fidelity (*Fidellity*, *Joanna*), xxxix, 80, 82
Fidelle. *See* *Fidèle*.
Fier (French), 427, 723
Fleurissant. *See* *Florissant*.
Fleuron (French), 427, 527, 657, 659, 723
Florissant or *Fleurissant* (French), 554, 649, 653, 659
Flying Horse, 272
Foresight, 744
Formidable (French), 521, 554, 649, 652, 658
Fort (French) (destroyed 1692, listed in error 1693), 427, 649, 653, 722. *See* next entry for correct 1693 references.
Fort (French) (launched at Rochefort 1693), 555, 656, 658
Fortune (Danish), lxxix–lxxx, lxxxi, 177, 192, 231, 232, 252
Fortuné (French), 556, 635
Foudroyant (French) (destroyed 1692), 427, 722
Foudroyant (French) (launched as *Foudroyant* at Brest in 1693 but renamed

- Soleil Royal*). See *Soleil Royal*.
François (French), 555
Frederick (*Fridirick*), 38
Fulminant (French), 522, 635, 656, 658
Furieux (French), 522, 657, 659
Gaillard (French), 427, 722
Gallion (*Gallion*) (Spanish, then French), 656, 657, 659
Garland, 18
Glorieux (French), 118 (not burned as stated there), 427, 554, 656, 659, 722
Golden Phoenix. See *Phoenix*.
Grand (French), 427, 555, 649, 659, 723
Greenwich, 111
Grenade (French), lxxiii, cv, 151 and 828 (as unnamed privateer)
Guernsey (fifth rate), 205
Guernsey sloop (as privateer of Guernsey commanded by Stephens), 256
Hampshire (*Hampsheir*, *Hampshier*), 54, 55, 59
Hampton Court, 43, 50, 59
Hardi (*Hardy*) (French), 657, 659
Hawk (*Hawke*), 205, 268
Henri (*Henry*) (French), 427, 555, 635, 722, 808
Héroïne (French), 636
Heureux (French), 522, 635, 657, 659
Heureux Retour (French), 555
Hope (third rate), 54, 55, 56
Hope (Danish), 232
Hopewell hoy, 136
Humber, 165
Illustre (French), 427, 554, 656, 657, 659, 723
Indien (French), 556, 656, 659
Intrépide (French), 554, 636, 656, 659
Invincible (French), 522, 636, 657, 659
James galley, 59, 82, 271 (in error as *Charles galley*)
Jersey (*Jerzey*) (English, then French), 725, 738, 740
Joanna. See *Fidelity*.
John and Elizabeth, 822
Joli (*Joly*) (French), 397
Joseph, 198, 583 and 808 (as burned off Cadiz)
Juste (French), 554, 636
Juven Hourne (French), 179
Kent, 43, 50, 54, 57
Kingfisher (*King's Fisher*, *Kingsfisher*), 136, 140
Laurier (*Courrier*) (French), 427, 555, 636, 656, 659, 696, 723
Lennox (*Lenox*), 10, 11
Leopard, 816
Leverett (French), 816
Lis. See *Lys*.
Lively (English, then French), cxxxviii, 744, 747
London Merchant, 22 (as hospital ship), 205, 268
Loppimas. See *Opimas*.
Loyal (*Loyall*) *Subject*, 822
Loyalty, 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9
Lys (*Lis*) (French), 522, 636, 656, 659
Magnanime (French), 555, 649, 652, 659
Magnifique (French) (destroyed 1692), 427, 723
Magnifique (French) (launched at Rochefort 1693), 555, 636, 656, 657, 658
Mairmaide. See *Mermaid*.
Maitre (*Maistre*) (French), 556
Maria Elisabeth (*Marie Elizabeth*) (Dutch, then French), 556, 650, 652, 659
Marquis (French), 555, 635, 650, 653, 659
Martin's Delight, 6, 7, 268
Mary (fourth rate), 55, 59, 71
Mary (merchant ship), 198
Mary yacht, 72
 letter dated from, 277
Mary Catt, 268
Maure (*More*) (French), 397, 427, 722
Medemblik (*Ville de [Medemblik]*) (Dutch, then French), 157 (as Van der Poel's ship), 743 (as second Dutch warship), 807
Mercur (French), 427
Mermaid (*Mairmaide*, *Mermaide*), 22, 205, 268
Merveilleux (French) (destroyed 1692), 426, 722
Merveilleux (French) (launched at Brest 1693), 521, 555, 635, 650 and 653 (as new ship at Brest), 655, 659
Mignon (French), 555
Modéré (French), 427, 555, 656, 659, 723
Monarque (French), 118, 427, 522, 649, 653, 657, 659 (as at Brest, not Toulon), 722
Monarque. See also *Triumphant*.
Monck (*Monk*), 218
Montague, 827
Mordaunt (*Mordant*), 205, 268, 744
More (French) (launched 1693), 635, 654, 659 (as new ship at Port Louis)
More. See also *Maure*.
Neptune (French), 555, 656, 659
Nonsuch, 266
Northumberland, 59, 170, 171
Norwich.
 letter dated from, 274
Opimas (*Lopimas*) (French), 671
Opiniâtre (French), 398, 665
Orange Tree, 84
Orgueilleux (*Orgilleux*) (French), 427, 554, 635, 649, 653, 659, 723
Owner's Love, 205, 268
Oxford, 104
Paix. See *Peace*.
Palm Tree, 81, 116
Parfait (French), 554, 649, 653, 659
Patience (Altona), lxxxi, 104, 105
Peace, *Paix* or *Friede* (Hamburg), lxxxi, 104, 105

- Pélican* (French), 551, 696
Pembroke (Pembroke, Pembroke), 205, 268
Perle (French), 427, 556, 650, 653, 659, 722
Phénix (Phenix) (French), 522, 657, 659
Phenix. See also *Phoenix*.
Philippe (Philip) (French), lxxiii, cv, 151, 828 (as privateer)
Phoenix or *Golden Phoenix* (*Vergulde Fenix*) (Dutch East Indiaman, then English third rate), 815
Phoenix (Phenix) (bomb vessel), 205
Phoenix. See also *Phénix*.
Plymouth, 71
Pompeux (French), 554, 649, 653, 659
Portsmouth (English fourth rate, then French), 746
Portsmouth (fifth rate), 55, 56
Précieux (French), 555, 656, 659
Prince (French), 427, 556, 636, 723
Prince Casimir (Swedish), 5
Prince of Orange, 55, 56
Prince of Wales (French, then English), 82
Prodigal Son (*Prodigall Son*), 10
Prompt (French), 555
Prudent (French), 650, 653, 659
Quaker ketch, cvi, 205, 266
Recovery (Irish), 179
Resolution, 204
 letters dated from, 9, 11, 266
Richard, 822
Richmond, cvii, 205
 captain of. See *Evans*.
Royal Charles, 827
Royal Louis (French) (built at Toulon 1692), 501, 522, 645, 656
 called new *Soleil Royal* in error, clii, 733, 784
Royal Sunn. See *Soleil Royal*.
Ruby, 204, 267, 268
Rupert, 59, 71
Sage (French), 427
St. Albans (*Stt. Albens*) (fourth rate), 27, 153
St. Albans prize, 68
St. Domingo, 68
St. Esprit (French), 427, 554, 636, 656, 657, 658, 723, 807
 letter dated from, lxxv, 742
St. Jacques (French), 791
St. Jean d'Espagne (French), 555
St. Lestestu, 652
St. Louis (French) (destroyed 1692), 427, 722
St. Louis (French) (launched at Le Havre 1693), 521, 556, 635, 696
St. Michel (French), 427, 555, 650, 653, 659, 722
St. Philippe (*St. Philippes*) (French), 427, 723
St. Pierre (French), 799
St. Thomas, 822
Salomon (Danish), 84
Sans-Pareil (*Sanspareil*) (French), 427, 555, 722
Sceptre (French), 522, 635, 656, 659
Scipio Africanus (*Scypio Afficanus*), 38
Séditieux (French), 398
Seignelay (*Senelay*) (French), 744
Seraine, *Sereine*, *Serenne*. See *Sirène*.
Sérieux (French), 118 (not burned as stated there), 427, 522, 657, 659, 722
Seven Provinces (Brandenburg), 24, 25
Sheerness (*Sheernesse*), 218
Sirène (*Seraine*, *Sereine*, *Serenne*, *Sireine*) (French), 427, 554, 636, 656, 659, 723
Slothanny (*Slot van Honingen*) (Dutch, then English), 815
Smyrna Factor (*Facteur de Smirne*), lxxv, 226
 letter dated from, lxxv, 156
Soleil d'Afrique (French) (as de Gennes's machine ship), xlv–xlvi, 667, 717, 719–20
Soleil Royal (*Royal Sunn*) (French) (burned 1692), 424, 426, 645, 722, 770, 771, 772, 784, 816
Soleil Royal (*Foudroyant*) (French) (launched as *Foudroyant* at Brest in 1693 but renamed *Soleil Royal* while fitting out), clii, 521, 554 (corrected from *Terrible*), 635, 650 and 653 (as new ship at Brest), 655
Soleil Royal. See also *Admirable*; *Royal Louis*.
Souverain (French), 427, 554, 635, 649, 652, 658, 723
Sovereign (*Soveraign*, *Soveraigne*), 25, 213
Spy fireship, 15
Stadt Warsaw (Polish), 824
Stag (*Stagg*), 95
Stockholm (*Ville de Stockholm*) (Swedish), lxxxi, 104, 105
Success, 268
Superbe (French), 628, 696
Sussex, civ, 165
Swedes' Arms (*Sweeds Arms*) (Swedish), lxxxi, 5
Sweepstakes, lxxix, 177
Swift, 273
Swiftsure, 56, 165, 798, 799
Téméraire (French), 555, 636, 656, 659
Terrible (French) (destroyed 1692), 427, 722
Terrible (French) (launched at Brest 1693), clii, 521, 555, 650 and 653 (as new ship at Brest), 655, 659
Terrible. See also *Soleil Royal*.
Tiger (*Tyger*), 205, 223
Tonnant (French), 427, 722
Trident (French), 555, 628
Triomphant (French), 426, 659 (corrected from *Monarque* at Toulon), 723, 772
Tyger. See *Tiger*.
Unity, 38
Vaillant (French), 556
Vainqueur (French), 555, 636, 649, 653, 659, 808
Vergulde Fenix. See *Phoenix*.

- Vermandois* (French), 554, 636, 656, 657, 659, 665
- Victorieux* (French), 419 (as Villette's former flagship), 554, 636, 659, 807
- Victorieux Joseph* (French), 707
- Vigilant* (*Vigillant*, *Vigilant*) (French), 556, 650, 653, 659
- Ville de Copenhagen* (Danish), 16
- Ville de [Medemblik]*. *See* *Medemblik*.
- Ville de Stockholm*. *See* *Stockholm*.
- Vine* (*Vyne*), 741
- Warsaw*. *See* *Stadt Warsaw*.
- Warspite* (*Warspight*), 154, 155
- Wild prize*, 205, 268
- William and Mary*, 268
- Winchester*, 104
- Windsor Castle* (*Chateau de Vinzor*), 104, 117, 551
- York* (*Yorke*), 71, 82
- Zante Frigate* (*Zant Frigat*), 38
- Zeeland* (*Zélande*, *Zellande*) (Dutch, then French), 157 (as Schrijver's ship), 635, 743 (as 64-gun ship), 807
- Shipside* (*Shippside*), George, King's Messenger, 270
- Shogny*. *See* *Josselin*.
- Shomberg*, Monsieur de. *See* *Schomberg*, Charles.
- Shovell* (*Shovel*), Sir Clowdisley (Cloudesly, Cloudsly), joint admiral, xxiv, xxvi, xxxvii, lix–lxii, lxxiii–lxix, lxi, civ, 19, 25, 64, 71, 88, 139–40, 163, 164, 187, 195, 237, 242
- letters from, 30, 41–4, 114, 155, 190
- letters to, 57, 118, 165
- recommended by Nottingham as a Commissioner of the Navy, lxxvii, 66
- draft protest by, 829
- Shovell*, Elizabeth, Lady, daughter of Captain John Hill, wife of (1) Sir John Narbrough (2) Sir Clowdisley Shovell, 164
- Shrewsbury*, Earl of. *See* *Talbot*, Charles.
- Siam*, 457
- Sibours*, French cavalry regiment of, 385
- Sices*, Milord. *See* *Sydney*, Henry.
- Sicily* (*Sicile*), 784
- account of earthquake in, ci–cii, 517–19
- Sick and Wounded*, Commissioners for. *See* *under* Commissioners.
- Sicop*, Monsieur, in Paris.
- letter from Braconnier to be addressed to, 377
- Sidney*, Lord. *See* *Sydney*.
- Signalay*. *See* *Chamlay*.
- Sigogne* (*Sigougne*), Monsieur de, nephew of Paul Scarron, 387
- Silley*. *See* *Silly Isles*.
- Simons*, —, Jacobite mercer of Hereford, 145
- Simpson* (*Sympson*), Major, Jacobite officer, 61
- Sinsans*, Captain, suspected lover of the Duchess of Orléans, 390, 391
- Sinsheim* (*Sintzheim*), Germany (possibly error for *Seeheim*), 130
- Sisteron* (*Cistéron*), France, 462, 472, 473, 475, 477, 481, 483
- Bishop of. *See* *Thomassin*, Louis de.
- Skeel* (*Scheels*), Magnus, Danish envoy extraordinary to England, 3, 19, 40, 90, 128, 131, 378
- letter to, 6
- Skelton*, Bevil, 181, 188
- Skinner* (*Skiner*), Monsieur, 369
- Skravemours*, Monsieur. *See* *Gravenmoer*.
- Slankamen or Szlankemen* (*Salankémen*), near Belgrade.
- battle of, xcvi, 348, 349, 352, 461
- Slavonia* (*Eslavonie*), victory in. *See* the preceding entry.
- Smirne*. *See* *Smyrna*.
- Smith*, —, child taken to St. Omer, 144
- Smith*, —, Jacobite addressee in Fleet Street, 109
- Smith*, Aaron, Treasury solicitor and public prosecutor, 72, 109
- Smith or Smythe*, Thomas, Jacobite.
- letter from, 166
- Smyrna* (*Smirne*, *Smurna*) (now Izmir), Turkey, lxiv, 538, 572, 742, 807, 808
- fleet. *See* *Turkey*: convoy.
- Smyth*, Captain Thomas, captured at Landen.
- letter from, 207
- Smythe*, Philip, 2nd Viscount Strangford, 169
- Smythe*, Thomas. *See* *Smith*.
- Soges*, Monsieur de, French naval commander, 660
- Soignies*, Belgium, 233, 235, 240, 441
- Soignies* (*Soignys*), Bois de, Belgium, 132
- Soissons*, France, 637
- Soissons*, Louis Thomas, Comte de, elder brother of Prince Eugene of Savoy, 492, 516
- Soliciteur General*, Solicitor, Solicitor, Monsieur le, Mr or the. *See* *Somers* (810 only); Trevor, Sir Thomas.
- Solms-Braunfels* (*Solmes*, *Solms*, *Zolme*), Heinrich Trajectinus, Count of, xcii, 203, 207, 209, 212, 819
- Solre*, Philippe Emanuel Ferdinand de Croy, Comte de, maréchal de camp in French (formerly Spanish) service, 529
- Sombrefe* (*Sombref*), Belgium, 225
- Somers*, Sir John (later Lord Somers of Evesham), Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, xxv, xliii, lxxvii, 102, 142, 183, 231, 809, 810 (as Solicitor-General)
- Somery*, John, of Fowey, 82
- Sotherne*, James, secretary to the Admiralty.
- letter from, 81
- letters or copies of letters signed by, 4, 25, 31, 90, 242, 252
- letters to, 54, 56, 68, 116, 213, 223, 249
- Soubise* (*Soubize*), François de Rohan, Prince de, 398, 528, 530, 624
- his son. *See* *Rohan*.
- Soulier*, Sieur, 338

- Sound, the, Denmark, lxxxiii, 19, 174, 180, 207, 222, 231, 255, 258, 265
- Soundings, the, 92, 816, 818
- Sourçon, Captain de, French officer, 621
- Sourdis, François d'Escoubleau, Marquis de, French lieutenant-general, 428
- Sousa de Magalhães, Simão de, former Portuguese envoy to England, 85
- South (Southe), Captain Henry, 60, 69, 70, 235
- Southampton (Hampton), 16, 38, 104, 106, 214, 828
- Southern Cape. *See* Cape St. Vincent.
- South Sandhead, off Kent, 104
- Southwell, Edward, 213
- letters from, 211, 272
- letter to, 212
- Southwell, Sir Robert, Secretary of State for Ireland, xiv–xv, cvi, 813
- Souvray, heiress of house of. *See* Louvois, Anne, Marquise de.
- Soyer, Baron de [?Baron von Soyen], 638
- Spada, Cardinal Fabrice, 608
- Spain (Espagne, Espagne, Spaine, Spaniards, Spayn, Spayne), xliii, lxiv, lxvi–lxvii, lxxxv, xcv–xcvi, cii–ciii, 48, 74, 79, 146, 153, 154, 162, 163, 174, 206, 222, 227, 245, 394, 395, 398, 441, 521, 552, 565, 576, 580, 645, 651, 654, 663, 664, 701, 704, 726, 730, 733, 736, 738, 783, 810, 811
- merchant ships of, 9, 604. *See also under* West Indies.
- grandees of, press for peace, 24
- warships of, lvii, lxxi, xcv, 32, 40, 119, 122, 127, 128, 131, 150, 222, 255, 322, 336, 441, 445, 450, 451, 468, 469, 493, 494, 524, 527, 530, 538, 616, 617, 657, 677, 721, 784, 785
- , lists of, lvii, 823
- enslaves Algerine passengers in English ships, 84–5
- refuses to extradite Englishman, 85
- treaty with England, 87, 115, 127, 151
- defensive alliance with Portugal to be proposed, ciii, 178, 187, 227–8
- troops of, in Flanders, clii, 203, 207, 216, 229, 246, 248, 328, 436, 608, 617
- cannot pay troops, 213
- troops of, in Savoy, xcv–xcvi, 219, 338, 343, 345, 346, 356, 389, 416, 435, 447, 487, 494, 534, 598, 620, 621
- Irish regiments to be established for service of, 254
- potential gain to, if Sweden mediates peace, 279
- strategy in Catalonia, 344
- possessions of, being attacked by Morocco, 346
- naval attack on, predicted, 373, 557, 563, 728
- payments from, to Savoy, 497
- rumours of peace with, 565
- Council of, 577, 604
- alarm in, following attack on convoy, 585, 586–7
- Allied squadron needed to support, 684
- pillages French colony on Haiti, 703–4
- James II said to favour, while in power, 795
- coinage of. *See under* coinage.
- ambassador from, to England. *See* Coloma.
- ambassador from, to the Emperor. *See* Borgomañero.
- ambassador to, from the Emperor. *See* Lobkowitz.
- envoy extraordinary from, to Portugal. *See* Sentmanat.
- envoy extraordinary from, to the States General. *See* Quiros.
- envoy extraordinary to, from England. *See* Stanhope.
- King of. *See* Charles II, King of Spain.
- Queen Mother of. *See* Maria Anna (d.1696).
- Queen of. *See* Maria Anna (d.1696); Maria Anna (d.1740).
- Spanish Netherlands (Pays Bas Espagnols), lxxxvi, cxv, 319. *See also* Flanders.
- Spayn, Spayne. *See* Spain.
- Spencer, Robert, 2nd Earl of Sunderland, xxvii, 243, 613
- Spithead (Spitthead, Spithedd), 1, 5, 55, 71, 92, 104, 160, 161, 189, 193, 269, 818
- letters dated from, 71, 114
- Sprat, Thomas, Bishop of Rochester, 35
- Staffarda (Rével Staffarde, Staffarde), Italy, xciv, 342, 487
- Stair, Staires, Master of. *See* Dalrymple.
- Stanhope (Stanhop), Alexander, English envoy extraordinary to Spain, ciii, 174, 178, 187, 194, 196, 226, 234, 254, 255, 259, 564, 823
- letter from, 150
- letters from, summarized, 84–5, 255
- Stanley, Colonel James (later 10th Earl of Derby), 209
- regiment of, 121, 217
- Stanley, William George Richard, 9th Earl of Derby, 257
- Staremborg, Count. *See* Sternberg.
- Stares, Secretary. *See* Dalrymple.
- Start Point (the Start), Devon, 50
- States, States General. *See* United Provinces.
- Stave (Stevée), Belgium, 355
- Stawel, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Steele, Samuel.
- letter from, 81
- Steenkerke. *See* Steinker.
- Steevens, Captain. *See* Stephens.
- Steinker (Steenkerke, Steinkerck, Steinkerque, Stenkerque, Stinquerq), Belgium.
- battle of, lxxxvii, xcii–xciii, 207, 452–6, 458, 467, 488, 514, 727, 826
- verses on, 499

- Stephens (Steeephens), Captain John,
commander of privateer *Guernsey*,
lxxv–lxxvi, 256
- Stephens, Sir William, Lieutenant-Governor of
the Isle of Wight, 239
- Stepney, George, English agent in Vienna, xxix,
lxxxvi, xcix, 10, 12, 36, 62, 101
credentials for, 11
letters to, 11, 32, 39, 133, 200
- Sternberg (Staremberg), Count Adolf Wratislaw,
Imperial envoy to Saxony, 39
- Steuart, Brigadier. *See* Stewart.
- Stevée. *See* Stave.
- Stevens, Mr, lxxvi, 160
letters to, 161, 170, 175
- Stewart (Steuart), Brigadier William, 192, 197
- Stinquer. *See* Steinker.
- Stoaks Bay. *See* Stokes Bay.
- Stock, Abraham, Muster Master at Deal,
xxxix–xlii, 124, 136
letters from, 117, 133, 140
letters to, 132, 136, 139, 149, 152, 153
his neighbour. *See* La Croix.
- Stock, Louis, in French service.
barricade of, 191
- Stock, Susan, Dover subpostmistress, daughter
of Abraham Stock, xlii, 135, 152, 153
- Stockholm, lxxxi, lxxxiii–lxxxiv, 3, 94, 105,
278, 279
- Stokes Bay (Stoaks Bay), Hants., 2, 6
- Stoner, W., Jacobite, lxxvi
letters from, 160, 161, 170, 175
his brother[-in-law]. *See* Stevens.
- Stoppa (Stoup, Stoupe), Pierre, Seigneur de
Combreux, general in French service and
colonel of the regiment of Swiss guards,
412, 453, 463, 467
his regiment, 455
- Straights, Straits, the. *See* Gibraltar, Straits of;
Mediterranean Sea.
- Straits fleet. *See* Turkey: convoy.
- Strangford, Viscount. *See* Smythe, Philip.
- Strasbourg (Strasburg, Stratsbourg), 20, 22,
495, 604, 611
- Stratford, Francis, English merchant in
Hamburg, 39, 281
- Stratman, Count Heinrich Johann Franz,
Imperial envoy to England, 10
- Stratman, Count Theodor Heinrich, Austrian
statesman, father of the preceding, 10
- Stratsbourg. *See* Strasbourg.
- Streights, the. *See* Gibraltar, Straits of;
Mediterranean Sea.
- Streights mouth. *See* Gibraltar, Straits of.
- Stretton, Major, Jacobite officer, 61
- Stroud (Stroude) or Strode, Lieutenant
Nicholas, 253
- Strozzi, Ferdinando, papal nuncio to Savoy,
xcv, 122, 123
- Sturd, Captain, in Barbados, 223
- Sualsecq (?), Monsieur, 379
- Sudre, rivière de. *See* Seudre.
- Suede, Sueden, Suedes, Suedois. *See* Sweden.
- Suize. *See* Susa.
- Sulaiman, Shah of Persia (Roi de Perse).
Latin verses from, inscribed on sabre, 499
- Sunderland, Lord. *See* Spencer.
- Suresnes (Surennne), France.
wine of, 401
- Surgères, France, 724
- Surrey, 114
- Susa (Suize, Suse, Suze), Italy, xciv, 259, 338,
346, 358, 363, 397, 404, 418, 429, 432,
434, 435, 437, 442, 451, 464, 467, 469,
473, 494, 570, 589, 592, 611, 615, 681
- Sussex, xxxix, 15, 16, 105, 114, 259
- Sutton, Robert, 2nd Lord Lexington
(Laxington), envoy extraordinary to
Denmark, 60, 144, 220, 254
- Suyrauben, regiment of, quartered at Cherbourg,
798
- Suze. *See* Susa.
- Sweden (Suede, Sueden, Suedes, Suedois,
Sweadland, Sweds, Swedes, Swedland),
xlix, lxxx–lxxxvi, cxi and *passim*
armed forces of, lxxxiii, 3, 19, 23, 61
ships of, lxxxi–lxxxiii, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 19,
33, 35, 36, 40, 49, 50, 51, 59–60, 87, 111,
156, 192, 244, 249, 278, 481, 496, 652,
662, 663, 700, 708, 740, 810, 811
impressment of Swedish seamen, lx, 21
French buy ships from, lxxxiii, 549, 724, 773
rivalry between French and Allies at court of,
24, 278
at court of James II, 34
Douglas considered as envoy to, 40, 74, 142,
181
Poley considered as envoy to, 74, 84
treaty with England, 51, 87, 111, 142, 145
possibility of mediation by, 488
and Brandenburg, 490
false report of contraband trade with France,
lxxxi, 655
ambassador to, from France. *See* Avaux.
chargé d'affaires in. *See* Robinson.
envoy extraordinary to, from the States
General. *See* Heeckeren.
envoy from, to England. *See* Oxenstierna,
Gabriel.
envoy from, to France. *See* Palmquist.
King of. *See* Charles XI.
Queen of. *See* Ulrika Eleanora.
- Sweinfort. *See* Schweinfurt.
- Swingenburg, Germany, 212
- Switzerland or Swiss cantons (Suisse, Suisses,
Swiss, Swisserland), xxxvi, civ, cviii–cix,
cxxiv–cxxv, cxxvii, clv–clviii, 3, 120, 170,
302, 375, 388, 467
letters from, 681–6
See also Berne; Geneva.
delays in routing intelligence through, 285,
287, 295

- French refugees in, 286, 327
 Protestant cantons being gained by France, 298, 299, 396, 685, 703
 Swiss troops in French service, xc, 210, 245, 467, 483, 488, 515, 594, 624, 676, 713
 fears of Swiss troops supporting France in Savoy, 299, 396, 684
 Swiss troops in Allied service in Savoy, 338, 346
See also Vaudois.
 as mediators between France and Savoy, 396
 French attempt to sow discord in, 412
 high cost of provisions in, 506, 595
 ambassador to, from France. *See* Amelot.
 envoy extraordinary to, from England. *See* Coxe.
- Sydney, Henry, Viscount Sydney (Sices, Sidney) (later Earl of Romney), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle, xxv, li, lxxvii–lxxviii, cv, cix, cxlviii, 34, 101, 106, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 117, 118, 129, 130, 137, 138, 142, 143, 147, 150, 151, 152, 153, 158, 159, 164, 169, 170, 172, 181, 183–4, 286, 611
 letter from, 97
 letters to, 77, 219
 arrives in Flanders, 240
 referred to as Milord Sices, governor of Dover, 369–70
- Sympson, Major. *See* Simpson.
- Syracuse, Sicily, cii, 518
- Szeged or Szegedin (Ségédin), Hungary, 599
- Tadon. *See under* La Rochelle.
- Tagus (Tage), river, 158, 194, 567
- Talart. *See* Tallard.
- Talbot, Colonel, Jacobite officer, 61
- Talbot, Charles, 12th Earl (later Duke) of Shrewsbury, xiv, xvii, xxv, clvii
 letter from, 282
 orders from, as secretary of state responsible for the navy in 1694, 829
- Talemant, Abbé. *See* Tallemant.
- Tallard (Talart), France, 482
- Tallard (Talart, Tallart), Camille d'Hostun, Comte (later Duc) de, French lieutenant-general (later Marshal of France), 506, 529, 562
- Tallemant (Talemant), François, Abbé du Val Chrétien and Academician, 548
 his sister. *See* Ruigny.
- Talmash (Talmach, Talmutge), Lieutenant-General Thomas, 20, 36, 115, 130, 138, 209, 212, 246
- Talmont, Prince de. *See* La Tremouille, Frédéric Guillaume de.
- Talmutge, General. *See* Talmash.
- Tanara, (later Cardinal) Sebastiano Antonio, papal nuncio to the Emperor, 23, 477
- Tartars or Tartary (Tartares), 20, 23, 404, 482, 530, 559, 568
- Khan (Cam, Cham) of, 23, 282, 424
- Tasdon. *See under* La Rochelle.
- Taxi, Prince of. *See* Thurn and Taxis.
- Téatins, les. *See* Paris: Ste. Anne la Royale.
- Teckeli. *See* Tököly.
- Tedesques. *See* Germany.
- Tékéli, Tekely, Tekély, Tékely, Tékély, Comte. *See* Tököly.
- Temesvar. *See* Timișoara.
- Tende, Col de or Colle di, pass, France/Italy, 450, 577, 578
- Terre Neuve. *See* Newfoundland
- Tessé, Philibert Emanuel, Chevalier de, French maréchal de camp, brother of the following, 359, 475, 529, 593, 600
 his uncle. *See* Froulay.
- Tessé (Tessay), René III de Froulay, Comte de, French lieutenant-general, 34, 482, 522, 537, 593, 601, 618, 621, 775
 his appointment as colonel of dragoons, 386, 393
- Testau, Lieutenant-General. *See* Tettau.
- Tethouan. *See* Tetuan.
- Tettau (Testeau), Julius Ernst von, Prussian lieutenant-general in Dutch service, 210
- Tetuan (Tethouan), Morocco, 519
- Texel (Texell), the, Netherlands, 88, 255, 259, 260, 263, 265
- Thames, river, lx, 175, 177, 192
- Thémisvar, Themiswar. *See* Timișoara.
- Theresa Cunigunda, daughter of John III Sobieski (and later Electress of Bavaria), 517
- Thianges (Tiange), Claude Henri Philibert de Damas, Marquis de, French brigadier, son of the following, 453, 581, 585
- Thianges (Tiange), Gabrielle de Rochechouart, Marquise de, sister of Madame de Montespan and widow of Claude Léonore de Damas, Marquis de Thianges, 610
- Thiers, France, 461
- Thimbleby, Captain, Jacobite officer, 61
- Thiméon (Timeon), Belgium, 561
- Thingdon. *See* Finedon.
- Thois, Marquise de. *See* Keroualle, Henriette Maurice de.
- Thois, Timoléon Gouffier, Marquis de, 47
- Tholon, Tholoun. *See* Toulon.
- Thomas, Sir William, 1st. Bt., 16
- Thomassin, Louis de, Bishop of Sisteron, 547
- Thompson (Tomson), Jehan or John, French merchant in London, cxlvii–cxlviii, 302, 303, 304, 306, 327
- Thoris. *See* Tories.
- Thornhill, 98
- Thornhill, Sir Timothy, Bt., 98
- Thornycroft (Thornicroft), Captain Edward, 131, 136, 171, 178, 197, 232
- Thouars (Touars), France, 639

- Thoulon, Thooloon. *See* Toulon.
- Throckmorton, George, of Herts.
(Hartfordshire), Jacobite alias, 167
- Thuile, la (la Tuille), Italy, 681
- Thuin, Belgium, 105, 343, 493
- Thurn and Taxis, Eugene Alexander, Prince of,
Imperial postmaster, 120
- Thynne, Thomas, 1st Viscount Weymouth
(Waymouth), 29
- Tiange, Madame de. *See* Thianges, Gabrielle de
Rochechouart, Marquise de.
- Tiange, Marquis de. *See* Thianges, Claude
Henri Philibert de Damas, Marquis de.
- Tiberge, Louis, Abbé d'Andres, Director of the
Séminaire des Missions Etrangères, Paris,
607
- Tiberius, Roman emperor, 280
- Tichborne (Tichbourne), Captain William,
cxxxviii, 744
- Tidcombe (Tidcomb, Titcomb), Colonel John,
149
regiment of, 130, 144, 148–9, 217
- Tiffin, Colonel Zachariah.
regiment of, 96
- Tilladet, Marquis de, 453, 455, 456
- Tillemont. *See* Tirlimont.
- Tillotson, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 694
letter to, 259
- Tilly, Captain, Irish commander of French
privateer *Prince of Wales*, 82
- Tilly, Count. *See* Tilly, Claud Frederick.
- Tilly, Albert Octavius, Count T'Serclaes de
(Count de Cerclas, Cerclas de Tilly,
Serclas de Tilly, Serclas) (d.1715),
lieutenant-general in Allied service, elder
brother of the following, lxxxix, 172, 210,
430, 435, 449, 466
- Tilly, Claud Frederick, Count T'Serclaes de
(Count Tilly) (d.1723), major-general in
Allied service, younger brother of the
preceding, lxxxix, 187, 194, 210, 212,
449, 581
- Timeon. *See* Thiméon.
- Timewell, Benjamin, naval commissioner at
Portsmouth (later Navy Commissioner),
38
letter from, 139
- Timișoara or Temesvar (Thémisvar,
Themiswar), Romania, 459, 599
Basha of, 599
- Tincomb or Tingcombe, Jonathan, of Fowey,
83, 87
- Tinel, Monsieur, French Protestant minister at
Bristol, 800–1
his wife, 800
- Tingcombe. *See* Tincomb.
- Tippetts, Sir John, Surveyor of the Navy.
letter to, 817
- Tirlemont (Tillemont, Tirlimont), Belgium, 194,
195, 201, 203, 697
letter dated from, 190
- news dated from, 191
- Titcomb, Colonel. *See* Tidcombe.
- Tite. *See* Titus.
- Titon (Tithon), Maximilien, Directeur Général
du Magasin Royal d'Armes, 399, 632, 633
his daughters. *See* Daquin, Marie Thérèse; Le
Féron, Geneviève; Morel, Angélique.
- Titus (Tite), Roman emperor, 695
- Toiras (Toyras), Jean du Cailar de St. Bonnet,
Marquis de, Marshal of France, 781
- Tököly (Teckeli, Tékéli, Tekely, Tekély, Tékely,
Tékély), Count Imre, Hungarian rebel and
Voivod of Transylvania, 358, 382, 461,
466, 482, 530, 544, 559, 584, 619
French attitude towards, 794
- Tollemache. *See* Talmash.
- Toller, Jonathan, of Fowey, 82
- Tollone. *See* Toulon.
- Tomson, Monsieur. *See* Thompson.
- Tongres or Tongeren (Tonger), Belgium, 187,
194, 195, 201, 212, 581
- Tonnerre, Comte de, 390
- Torbay (Torbaye), Devon, lviii, lxiii, cxl, 54,
154, 155, 163, 169, 170, 171, 174, 175,
179, 187, 193, 239, 586, 708, 744, 799
letters dated from, 55, 56, 58, 59, 190
- Tories (Thoris), xxvii, 613
- Torrington. *See* Herbert, Arthur.
- Torville. *See* Tourville.
- Toscane, Grand Duc de. *See* Medici, Cosimo III
de.
- Toscane, Grande Duchesse de. *See* Medici,
Marguerite Louise de.
- Tot, regiment du, 494
- Touars. *See* Thouars.
- Toul, France, 444
- Toulon (Tholon, Tholoun, Thoulon, Thooloon,
Tollone, Touloun, Touloune), France, xxvi,
lxx, cxi, cxxix, cli, clvi–clvii, 20, 22, 37,
92, 222, 244, 257, 273, 477, 491, 510,
554, 573, 660, 663, 664, 672, 719, 770,
773
news dated from, 494
plan of, lxxiii, 27, 828
reports on French naval strength at, clv, 27,
320, 322, 373, 385, 589, 597, 601, 602,
604, 605, 607, 608, 612, 613, 614, 616,
647, 650, 658, 683, 732, 782, 784
reports on shipbuilding at, 80, 391, 444, 501,
645, 681, 730, 732, 740, 779, 784
lists of ships at, cli–clv, 100, 118, 323, 325,
522, 656, 658–9, 696, 818
French squadron based at, lxiv, 115, 126,
130, 131, 155, 336, 493, 495, 519, 521,
524, 538, 541, 546, 549, 553, 584, 612,
646, 648, 654, 662, 669, 671, 701, 718,
735, 738
plans to send agent to, cli, cliii–clv, 310, 311,
313, 315, 317, 319, 323, 324, 325, 326,
327, 330, 332, 333, 575, 612, 624
Tourville's prizes sent to, 808

- Intendant de Marine of. *See* Vauvray.
- Toulouse (Toulouze), France, cli, 349, 643
- Parlement of, 531
- Toulouse (Toulouze), Comte de. *See* Louis Alexandre.
- Tour, Baron Fedel de la. *See* La Tour.
- Tour de Panté, la, near Pinerolo, Italy, 431
- Tournai (Tournay), Belgium, lxxxviii, 121, 550, 556, 583, 611
- Tours, France, cli
letter endorsed as from, 668
Archbishopric of, 631, 632
- Tourton, Jean-Claude, of Paris, 813
- Tourton, Nicholas, merchant and banker of London, cxvi, 813
- Tourville (Torville, Tourvil, Tourville, Turvill), Anne Hilarion de Cotentin, Comte de, admiral and Marshal of France, lxvii, lxx, clii, 118, 153, 160, 222, 224, 244, 272, 333, 365, 368, 369, 415, 418, 419, 421, 429, 432, 549, 570, 597, 627, 628, 635, 641, 645, 659, 671, 672, 674, 737, 749, 770, 775, 776
his instructions in 1691, 709
his instructions in 1692, 383, 384, 385, 392, 416, 719, 768, 801
his instructions in 1693, 600–1
sails from Brest, 146, 739
off Portugal, 157, 158, 162, 571, 572, 741
criticised for escape of Smyrna convoy in 1691, lxiv, 342
present from Louis XIV to, 366
and La Hougue, lv, 422, 426, 431, 719, 721, 722, 768
warmly received by Louis XIV after La Hougue, 444
verses on, 447
and naval promotions, xxxii, 505
made Marshal of France, xxxii, 528, 530, 533
health, 540
off Spain, 563, 599
sends despatches by his valet, 567
and action against Smyrna convoy, lxiv, 582, 589, 742–3
sends despatch by Desadrets, 586
at Malaga, 598
at Toulon, 601, 616
attends councils of war after La Hougue, 637
urges economy with ships' stores, 640
his new flagship, 650, 653
disagreement with Bellefond, 771
spy sloop in Channel to report to, lxiii, 799
report on his expedition in 1693, 807
his natural son, 798
his father-in-law. *See* Laugeois, Jacques.
- Toyras, Mareschal de. *See* Toiras.
- Tracy, Monsieur de, French general, 452, 454, 589
- Transilvanie. *See* Transylvania.
- Transport, Commissioners of, 26, 204
- Transylvania (Transilvanie, Transylvanie), 477, 530, 559, 619, 621
- Trape, Trappe, abaye de la. *See* La Trappe.
- Treasury, Lords Commissioners of the, lv, 4, 57, 94, 97, 132, 137, 142, 152, 162, 186, 204, 229, 241, 242, 264, 309, 817
letters to, 26, 68, 96, 107
letters from, mentioned, 77, 88, 112, 118, 129, 133, 143, 149, 153, 164, 178, 189, 195, 200, 209, 222, 230, 237, 249, 253, 256, 259, 265, 272
observations by, xxiii
report to, 816
accounts supplied to, 825
- Treby, Mrs Sarah, Jacobite alias [?for Secretary Trenchard], 168
- Trelawny (Trelawney), Major-General Charles, 66, 818
- Trelawny, Colonel Henry, 187
regiment of, 121, 217
- Tremouille or Tremouille, la. *See* La Tremouille.
- Trenchard, Lieutenant George, 268, 269
- Trenchard (Trenchart), Sir John (Mr Secretary), Secretary of State, xx–xxi, xxv–xxvii, xxxvii, xlv, li, lx, lxvi–lxix, lxxvii, lxxxii, lxxxiii, xc, cxv, cxix–cxxxiii, cxxxix–cxli, cxliv, cxlviii, cliii, clv, clx, 70, 72, 76, 84, 88, 89, 95, 105, 110, 115, 117, 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 136, 157, 161, 169, 171, 174, 176, 180, 181, 182, 183, 194, 195, 196, 221, 225, 229, 230, 235, 256, 259, 279, 280, 334, 335, 624
letter to, 223
probably referred to as Mrs Sarah Treby, 168
testimony by, lxviii–lxix, 829
- Tréport, le, France, 675
- Tresnel, Marquise de, 403
- Treves, Germany, 494, 562, 573
- Trevor, Sir John, Speaker of the House of Commons, 148, 152, 158, 277
- Trevor, Sir Thomas (later 1st Lord Trevor of Bromham), Solicitor-General (Mr Solicitor), cviii, 93, 96, 102–3, 110, 114, 253
- Trianon. *See under* Versailles.
- Trier. *See* Treves.
- Trimouille, Mademoiselle de la. *See* La Tremouille, Marie Armande Victoire de.
- Trimouille, Monsieur de la. *See* La Tremouille, Charles Belgique Hollande, Duc de.
- Trinity House, Corporation of, lxi
letter from, 25
letter to, 24
proposals by, 825
- Tripoli (Tripolines, Tripoly), Libya, xcix–ci, 27, 41, 150, 153, 158, 159, 172, 577
Dey of, 158
- Tromp, Cornelis van, Dutch admiral, 702
- Trousse, Marquis de la, 464
- Trumbull (Trumball), Sir William, xviii, xxvii, xlviii, lii, lxxiv, xcvi, cxxxix, cxli, 145, 293

- Tubize (Tubise), Belgium, 225, 233
 Tuille, la. *See* Thuile, la.
 Tunis, xcix, ci, 41, 158, 159
 Turcks, Turcs. *See* Turkey.
 Turcs. *See also under* Algiers.
 Turenne, Anne Geneviève de Lévis Ventadour,
 Princesse de, wife then widow of Louis de
 La Tour, Prince de Turenne, and later
 Princesse de Soubise, 403, 453, 511, 520,
 523, 624
 Turenne, Princesse de. *See also* Bouillon, Marie
 Anne Mancini, Duchesse de (p. 365 only).
 Turenne, Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne,
 Vicomte de, Marshal of France (d.1675),
 630, 631
 Turenne, Louis de La Tour, Prince de (d.1692),
 eldest son of the Duc and Duchesse de
 Bouillon, 395, 453, 455, 588
 Turgot, Antoine, Seigneur de St. Clair, Maître
 des Requêtes, 558
 Turgot, Catherine, daughter of the preceding
 and wife of Gilles d'Aligre, Seigneur de
 Boislandry (Villandry) (later Marquise de
 Chevilly).
 verses on, 558–9
 Turin, Italy, lxxiv, xcvi–xcvi, 35, 74, 119, 260,
 336, 343, 350, 364, 394, 395, 412, 428,
 429, 435, 441, 445, 447, 448, 464, 475,
 482, 484, 487, 490, 494, 495, 496, 497,
 516, 600, 602, 621, 622, 623, 634, 703,
 786, 796
 letters dated from, 122, 263, 274
 Capuchins, 491
 Cordeliers, 429
 Turkey (the Porte, Turcks, Turcs, Turks, Turkey,
 Turx), li, lxxi, 3, 20, 22, 29, 35, 131, 200,
 222, 229, 234, 264, 474, 565, 603, 609,
 639, 741
 convoy (Allied convoy to Mediterranean and
 Levant, also called *flotte de Smirne*,
 Mediterranean squadron, Smyrna fleet,
 Straits fleet, Turkey fleet), xv, xxvii, xxxi,
 lvii, lxiv–lxxi, xcii, xcvi–xcvi, cii–civ, 36,
 88, 92, 94, 99, 100, 117, 180, 826, 828,
 829
 French plans to attack, lxiv–lxvii, cxliii,
 27, 119, 476, 516, 538, 557, 560, 572, 573
 its delay weakens Allies in Spain and Italy,
 115, 119, 120, 150
 whether to strengthen naval escort, 115,
 126–8, 131, 136
 ordered to sail, 120, 122, 126
 fears for, lxvi, 127–8, 153, 157, 160, 161,
 162, 163, 164–5, 170, 173, 174, 175, 176,
 195, 573, 575, 577, 580
 attacked, lxiv, 156, 157, 194, 195, 212
 descriptions of attack, lxv, 582–7, 741–2
 losses less than expected, lxv, 196, 198, 608
 French estimates of losses, lxv, 598, 604,
 608
 plans for another convoy, 222
 sinking of ships at Gibraltar, lxiv, 229
 betrayal of, discussed in coffee houses, 235
 Dutch against fleet accompanying further,
 189, 238
 Dutch complain of desertion by English
 escort, 582
 French criticise poor protection for, 575,
 582, 584, 586, 591, 604, 741, 742
 peace negotiations, xcvi–xcix, 128, 215–16,
 226, 231, 237, 238, 340, 382, 406, 426,
 445, 461, 463, 466, 491, 496, 502
 —, French attempts to spoil, xcvi–xcix,
 119, 388, 435, 436, 464, 512, 584, 740, 794
 and treaty with Russia, 346
 Turkish prisoners of war, proposed transfer
 to Ireland of, 350
 as French ally, xcvi–xcix, 352, 353, 444,
 459, 521, 530, 533, 541, 544, 563, 568,
 616, 790
 unrest in, 358, 441
 loss of Oradea by, 404, 434
 false reports of peace with, 440, 443
 and Poland, 470, 479, 552
 said to be besieging Lipova, 477
 sets high value on Hungary, 482
 defends Canea against Venetian besiegers,
 xcvi, 491, 496
 strength of army, 559
 weak in Hungary, 584, 599
 Fontaines formerly in service of, 745
 defeat of, in Hungary *or* Slavonia. *See*
 Slankamen.
 Dutch ambassadors to. *See* Colyer;
 Heemskerck.
 English ambassador to. *See* Harbord;
 Heemskerck; Paget.
 English consuls in, 181
 French ambassador to. *See* Chateaufeuf.
 French envoy extraordinary to. *See* Ferriol.
 Grand Seigneur, Signor. *See* Ahmed II;
 Mehmed IV; Mustafa II.
 Grand Visir, Vizier. *See* Ali Pasha; Köprülü,
 Mustafa; Mustafa Pasha Bozoklu.
 Mufti (Mufty, Muphti). *See* Ali Efendi;
 Feyzullah Efendi.
 Turkey fleet. *See* Turkey: convoy.
 Turkey (Turkey) Company, Turkey merchants.
See Levant Company.
 Turmenies, Sieur de, French trésorier de
 l'extraordinaire des guerres, 340, 510,
 541, 547, 625
 Turvill, Monsieur. *See* Tourville.
 Turx. *See* Turkey.
 Tuscany, Grand Duke and Duchess of. *See*
 Medici.
 Twedde, Messrs van, 824
 Ubaye, Ubaye valley (vallée de Barcelonnette),
 France, 457, 464, 467
 Udicour, Madame d'. *See* Heudicourt.

- Ugennes, Prince. *See* Eugene.
- Ulrika Eleanora, Queen of Sweden (d.1693), lxxxv, 84
- United Provinces (Dutch, *Estats Generaux*, Holland, *Hollande*, Provinces Unies, States, *States General*), cxv–cxix and *passim*
- letters to, 16, 263
- letters from, mentioned, 75
- troops of, *passim*
- merchant ships of, lxiv, xcvi, 3, 9, 20, 23, 48, 55, 115, 156, 157, 650, 730, 815
- warships of, lvii–lviii, lxii–lxiii, lxxxiii, 55, 59, 156, 157, 212, 255, 307, 516, 817
- lists of, lvii, 820, 821, 822
- French fear Dutch warships more than English, lvi, 456, 717
- proposed new treaty with England on salvage, 30, 31
- and contraband trade with France, lxxxii, 36, 49, 88, 95
- naval treaty with Spain, 40
- ratification of treaty relating to subsidy to Saxony, 62
- ratification of treaties enlarging the Grand Alliance, 62
- commercial treaty with England, 87
- fulfilment of naval quotas, lviii, 174, 186
- Dunkirk squadron, lviii, 186, 221, 222, 231
- and mediation of peace between Porte and Empire, 215–16, 244
- resolutions for sea and land service in 1694, lxvi, 263, 269
- and agreements with Sweden, 278
- some of Jurieu's intelligence to be shared with, 296, 297
- French design to ruin trade of, lxiv–lxv, 498
- war-weary, 510
- poor relief in, better ordered than in France, 557
- French drive towards, to encourage peace party in, 640
- French threats against, 803
- coinage of. *See under* coinage.
- privateers (capers) of. *See under* privateers.
- Dutch naval commander. *See* Almonde.
- Dutch chargé d'affaires in Madrid. *See* Schoonenberg.
- Dutch consul in Ireland. *See* Hill, Robert.
- Dutch resident in Portugal. *See* Wolffsen.
- ambassadors from, to the Porte. *See* Colyer; Heemskerck.
- envoy extraordinary from, to Denmark. *See* Hop.
- envoy extraordinary from, to Saxony. *See* Heeckeren.
- envoy extraordinary from, to Sweden. *See* Heeckeren.
- envoy extraordinary to, from Spain. *See* Quiros.
- Upper Normandy. *See* Normandy, Upper.
- Upper Rhine. *See* Rhine, Upper.
- Urfé, Louis Lascaris d', Bishop of Limoges, 525
- Urquhart, John, Laird of Meldrum, 83
- Uzez, Duc d'. *See* Uzès, Louis de Crussol, Duc d'.
- Ushant (Ouessan, Ouessant, Ouisant), France, lxxiii, 82, 154, 160, 161, 169, 342, 442, 638, 726, 728
- Ustor, Marquis d', French officer, 464
- Utrecht, Netherlands, clix
- letter dated from, 64
- Uxelles (Uxellis), Nicolas du Blé, Comte or Marquis d', general (later Marshal of France), 20, 529
- Uzès, Madame d', formerly Madame Pomy, sister of Père Mauroy, 387
- Uzès, Emanuel II de Crussol, Duc d' (Duzet) (d.1692), Governor of Saintonge and Angoumois, 637
- his son-in-law. *See* Antin.
- Uzès, Louis de Crussol, Duc d', son of the preceding, 588
- Val, Chevallier de la. *See* Delavall.
- Valais (Valezans, Vallais) Switzerland, 363
- Valano, Italy, 34
- Valavoir, Marquis de, 462
- Valazar (Valensart), field marshal in Allied service.
- dragoons of, 190
- Val Chrétien (Val Chrestien), France, 548
- Val d'Aosta, Val d'Aouste, Valdoste. *See* Aoste, Val d'.
- Valence, France, 472, 484
- Valence, Italy. *See* Valenza.
- Valence, Spain. *See* the following.
- Valencia (Valence, Valentia), Spain, 85, 90, 595
- Valenciennes (Valencienne), France, 415, 420, 546
- Valensart. *See* Valazar.
- Valentia. *See* Valencia, Spain.
- Valentinois, le, France, 472
- Valentinois, Duc de. *See* Monaco, Prince de.
- Valenza (Valence), Italy, 465
- Governor of, 534
- Valet, Monsieur de la. *See* La Valette.
- Valetta. *See* Valletta.
- Valette, Monsieur de la. *See* La Vallette.
- Valezans, Vallais. *See* Valais.
- Vallée d'Aost. *See* Aosta, Val d'.
- Valletta, Malta, ci
- Cantarade, 517
- Jesuit church and college, 517
- Our Lady of Pilar (Notre Dame de Pilaxe), 517
- Sacra Infermeria (l'infermerie), 517
- Valloignes. *See* Valognes.
- Vallot (Valot), Antoine, premier médecin of Louis XIV (d.1671), 633

- Valmale, Sieur de, 338
 Valognes (Valloignes), France, 798
 Valot, Monsieur. *See* Vallot.
 Van Bossell, Monsieur. *See* Bostel, Lucas von.
 Vanbrugh (Van brugs, Van Bruk), (later Sir) John, as internee in France, lxxiv–lxxv, 21
 Vanclevé (Vanclevé), Sieur, 584
 Vandergoes, Philips, Dutch admiral, 156, 157, 743 (as *contradmiral anglois*).
 Van der Poel, Captain Juriaan, 157
 Van der Stam, Captain ?Leonard. letter to, 136
 Vandeuil, Monsieur de, French *maréchal de camp*, 529, 562
 Vandezande, Monsieur, of London, 802
 Vandosme, Monsieur de. *See* Vendôme, Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Duc de.
 Vannesque (Vannesque), France, 475
 Van Est, Louys, in French service. *barricade of*, 191
 Vange. *See* Wange.
 Vanhomrigh, Bartholomew, Revenue Commissioner in Ireland and Commissary General of Stores, 106
 Vantadour, maison de. *See* Ventadour.
 Vantadour, Madame de. *See* Ventadour, Charlotte Eléonore, Duchesse de.
 Varadin. *See* Oradea.
 Varennes (Varenne), Joseph Alexandre de Nagu, Marquis de, French *maréchal de camp*, 529, 621
 Varsalis. *See* Versailles.
 Vauban, Sebastien le Prestre, Marquis de, military engineer (later Marshal of France), lxx, xciii, 362, 420, 431, 435, 538, 541, 547–8
 consulted by Louis XIV, cxlv, 388, 399–400, 405, 406, 414, 479
 and defences of Namur, 423, 443, 451
 offers to distribute his gratuity among other engineers, 440
 in Dauphiné, 473, 475, 481, 482, 484, 488, 493, 501
 at Susa, 494
 at Nice, 509
 in Provence, 525
 not made Marshal of France, 534
 made Grand Cross of Order of St. Louis, 538
 and siege of Charleroi, 597, 602, 608, 614, 617, 619
 his nephew. *See* Prestre, Antoine le.
 his niece, 362
 Vaubecourt (Vaubecour), Louis Claude de Nettancourt, Comte de, French *maréchal de camp*, 482, 529, 580
 Vaudois, in Switzerland, cviii, 299, 378, 413, 682
 neglect of, 682, 683, 685
 troops in Allied service in Savoy, 245, 338, 343, 345, 346, 350, 355
See also Barbets.
 Vaudricourt (Sandricourt), Monsieur de, French admiral, 373, 660
 Vauge, Pays de. *See* Vosges.
 Vauguyon, Marquis de la. *See* La Vauguyon.
 Vauquière, Marquis de, French officer, 464
 Vaurouy, —, French officer, 443, 453
 Vautron, Lieutenant de, French naval officer, 398
 Vauvré (Vauvray), Jean Louis Girardin, Seigneur de, Intendant de Marine at Toulon, xxxiv, clvi, 385, 573, 586
 Vaux, Sieur de, French receiver general in Dauphiné, 510, 513, 517
 Vedeau de Gramont (Grammont Vedeau, Vedeau de Grammont), ?François, 524, 533, 540
 Veillane, Italy, 409, 615, 617
 Velm (Vellem), Belgium, 195, 197
 letter dated from, 193
 news dated from, 194
 Vendôme (Vandosme, Vendosme), Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Duc de, and Duc de Beaufort (Baufort), lieutenant-general (later Marshal of France), cxlv, 354, 392, 413, 479, 486, 513, 515, 529, 530, 537, 581, 620
 Vendôme (Vendosme), Philippe de (Monsieur le Grand Prieur), brother of the preceding, lieutenant-general, Grand Prior of France, 529, 620, 621
 Venice (Venetians, Venise, Venitiens), 459, 463, 482, 492, 495, 496, 502, 518
 ships of, 339, 616
 ambassador from, to France. *See* Venier.
 ambassador to, from France. *See* Haye-Ventelet.
 Venier, Pietro, Venetian ambassador to France, xcvi, 495–6, 504, 507, 611
 Venise, Venitiens. *See* Venice.
 Venner, Colonel John. regiment of, 96
 Ventadour (Vantadour), Charlotte Eléonore de La Mothe-Houdancourt, Duchesse de, wife of the following, 520, 578
 Ventadour (Vantadour), Louis Charles, Duc de, father of the Princesse de Turenne, 511, 523
 Verac, Marquis de, Lieutenant de Roi in Poitou, 739
 Vercelli (Verceil), Italy, 389, 448, 465
 Verdon[*-sur-Mer*], le, France, 788
 Verdun, France, 603
 Vere, Aubrey de, 20th Earl of Oxford, 29, 70
 Vergeroux (Vergerou), le, near Rochefort, France, 724, 727, 728, 736, 737, 739, 781
 Vermandois, brigade of, 699
 Verrès (Vérue), Italy, 389
 Versailles (Varsalis, Versaille), France, xxxv, xxxvii–xxxviii, lxxviii, xciii, xcvi, cxliii, 15, 21, 141, 144, 147, 350, 354, 366, 374, 379, 393, 397, 403, 409, 415, 418, 435, 438, 442, 444, 452, 510, 513, 514, 524,

- 527, 543, 549, 562, 564, 568, 569, 573,
579, 586, 599, 600, 602, 603, 605, 624,
632, 637, 641, 646, 678, 713
letters dated from, cli, 370, 677
negotiations with Prince Royal of Denmark
at, lxxxiv, 773
Trianon, 337
Vershuer [?Verschouw], Major, Allied officer,
798
Verthamon (Vertamont), Jean-Baptiste de,
Abbé, then Bishop of Pamiers, 607
Vertillac, Nicholas de la Brousse, Comte de,
French Governor of Mons, 438, 575
Veterani, Friedrich, Imperial general, 426, 459,
461, 496
Veys Bay (le Grand Vey, le Vey), France, 321,
680
Vézicre, —, French surgeon, 456
Viaren, Belgium, 697
Vicfort, 34
Vichy, France, 461
Victor Amadeus II, Duke of Savoy (Savoie,
Scavoys), lxiv, xciii–xcvii, cxxxiv, 24, 32,
234, 245, 259, 336, 338, 409, 435, 446,
458, 460, 461, 545, 587, 600
letter from, 122
letter to, 123
letter from, mentioned, 492
health, xciv, 20, 22, 23, 29, 41, 119, 121,
122, 126, 416, 473, 475, 482, 490, 491,
492, 493, 494, 495, 499, 501, 510, 512,
515, 516, 520, 525, 529, 534, 541, 552,
553
rumours of his death, xciv–xcv, 492, 522, 731
movements in 1691, 345, 346, 352, 355, 360,
362, 681, 703, 706
movements in 1692, 395, 423–4, 426, 428,
429, 451, 462, 463, 464, 467, 469, 477,
478, 481, 484, 486, 490, 491, 727, 729
movements in 1693, 219, 562, 570, 574, 577,
599, 602, 605, 606, 614, 615, 616–17, 641
English subsidy to, xcvi, civ, 28
said to be treating with French, 37, 109, 385,
389, 397, 625
no longer treating with French, 403, 404,
414, 634
doubts about his loyalty to the Allies, xcvi,
121–3
peace overtures to, published by Louis XIV
in 1692, xciv, 300, 301, 374, 375, 405
—, through Innocent XII, 122, 342–3, 603
—, through Swiss, 396, 682
—, *See also* under Chamlay.
assassination plot against, xxix, 101
his plans to invade Provence, xcvi–xcvii, 119,
121, 122, 213, 220, 553, 565, 566, 569,
581
his defeat at Marsaglia, xcvi, 260, 263, 265,
620–5
appointed perpetual governor of the
Milanese, 366, 392
strength of his forces in 1692, 412, 431
and German troops in Savoy, 445, 448, 496
accused of breaching articles of capitulation,
456
accusation unfounded, 457
encourages preaching in occupied France, 470
underestimated by French, xciii–xciv, 473
his testamentary dispositions, 497, 516
proposed exchange of territory with, 506
and the League of Augsburg, xcvi, 550, 553,
556
his attack on Pinerolo diverts French
resources from Catalonia, xcvi, 595–6
French ravage his hunting lodge, 618, 620,
622, 623
his Council, 683
his eldest daughter. *See* Marie Adelaide.
his great-grandmother. *See* Catherine.
his mother. *See* Maria Giovanna Battista.
his wife. *See* Anna Maria.
Victualling of the Navy. *See* Navy:
Commissioners of Victualling.
Vienna (Vienne), Austria, li, lxxxv, xcvi–xcviii,
3, 32, 36, 106, 424, 465, 512, 530, 592,
609, 795
news dated from, 23, 34, 35
letters from, 477, 482, 496
Vienne, France, 537
Vigier, Monsieur de la. *See* La Vigierie-
Treillebois.
Vigile, France, 472
Vignaux, Monsieur de, French maréchal de
camp, 414, 482
Vigny, Jean-Baptiste de, French brigadier, 453
Vigon (Vigone), Italy, 494, 496
Vilaret. *See* Villars.
Vilars, Marquis de. *See* Villars, Claude Louis
Hector, Marquis de.
Vilette, Monsieur or Lieutenant-Général de. *See*
Villette-Mursay.
Viliers-Coterets, Viliers-Cotrets. *See* Villers-
Cotterets.
Viljuive. *See* Villejuif.
Villahermosa (Villehermosa), Duke of, Spanish
general, 344
Villandry, Madame de. *See* Turgot, Catherine.
Villars or Vilaret, French camp near Pinerolo,
Italy, 605, 637
Villars (Villers), Chevalier (later Comte) de,
French naval commander, brother of the
following, 571, 659, 722
Villars (Vilars, Villers), Claude Louis Hector,
Marquis (later Duc) de, lieutenant-general
(later Marshal of France), 8, 440, 529, 546
Ville-aux-Clercs, Alexandre Bernard de
Loménie, Seigneur de, Knight of Malta,
son and brother of the Comtes de Brienne.
letter from, ci–cii, 517–19
Villedoux, France, 737
Villefranche, France, xcvi, 119, 220, 622
Villehermosa, Duc de. *See* Villahermosa.

- Villejuif (Viljuive), near Paris, France, 502
- Villeneuve St. Georges (Villeneuve St. George), France, 471
- Villeroi. *See* Villeroy, François de Neufville, Duc de.
- Villeroy, Camille de Neufville de, Archbishop of Lyon, uncle of the following, 412, 471, 472, 565
- Villeroy (Villeroi), François de Neufville, Duc de, Marshal of France, lxxxix, 340, 382, 404, 449, 528, 529, 583, 588, 596, 606, 631, 698
his son. *See* Alincourt.
- Villers. *See* Villars, Claude Louis Hector, Marquis de.
- Villers-Cotterets (Viliers-Cotérêts, Viliers-Cotrets, Villers Cotteretz), 392, 438, 637
- Villette-Mursay (Vilette, Villette), Philippe Le Vallois, Marquis de, French admiral, 346, 419, 426, 429, 635, 643, 646, 660, 700, 714, 716, 718, 719, 721, 722, 770
verses on, 446–7
his flagship. *See* ships: *Ambitieux*.
his son. *See* Mursay.
- Villiers, Brigadier Edward.
his regiment of horse, 96, 103
- Vilvoorde (Vilvoord), Belgium, 121
- Vincennes, France, cxiv, clviii, 402, 502, 545
Governor of. *See* Bellefond, Bernardin Gigault, Marquis de.
- Vincent, Shadrack (Shadrack, Shadrick), M.P. for Fowey, 81
letter to, 80
accused of smuggling, xxxviii–xxxix, 82–3, 87
- Vins, Marquis de, the elder, French general in Provence, 450, 452, 462
- Vins, Marquis de, the younger, French general in Flanders, son of the preceding, 453, 455, 469
- Vire, France, 318
- Virgil (Virgile), 340, 341, 509, 611
- Virginia (Virginie), cvii, 77, 88, 92, 93, 104, 179, 245
- Virieu, Captain, French officer, 621
- Virtemberg, Duc. *See* Würtemberg, Frederick Charles, Duke of.
- Vitré, France, 549, 551, 552, 560
- Vittoriosa. *See* Borgo.
- Vivaraïs (Vivarets, Vivaretz), France, 401, 405, 461, 806
- Vivens, François, French Protestant schoolmaster and partisan, 401, 405
- Voisin, Monsieur. *See* Voysin.
- Vosges (pays de Vauge), France, lxxxi, 444
- Voysin or Voisin, Daniel François, Seigneur du Plessis-aux-Bois and de Cérissay, Conseiller d'Etat, 526
- Wachop. *See* Wauchope, John.
- Wade, Caleb, master of the *Palm Tree*, 81, 116
- Wahup, Captain. *See* Wauchope, Captain.
- Wair, Mr. *See* Warre.
- Wake, —, Jacobite conspirator, 14
- Walcourt (Walcour), Belgium, 105
- Waldeck, George Frederick, Prince of, Allied general, 235, 246
- Walden, Major, Jacobite officer, 61
- Wales. *See* North Wales.
- Wales, Prince of. *See* James Edward.
- Walhain (Walheim), Belgium, 136, 137
- Wallace (Wallis), Richard, 72, 73
- Waller, Captain James, Lieutenant-Governor of Kinsale, 249
- Wallis, one. *See* Wallace, Richard.
- Wallis, Dr John, xvi, xlix–liii, 69, 814
letters to, 120, 129, 149
- Walloon regiments, 191
- Walmesley (Wamsley), Bartholomew, of Dunkenhalth, Lancs., 367
- Wange (Vange), Belgium, 697, 698, 699
- Ward, Sir Edward, Attorney-General, cviii, 93, 95, 96, 102–3, 110, 114, 137, 192, 253
letter to, 116
- Ward, Alderman Sir Patience, commissioner of customs and commissioner for preventing export of wool, lxxvi
intelligence received from, cxlvii–cxlix, 643, 700–43
- Wardour (Warder), William, Clerk of the Pells, 70
- Waremm (Warrem), Belgium.
mill of, 201
- Warre (Wair, Warr), Richard, under secretary of state, xv–xvii, xix–xxi, lxxxi, clviii, 46, 91, 100, 280, 818, 828
letters to, 81, 330
deposition signed by, 261
- Warren, Mill of. *See* under Waremm.
- Warren, Captain, master of the merchant ship *Britannia*, 68
- Warren, John, merchant of Plymouth, 81
letters to, 82–3, 87
- Warrington, Lord. *See* Booth, Henry.
- Warsaw, Poland.
news dated from, 23
- Waterford, Ireland, 81, 273
- Wauchope (Wahup), Captain, Jacobite, 283
- Wauchope (Wachop), John, Jacobite major-general in French service, 263
- Wayles, Prince of. *See* James Edward.
- Waymouth, Lord. *See* Thynne.
- Wehler, Sir Francis. *See* Wheler, Sir Francis.
- Weinberg (Weinberge, Wynbergh), Major-General, in Allied service, 190, 191
- Welles, —, in French service, 22
- Wemmel, Belgium, 225
letters dated from, 219, 220
news dated from, 220
map of Allied camp at, 827
- Westcombe, (later Sir) Martin, English consul at Cadiz, 174
- West India Company, 29, 212
- West Indies (Indes, Indes Occidentales, West Indyes, West Indys), civ, cxlvii, 76, 353
English expedition to, lvi–lvii, civ–cvii, 4–8,

- 69, 92, 147, 178, 204–6, 266, 268, 272, 274, 826, 827. *See also* Wheler, Sir Francis.
- French in, 80, 118, 147–8, 157
- Spanish in, 148
- sickness in, 205, 223
- French plans to intercept Spanish convoy returning from (flotte des Indes), ciii, 226, 232, 255, 644
- Nottingham seeks intelligence about French ships bound for, lxii, 289, 291
- notes on seniority of naval officers bound for, 821
- See also under named islands*; Amérique, Iles d'; Leeward Islands.
- Westmerland, Lord. *See* Fane.
- Westminster. *See* London and Westminster.
- Weston, Captain Samuel (Samuell), master of the *Flying Horse*.
- statement by, 272
- Westphalia, Peace of, 279
- Wharton (Whorton), Goodwin, M.P., xxvii, 261–3, 265, 270–1
- Wharton, Philip, 5th Lord Wharton (Whorton), 261, 265
- Wharton, Thomas (later 1st Marquis of Wharton), Comptroller of the Household, xxvii, 243, 261, 262, 265
- his house. *See* Winchendon.
- Wheler (Wehler, Wheeler), Sir Francis (Frances), rear admiral of the Blue, then Red, lvi, ci, civ–cvii, 78, 92, 94, 98, 105, 124, 147, 158, 165, 182, 185, 186, 188, 196, 197, 204, 269, 274
- letters from, 1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 22, 266, 272
- letters to, 2, 5, 7, 99, 205, 269
- recommended by Shovell, 155
- his lieutenant, 1
- Wheler (Wheeler), Sir William, brother of the preceding, 188, 189, 197
- Whigs (Wigs), xix–xx, xxv, xxvii, lxix, 613
- Whitney, James, highwayman, xxxviii, 17, 18, 24
- Whitstable, Kent, xl, xlii, 134
- Whittlewood Forest, Northants., 70
- Whorton. *See* Wharton.
- Wich, Sir Cyrill. *See* Wyche.
- Wight (Wicht, With), Isle of, lxiv, cxxxvii, 38, 82, 98, 122, 160, 716, 798, 824
- letters dated from, 239, 247
- Governor (to 1692). *See* Holmes, Sir Robert.
- appointment of new governor planned, 67, 74, 75
- Lord Cutts appointed, 75
- French expecting to invade, 413, 769
- contracts for transport of Irish soldiers from, 818
- Wignacourt, Adrien de, Grand Master of the Order of Malta (Grand Maistre, Son Eminence), 517, 518
- his nephew, 517
- Wigs. *See* Whigs.
- Wild, Wilde, Monsieur de. *See* Wildt.
- Wilders, Kurt (Coert), of Brunswick (Brumswyck), escaped prisoner of war, 798
- Wildman, Sir John, former postmaster general, xlvii–xlviii, 60
- Wildt (Wild, Wilde), Jacob *or* Job de, Secretary of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, 88, 147, 212
- Wilkinson (Wilkieson), Captain Thomas, English privateer, lxxix–lxxx, 177, 192
- Willemstad (Willemstadt), Netherlands, 246
- William III, King (Auriacus, Prince of Orange, Orange, Oreniges), lvi, lxxxvi and *passim*
- letters and orders from, 11, 16, 40, 45, 46, 48, 52, 53, 57, 61, 62–3, 69, 123
- letters and orders from, mentioned, *passim*
- letters to Queen Mary from, mentioned, 67, 146, 195, 198, 208, 226, 255, 277
- ratifications of treaties by, 62
- letters from Queen Mary to, mentioned, 77, 85, 88, 93, 103, 106, 110, 112, 118, 123, 129, 130, 133, 138, 143, 145, 149, 153, 159, 164, 174, 178, 185, 189, 192, 195, 196, 198, 200, 204, 209, 218, 222, 226, 230, 231, 233, 234, 237, 238, 242, 249, 250, 253, 255, 256, 258, 259, 263, 264, 265, 269, 272, 273
- letters, memorials and petitions to, 45, 52, 66, 177, 190, 227, 282, 827
- memorials and petitions to, mentioned, 71 and London Gazette, xviii
- detained in England by contrary winds, 67, 534
- embarks at Gravesend, 72
- welcomed to the Hague, 72
- attends States General and Council of State, 78
- about to go to Loo, 78, 240
- hawking at Dieren, 95
- assassination plots against, xxviii–xxx, xxxviii, cxxxii, 100–1, 308, 316, 317, 318, 319, 485, 669, 676, 694–5, 701
- let blood at Breda, 115
- about to go to Diegem, 116
- orders Mediterranean convoy to sail, 120, 122
- at Diegem, 120, 125
- at Parck, 136, 137, 150
- against banishing Roman Catholic clergy from Ireland, 144, 150
- his health enquired after by Catherine of Braganza, 180, 218
- against Parliament of Ireland meeting, 187
- continually on the march, 193–4
- his conduct at Landen, xcii, 201–3, 232, 588, 591, 593, 594, 596, 697–9
- does not think it necessary to draw fresh regiments from England, 220, 221
- asked by Cabinet Council to return to England to prepare for Parliament, 242
- cannot return to England yet, 246

- holds a great council of war, 246
 at Ninove, 248
 at Loo, 251, 255
 at the Hague, 258
 detained by contrary winds, 263, 265, 272, 273
 at Harwich, 277
 receives seals from Nottingham, xix–xx, 280
 Gaultier has audience with, 285
 to be briefed about Jurieu's arrangements and asked what intelligence he requires, 295, 296
 known as a religious observer of his word, lvi, 296
 to receive duplicates of reports from Paris being sent to Nottingham, 300
 movements in 1691, 343, 345, 349, 355, 701
 his tactics praised by French army officers, lvi, 345
 regarded by French as an able politician, lvi, 358, 415, 432, 479
 regarded by French as a peacemaker, lvi, 358, 382
 observes punctually the articles of capitulation agreed at Limerick, 359
 French speak well of and wish for peace with, lvi, 382, 383
 said to have built flat-bottomed landing craft, 396
 admired by French more than Louis XIV, cxliv, 406
 his calmness over invasion threat worries French, 415, 416, 418
 allows passports for Protestant refugees returning to France, 419
 message to, from Louis XIV, 423
 movements in 1692, 425, 492, 727
 to be targeted in battle as the Gordian knot of the war, xxx, 426
 suspected of encouraging French invasion plan, 428
 book about his family, 432
 many deserters from his army, 433, 490
 unable to risk a battle for Namur, 434, 437, 442, 443, 445
 and Liège, 435
 and Max Emanuel, 442, 450, 617, 619
 and the Bishop of Munster, 448
 his barge in Brussels destroyed by mob, 450
 attacked by Madrid gazettes, 450
 his conduct at Steinkerk, 452, 463
 criticized for failure to support Tököly, 461
 descent on France a ruse to draw off French troops and encourage English recruitment, lvi, 462
 French speculation about his plans, 466, 467, 469, 541
 peace proposals said to have been scorned by, 476
 too good a politician to break his word, 479
 said to have had the Duke of Gordon kidnapped, 501
 prints satirising, prohibited in Paris, 507
 Prince Frederick of Denmark to avoid meeting, 514
 his spies bought by Louvois, 524–5
 his genius admired by his enemies, lvi, 568
 his camp at Parck praised by French, 570
 criticised by Spanish, 585
 ageing, 611
 little regarded by Muley Ismael, 634
 compared to the Emperor Titus, 695
 risks his life like a trooper for ungrateful English, lvi, 701
 his clemency criticised, 702
 respect for, increasing in France, 709
 his Garter bestowed by James II on Prince James Edward, 776
 to liberate four French provinces, 789–90
 Louis XIV said to be open to propositions from, 795
 threat of Jacobite invasion intended to divert him from Flanders, 801
 William, Duke of Gloucester, son of Princess Anne, 21
 Williams, William, of Bodinnick (Brodinnick), near Fowey, 82–3, 87
 Willshaw, Captain Thomas, naval commissioner at Portsmouth, then Controller of Storekeepers' Accounts and Navy Commissioner, lvii, 1, 38
 letter from, 44
 petition by, 45
 Wilson, Major, Jacobite officer, 61
 Winchendon, Bucks. (Mr Wharton's, the Comptroller's), 243
 Winchester, Hants., 105, 828
 Winden, Belgium, 202
 Windham, Colonel. *See* Wyndham.
 Windsor (Winsor), Windsor Castle, Berks., 183
 furniture taken from, 73
 Queen Mary visits, 151
 Winwick, Lancs., 276
 letters dated from, 91, 257, 275
 Wirtemberg, Wirtenburg. *See* Würtemberg.
 Wisteston (Wisteson), Herefs., 146
 With, Isle de. *See* Wight.
 Withall. *See* London and Westminster: Whitehall.
 Wither, Charles.
 letter from, 282
 Wolfenbüttel (Wolfembuttle, Wolfenbottle), Germany, 278
 Dukes of. *See* Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel.
 Wolffsen, Johannes, Dutch resident in Portugal, ciii, 215, 227
 Wolseley, Robert, English envoy extraordinary to the Spanish Netherlands.
 letters to, 59, 138
 Woodbridge, Suffolk, 21
 Woodgate, John, postmaster of Canterbury, cxv–cxvi, cxxxv, 111
 Worcester (Worcest), 133, 153, 161, 170, 171, 175
 Worms (Wormes), Germany, 440, 443

- Wreede, Harmen, master of Altona ship
Patience, 105
- Wright, Captain Lawrence (as commanding
English squadron at Guadeloupe), 708
- Württemberg (Wirtemberg), 132, 340, 599
Administrator of. *See* Würtemberg, Frederick
Charles, Duke of.
- Würtemberg (Wirtemberg), Eberhard Ludwig,
Duke of, 278
letter to, 52
envoy from, to Sweden. *See* Saurbrey von
Saurburg.
- Würtemberg (Wirtemberg, Wirtenburg),
Ferdinand William, Duke of, Allied
general, lxxxix–xc, 34, 132, 181, 191, 194,
197, 207, 209, 210, 212, 216, 220, 246
letter from, 190
regiment of, 218
succeeds to command of Dutch infantry, 230,
233
- Würtemberg (Virtemberg, Wirtemberg),
Frederick Charles, Duke (Prince) of, and
Administrator of during the minority of
Eberhard Ludwig, 495, 498, 502, 638
- Würtemberg (Wirtemberg), Magdalen Sybil,
Princess of, widow of William Ludwig
and mother of Eberhard Ludwig, 587, 589
- Wyche (Wich), Sir Cyril (Cyrill), Lord Justice,
lxxvii, 183
- Wynbergh. *See* Weinberg.
- Wyndham (Windham), Colonel Hugh, 218
- Xaintes. *See* Saintes.
- Xaintonge, Xantonge. *See* Saintonge.
- Ximenes, Joseph, Duc de, French lieutenant-
general, 489, 493
- Ximenes de Cisneros (Ximénes), Francisco,
Cardinal (d.1517), 540
- Yard, Robert, Chief Clerk and Writer of
Gazette, xvii–xx, 249
- Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, 247
- Yarmouth, Norfolk, 161, 171
- Yarmouth, Earl of. *See* Paston, William.
- Yate, Robert, Mayor of Bristol, 272
- Yelverton, Captain (later Lieutenant-Colonel)
Christopher, 93
- Yères, isles d'. *See* Hyères.
- Yeu, Ile d' (Ile Dieu, l'Isle Dieu), 245, 730
- Youghal (Youghall), co. Cork, 819
- Young, Robert, forger, xxvii, 34
- Ypres (Ipres, Ypre), Belgium, 360, 451, 466,
469
- Yrlande. *See* Ireland.
- Yvrée. *See* Ivrea.
- Zaintonge. *See* Saintonge.
- Zealand (Zeland), Denmark.
Danish foot in Allied service from, 217
- Zeeland (Zealand, Zeelande, Zelande),
Netherlands.
warships from, 88, 329, 687, 741
privateers of, 346, 551
- Zell. *See* Celle.
- Zell, Duke of. *See* George William.
- Zolme, Comte de. *See* Solms-Braunfels.
- Zulstein, Monsieur. *See* Zuytlestein.
- Zurich, Switzerland, cviii, 682
- Zutphen, Count. *See* Heeckeren.
- Zuytlestein (Zulstein, Zuytlestein), Lieutenant-
Colonel William Henry van Nassau van
(later 1st Earl of Rochford), 203, 209, 220
regiment of, 218



